

LIFE WORK 
OF
JOHN L. GIRARDEAU, D.D., LL.D.



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The life work of John L.
Girardeau. D.D.. LLd.



THE LIFE WORK

OF

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Columbia, S. C.

COMPILED AND EDITED

✓
BY

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PREFACE

This book is not intended to be an ordinary biography. Dr. Girardeau belonged to a Church and to an age that gave the world an unusual number of extraordinary men, many of whose lives have already been written, covering, in a general way, the most important events that occurred in his time and locality. Its purpose, therefore, is supplemental, showing who he was, and what part he performed in the great movements of his day.

It presents him chiefly in action, and covers only parts of his life. It has been written, for the most part, by men who were associated with him during the times they have described, and by agreement with the Editor, each author has been perfectly free to express his individual opinions. This method has its disadvantages, especially in its tendency to repetition; but it also has its advantages in giving the reader more confidence in the correctness of the representations made of the man and of his work, especially, when he understands that some of the writers were in agreement with him in the greater part of his principles and controversies, while an almost equal number opposed him in some of his most serious contentions.

It also meets Dr. Girardeau's own ideas in reference to the public display of the more tender emotions. There is reason to believe that he destroyed practically all of his correspondence, and a great deal of other personal matter to prevent any one from writing a biography of him in the common form.

Some will think that this book should have appeared before so many of his friends had died. The editor,

however, has delayed its publication to meet the generation of those who came after him, with the hope that his influence might in some measure be extended over them also.

GEORGE A. BLACKBURN.

Columbia, S. C.,

June 10, 1916.

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY AND BOYHOOD

By GEORGE A. BLACKBURN, D. D.

Persecution, when endured for Christ's sake, has always produced a noble type of man. It brings out all the strong points of national character, and fixes them as permanent qualities to be propagated from generation to generation. The Babylonish persecution has kept the Jew free from idolatry to this day. The persecutions endured by the Scots and the non-Conformists of England have left a stamp, in the love of religious liberty, that no age will ever be able to efface. The persecution of the Huguenots brought out an unusual number of splendid qualities in that remarkable people. This was due to the distinctive qualities of the French mind, and to the special characteristics of the French disposition. When powerfully acted upon by the Gospel, and then subjected to the fierce fires of a pitiless persecution, there came forth a people strong of mind and heart, intense in their Calvinism, rigid in their discipline, pure in their lives, unbending in their loyalty, ardent in their zeal, tender in their sympathies, and magnetic in their personalities. Driven from their native land by the Edict of Nantz, they were scattered, by the providence of God, among all the nations holding the Protestant faith, to enrich by their experience and by their spirituality all Christianity.

In this illustrious company were the ancestors of John L. Girardeau. In the *History of the Huguenot*

Emigration to America, Baird says: "Jean Girardeau came from Talmont, a neighboring town near the Saine coast." That is, near La Chaume, on the coast of Poitou. This was also the birthplace of Benjamin Marion, ancestor of Francis Marion. In a foot note Baird says: "John Girardeau, born at Talmont in Poitou, son of Peter Girardeau and Catherine Lareine." Ramsey, also, in his history of South Carolina, mentions the fact that the ancestors of the Girardeau family, with other persecuted Huguenots, fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz.

The family records begin with the statement that John Girardeau, son of Isaac Girardeau, was born in Liberty County, Georgia, March 1, 1756. This Isaac Girardeau was the great-grand-father of John L. Girardeau. The family, after spending some time in South Carolina, moved to Georgia. From here a part returned to South Carolina, part moved on to Florida, and a part remained in Georgia. Dr. Girardeau's grand-father, John, was a soldier in the War of the Revolution. For some years before his death he was totally blind. Dr. Girardeau, in the family Bible, records the fact that he remembered some of the stories he used to relate concerning his adventures in the war. He lived to be eighty-one years of age and was a devout member of the Presbyterian Church.

His grand-mother was Eleanor Dashwood Williams. She was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and in the family records it is written of her: "Read the Bible constantly. Intelligent and cheerful. Just before she died the hymn commencing, 'Jesus, lover of my soul,' was sung at her bedside. She exclaimed,

'I am safe.'" She was seventy-nine years of age at her death.

His father was John Bohun Girardeau, who was born at Toogoodoo, St. Paul's Parish, Colleton District, S. C., October 27th, 1798. He was married to his first wife on December 16th, 1824, by Dr. A. W. Leland. Like the other members of his family, he also was a member of the Presbyterian Church. He died at Beech Island, S. C., from an attack of influenza, complicated with typhoid fever. In the record of his death Dr. Girardeau wrote: "It was one of my sweetest privileges, my dear and honored father, to hold communion with thee on earth; it is one of my fondest hopes to renew it in heaven."

His mother was Claudia Herne Freer, daughter of Edward and Margaret Freer. She was born on James Island, S. C., March 17, 1801. She was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and a woman of extraordinary loveliness of character. She died from country fever, as it was called, on June 21, 1833. John Lafayette Girardeau was the eldest son of this marriage. Five other children were born to these parents: Emily Margaret, Thomas Jefferson, Edward Freer, who died on his first birthday, Claudia May, and Edward Freer, the name being the same as that of the fourth child.

From a second marriage, to Mary Fisher Hughes, six children were born to his father. They were: William Hughes, John Bohun, Isaac Williams, Mary Hughes, George Maurice, and Beulah Ellen.

Dr. Girardeau made some notes of his early life and experiences, in order that they might not slip away from his memory. These notes contain the only data from which a history of his early life could be con-

structed. They are largely in brief sentences and catch words. It will probably be more interesting, and, at the same time, give a more accurate picture of his youth, to publish them, in so far as they are intelligible, just as he has written them. He says:

“I was born on James Island, near Charleston, on the 14th of November, 1825. Was baptized by Rev. Dr. A. W. Leland, the pastor of the Presbyterian Church.

“My earliest recollections are connected with my mother. On one Sunday afternoon, when I had just learned to read—about five years old—she called me to her, and, holding the Bible in her lap, bade me lean on her knees and read the nineteenth Chapter of John’s Gospel, commencing, ‘Then Pilate therefore took Jesus and scourged Him.’ I was very much affected by the account of the Savior’s sufferings and cried. She then told me to go up-stairs. I remember that, as I went, in the midst of tears, I was very vain of the feeling I had exhibited, and wondered whether mother would not tell it to others.

“Remember going to the Sabbath School held at the church. Dr. Leland was generally present and taught a class himself.

“Father and mother joined the Church after I was born. I must have been about three or four years old. They joined under the pastorate of Dr. Leland. Presented themselves together on same day. There had been a revival of religion on the Island and many made a profession of religion. Remember the prayer meetings which were held at night from house to house. Used to sit on a bench near my grandmother (Mrs. Lawton) or mother. Remember Dr. Leland standing up in a corner near a table and speaking to

the people. The room used to be filled. The yards filled with horses and gigs. Dr. Leland used frequently to walk to the meetings. Remember him walking up the path through the churchyard to the church; and in the pulpit. Wondered why he did not strike his hand against the sounding-board when he gesticulated; that old sounding-board attached to the low ceiling with a large star of different colored wood let into it.

“Remember well the church; the pew where father and mother sat. Sat sometimes with them and sometimes with Uncle Freer in his square corner pew next the side door. And that holly tree, whose bright red berries used to hang near the little square window on the side of the pulpit. I think I see them gleaming there now. The gentlemen used to stand under two large red-oak trees and talk before service and make curious figures on the ground with their sticks. The boys used to ramble about the churchyard, pulling sassafras roots to chew and wild violets to ‘fight cows’ with their crooked necks; then stroll down the road and drink water from the ditch, out of bay-leaves.

“Remember Uncle Isaac riding ‘old Scott,’ grandfather’s old sorrel, to church, and the exquisite satisfaction with which I would ride him home with crossed stirrups to ‘suit my length.’ One day the old fellow went off with me in a canter and frightened me dreadfully.

“One afternoon Mr. Osborn preached and spoke solemnly of eternity. The evening shadows were lengthening, the woods grew browner, and the sermon, connected with the solemn look of the woods, affected me very much. One evening cried to go to prayer meeting with father and mother. It was held at

'Uncle Jackey's'. Mr. Osborn lectured, and, on being told that I begged to come on that cold night, praised me for it.

"When about five years old, was sent to school to Mr. Rawlins Rivers, who taught the only school on the Island. 'Head and foot' plan. Used to stimulate the ambition of the scholars. Remember being required by my father to give account of my standing in the classes. Great tribulation to be 'taken down,' and obliged to report to him. Studied lessons along the road from school home. Carpenter's spelling.—'ache, a pain': 'adze, a carpenter's axe.'

"Remember that cow that I tried to scare by jumping at her; how she plunged up to me and there stood dancing up and down, shaking her head and threatening to gore me to death every instant. Tommy was over the fence in a jiffy and left me to scuffle for myself. But the creature, after letting me know what she could do with me if she pleased, quietly walked off, to my great relief. Providence spared my life then. It would have been as easy for her to have killed me as to have given her horn an extra push. The plaid cloak fluttered in vain.

"Remember, too, how Aldrich pushed me headlong into the pond when I was on my knees drinking water. Spared again.

"Remember, too, upon first trying to swim at the 'swimming place,' Fort Johnson, how I was just about to drown, when Sun rescued me; and how the grey mare ran away with me down the 'Bluff Road,' without saddle or bridle, and not even a handkerchief or grape vine in her mouth; how I jumped off, thinking she was going down into the creek, and, falling on my

head, could scarcely rise or see; how the boys on their horses seemed to be away up in the sky.

“Remember, too, how afterwards, in St. Thomas’, I was thrown heels over head and nearly killed by the fall; how, in Montague Street, I was precipitated from a tree and the breath knocked out of me; the fall, too, from old Bob near the barn in St. Thomas’, when the gun broke in twain under me; and on the Island, how the ox, ‘Old Pallux,’ gored me in the temple; the fall from a horse, too, in Christ Church Parish at the bridge near Mitton Ferry, thrown clear over his head and nearly run over by him.

“ ‘When in the slippery paths of youth
With heedless steps I ran,
Thine arm unseen conveyed me safe
And led me up to man.’

“When about seven years old, swore dreadfully at a playmate; so loudly that I was heard at a distance. Mother dispatched Lem for me, who carried me, fighting and screaming, to her. She took me into her room, and corrected me soundly. Remember it with gratitude. It did me good. Thank God for a mother who was fond and tender but would not suffer sin in her children. I remember no other chastisement received from her. Afterwards, years afterwards, was led by bad company to use profane language but only occasionally. That correction, I have reason to believe, was the means of deterring me from forming the habit to any great degree. Remember, long after, being rebuked by schoolmaster for using profanely the name of the blessed Savior.

“When I was seven years old dear mother died. We were playing on the grass-plot in front of Aunt Elizabeth’s, when some one came and told us she was dying.

Strange sound! Tommy and I went into the house and stood in the passage-way by the door of her chamber. The room was full of people. It was an afternoon in June, about four o'clock. There she lay, pale and speechless. Father was at the head of the bed, ill himself, too weak to succeed in getting on the bed; she beckoned to Uncle Edward and pointed to her children, who were standing near the bed, as much as to say, 'Let nothing harm them when I am gone.' She then gave her hand in a last farewell which she could not speak, but which she tenderly looked, to father, and, afterwards, to her children and relatives successively, and, having thus bidden them all good-bye, she quietly closed her eyes and fell asleep in Jesus' arms. I think I see it all now. Afterwards father went into another room and I lay beside him on the bed. Rev. Mr. Edward Buist was with him and offered prayer, kneeling by his bed.

"The funeral took place next afternoon, in the meeting house at Fort Johnson. It rained furiously. Mr. Buist preached; a solemn hymn was sung, they lashed the coffin on the carriage part of a gig, and the mournful procession moved off. They took the body to the Presbyterian Church in the Island and carried it to the east side of the churchyard. Father afterwards erected a tomb covered by a marble slab, which stands to this day, though not as at first, alone.

"To this day, her memory is held in honor by those who knew her. Often have I been asked by the poor negroes on the Island, 'Are you Miss Claudy's child?' 'Yes.' 'Bless you. Your mudder was a good woman!' She was kind to everybody, especially to sick and needy negroes. Often did she send me with a plate of breakfast to old 'Daddy Prince.' One morning, as I

went to carry him his breakfast, I found the old man, propped against the wall—dead. I have never heard an evil word said of her. She bore the character of an humble, sweet-tempered, useful follower of the Lord Jesus.

“In the death of our dear mother I recognize one of the most marked dealings of Providence with me, as with the other members of the family. After her death our relations changed. A new complexion was imparted to our whole subsequent life. With her life terminated one distinct section of my own. There a monument was raised which designated the end of one period and the commencement of another. And now, in looking back upon it, and reviewing the part of my life intervening between her death and the present time, I think I can distinctly see how it has worked for ultimate good. I humbly believe the Lord intended it so. We lost the benefit of her motherly care and instruction, but we gained the benefit of tuition in the school of affliction; and eternity alone will reveal how important that discipline was.

“I continued to attend the school of Mr. Rivers until I was ten years old. Lived part of the time with Aunt Elizabeth and part with Uncle Freer. Father had a situation under the government at Fort Johnson, and continued planting on the Island. While we were living with ‘Uncle Jackey’—John Limbaker—one day news was brought down to the Fort that he had dropped dead in his field. Several gentlemen immediately went up and found it even so. I remember their bringing his body down, and taking it up the front steps into his room. He was buried beside his wife, Ann Baker Limbaker, at the Presbyterian Church on the Island. She was a daughter of Grand-

father Girardeau by his first wife, who was Mary Wescoat. They were both members of the Presbyterian Church, and bore the character of humble and consistent Christians. Remember well his holding family worship early every morning. The servants, whom I remember as being in his family, were Sally, Maria, Chloe, Philip and 'Driver Isaac.' Remember his early horn! How many associations cluster around the sound of that horn! Seldom hear a horn at daylight now without thinking of the sweet sound of 'Driver Isaac's' morning call.

"Remember the tall locust trees. The little gate with sole-leather hinges that swung in the bottom of a glass bottle. The eager game of 'shinny;' the pond. The turkeys and Jerusalem oak—old Marm Bella on the road side, with her pocket of groundnuts and her roasted potatoes. The tall china-brier shoots, our 'sparrow grass,' the 'whoop and hide' by moonlight, and the race of cows at night. There is Uncle Jackey dressing by the 'dresser,' 'tis scarcely day, he hasn't his coat or waistcoat on yet. See his suspenders connected by that bridge in the middle of his back. 'Get up, there, you lazy fellows, if you don't I'll give you some of this water!' Splash! Oh, then the rush for pantaloons. There is the little table in the corner. The big Bible covered with cloth is opened, the chapter read, then we kneel down. Take a peep from our chairs at him, see his round spectacle-glasses. We are at the Fort—he stands near his house and astonishes the boys by heaving a clam shell to 'The Hill.' Prodigious! The Hill has come nearer now. A boy might fling a shell across where we sailed our shingle boats, 'strung off' with feathers of white and black and red, plucked from the hens and pullets.

“Remember the landing of shingles for the new church. They were put on the beach just in front of father’s house. William and his new song just imported from ‘Town’: ‘Dan, dan—a—who? Dan—da monkey, oh.’ As he sings he strikes his knees together. Wonderful! There is Tommy in his little blue and speckled frock. Some one taunts him with it: Was it Mr. Hinson? The surf pitches in and dashes up the floating shingles. The boat rocks but the song goes on merrily and the pile gets bigger.

“Remember the afternoon that the mad dog came trotting along and bit ‘Fox,’ Uncle Freer’s best horse, and ‘Chester,’ his fine large dog? See them throwing Fox down. They brand him with a hot iron, but the noble fellow lies down and dies. Chester dies, too. ‘Sheep-driver,’ splendid fellow, how he frets to go! ‘Nappy tandy,’ too, how he makes the gig spin! ‘Jim Crow.’ They let him out of the stable. See him tearing down the beach sending his heels high in the air at every jump.

“Remember the sand hills on the back beach. The swims, the rolls, the gloomy looking ‘tower.’ Soldiers used to be flogged there. Old Nich’las and the jersey-wagon, the ride to grand-father’s at Wappoo. The tenderness of mother for the horse, her getting out and walking in order to relieve him. Old “Daddy Saturday,” Mr. Royall’s driver, coming along the woodside, whip tied on his shoulder. Dread of him, scampering. Rides to Mr. Buist’s on Saturday—Shorter Catechism. ‘Whoop and Hide’ at night: ‘One’s all, two’s all, zig-zole-zam; bob-tail, bob-tail, tickle ’um, tan; ha-rum, scarum, mujum, marum, France! You are out.’ Remember at one of these plays Furman Witter, using the word ‘excepting,’ and my being gravelled by it,

wondering why he did not use the word 'except' without the 'ing.'

"The following scholars were at the school on James Island, taught by Mr. Rivers: Arabella Rivers, Sarah Ann Rivers, Caroline Rivers, Emma Witter, Furman Witter, James B. Witter, Benjamin Witter, Ralph Holmes, Caroline Holmes, Sarah Palmer Holmes, William Jeffords, Washington Jeffords, Joseph Jeffords, Edward Freer, Marion Freer, Adeline Rivers, Abraham Limbaker, John Limbaker, Isaac Limbaker, Joseph Turnbull, Aldrich, Jackson Hendlen, Thomas A. Hendlen, Mary Hendlen, James Lawton, Joseph Mikell, Elizabeth Royall, Cornelia Royall, Leland Rivers, Josephine Rivers, Eliza Rivers, and John L. Girardeau.

"On November 20, 1834, father was married to Miss Mary Fisher Hughes of Charleston. Very soon after 'Ma,' Grandmother Lawton, died! Remember the morning in the 'shed-room' when they came and told us, while in bed, that she was dead. Went over to the 'other house,' as Uncle Freer's was called by us. There was uncle, sitting by the chimney in his room. Went into the next room, and there, where I had often slept in the same bed with her, lay her poor body in death. Buried in the Presbyterian churchyard near the road on the southwest side.

"When I was ten years old I was sent to Charleston and placed at the school of the German Friendly Society in Archdale Street. Was taught by Joseph Theus Lee, Esq. Boarded in the family of Mrs. Beulah Hughes, mother of father's wife, northeast corner of Tradd and Orange Streets. This was in January, 1836. Here commenced a new and important era in my life. My associations were all changed. I was elated at first

at the prospect of going to live in 'Town.' But one or two days sufficed to cool my ardor, and soon the home of my childhood haunted me by night and day, and I shed many a tear after I lay down at night. Begged father to take me back into the country, did not wish to live in town. He refused; bitter, bitter disappointment. I was now almost left to take care of myself in every respect. Attended the Sabbath School of the Second Presbyterian Church, where I gained religious knowledge. Teacher, Mr. Patterson, kind man, remember him with gratitude. Remember Mr. Tom Vardell, the Superintendent. Scholars in same class, Sam Turner, Martin McMaster and Charles Scanlan.

"Remember that lonely garret—the water—the rats that used to come and drink at night. Their terrible races and scuffles in the 'cuddy,' and over the room. That terrible racket on the staircase made by one with a huge potato which he lugged up step by step. The straits to which I was reduced—waking up early in the morning and studying lessons in bed by first light of day. Baths at the pump. Allowance! Rations. Rice cake! Prayers by the fire. That short Psalm. Cold nights. Cold Sundays in the garret, sunshine in the window. Sunday school books. That blue suit, 'all buttoned down before,' those pumps and stockings. Square corner pew in church. Dr. Smyth. Marshall's bakery. The play in school yard in morning. Palpitating heart.

"Remained at German School until I was fourteen years old. Commenced Latin: Gould's Adam's Grammar. Jacob's Latin Reader. Cæsar. Virgil. Greek: Tables of conjugations, declensions, &c. Jacob's Greek Reader. Græca Majora. Xenophon's Cyropædia. For a few months before leaving the German School was

taught by Mr. Haslan, who took charge of the school in place of Mr. Lee, who had lost his father and appeared to be in a mental condition which incapacitated him for discharging his ordinary duties. He was troubled with religious melancholia.

“At James Island I was very ambitious. Nearly always at the head of the class. Mr. Rivers adopted the plan of incentive to study by appeals to emulation. This was encouraged by Father, who uniformly inquired concerning my daily stand at school and praised or condemned accordingly. When at the German School found total absence of emulation system. No head, no foot, position fixed. Discipline severe to cruelty. This overthrew all desire to excel and engendered very soon a reckless disregard for the teacher and for study. Remember setting my teeth and resolving not to study; however, did study to some extent. Dread of the school with the exception of the play ground. In, sometimes, from eight or nine in the morning, excepting a brief interval for dinner, until the ringing of the seven o'clock bell. No love for study the consequence. Morals of the school generally excessively low. Lying considered almost a virtue, if practiced for the purpose of avoiding a flogging. Maps, handkerchiefs, &c., used to protect vulnerable parts. These were inserted in the clothing—wonderful dexterity at the art—ounce of prevention worth a pound of cure. Sometimes detected—wrath, thumb-nails, palms of the hand. Small bits of paper with infinitesimal inscriptions condensing the lesson, were used. Great experience in small writing and *small* things generally. Only virtue at a premium, refusal to inform. A grand, martyr-like quality. Any amount of scourging taken before this virtue was allowed to

fail. Non-compliance with this standard ensured excommunication from the fellowship of the school. My schoolmates at the German School: Charles Axson, Sam Brodie, Charles Bolles, Christopher Carsten, Tom Hewie, James Little, Basil Manly, Tom Wagner, Tom Roper, John Seigling, — Croft, Harvey Dingle, Gabriel Wesley Dingle, William Dingle, Ashley C. Wagner, Sinclair Wagner, Kearney Wagner, Thomas Eason, Edward C. Jones, — Westendorff, John Backman Shiver, — Rowell, John Buckmeyer, Ninian Drummond, Theodore Smith, — Weyman, William Plane, Charles Seyle, Florence Seyle, William Smith, George Smith, Henry Seigling, — Evans, Jas. B. Evans, — McGarth, — Alexander, Jos. T. Dill, Furman Smith, — Smith, Edward Hume, John Hume, and Gadsden Hume.”

CHAPTER II

CONVERSION AND EARLY MINISTRY

By GEORGE A. BLACKBURN, D. D.

Young Girardeau graduated from the High School when he was between fourteen and fifteen years of age. That fall he entered the Charleston College. Here begins his spiritual life. At the end of the "Memoirs of Thomas Halyburton" he has left the following testimony: "Over and over again have I read this remarkable dying experience. Lord, help me in my last hour! Calvin, Owen, Witsius, Halyburton and Thornwell have been among the chief of my instructors. The account of Wilberforce Richmond's dying experience in Grimshaw's 'Legh Richmond's Domestic Portraiture,' was the proximate instrument in the hands of the ever blessed Spirit of leading me to believe in Jesus. It was at the north corner of King Street and Price's Alley in Charleston. Oh, the unutterable rapture of that hour when I found him, after a month's conflict with sin and hell! The heavens and the earth seemed to be singing psalms of praise for redeeming love."

In an old Bible the following record was found: "J. L. Girardeau joined Third Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C., October 18th, 1840. Aged fourteen years and eleven months."

Dr. Girardeau's account of that awful month of conviction was enough to send terror to any unconverted soul. He had just entered college when a gloom like that of eternal night fell upon his soul. His conscience

pointed to his sinful nature, the unbearable holiness of God, and the flaming bar of judgment. In everything about him he saw the warnings of coming vengeance, while the lurid glare of an eternal hell was ever before his fervid imagination. His case seemed hopeless. He could not see how any one would want to laugh; he could not see how any one could enjoy a life that was nothing more than a vestibule to the dungeon of eternal woe. He was afraid to put out his light at night lest the darkness should never end. He was afraid to go to sleep lest he should awake in the company of the damned. He had no appetite for food. He could not study. No earthly thing interested him. He spent his time reading the Bible, calling on God for mercy and bemoaning his lost estate. In vain did he strive to make peace with God; he wept over the consequences of his sins, but there was no sense of pardon; he tried to repent and reform, but there was no peace; he strove to make covenants and agreements with God, but the earth was iron and the heavens were brass. One beautiful morning while on his knees begging for mercy, it occurred to him that he had already done everything that it was possible for him to do, and that all of these things had availed him nothing. He would, therefore, just surrender himself to Jesus and leave the case in his hands. This was faith. Instantly the Holy Spirit assured him that he was accepted in Christ, that his sins were forgiven, and that God loved him with an everlasting love. He sprang to his feet, clapped his hands and poured out the overflowing joy of his soul in praise. All nature had changed. In the description of his feelings he said that the sun shone brighter, the birds sang sweeter, and the breezes blew softer than he had ever known them to do. His flesh as well as

his heart felt the delight of the presence of a reconciled God. He could see no reason why any intelligent creature could care to do anything in this world but love and praise God. This happy condition continued for two or three days, and then, by reason of some compromising course, this strange and delightful experience passed away, so slowly that it was gone before he realized it.

This experience left its stamp on his whole life. The trace of that month, with its horrors and its joys, can be seen in his thinking, his preaching, and his living. It explains in a measure the awful vividness with which he would describe the terrors that would befall the wicked, and the inexpressible delight that would come to the believer at the appearing of the Lord Jesus.

He graduated from the Charleston College in the spring of 1844. He had not only been a fine student, but he was a splendid athlete, able to hold his own in any of the games and exercises of his day. His classmates were Charles Henry Axson, Charles Patterson Bolls, Adolphus Brantly, James Randolph Burns, William Bell Corbett, William Tertius Capers, Thomas Hansome Grimbald, Theodore Samuel Marion, Arthur Robinson, and Samuel Olin Tally.

Immediately after his graduation he accepted the position of tutor in the family of Mr. Thomas Hamlin, about eight miles from Charleston, in Christ Church Parish. There were four children under his instruction. One of these, Penelope Sarah, a miss of about 15 years, was especially interesting to her 19-year-old teacher. He taught in the family during that summer only, but when he left the teacher and the pupil

were engaged to be married. That fall he accepted a school on James Island, and while there transferred his membership from the Third Presbyterian Church of Charleston to the Independent Church on the island. After one year's teaching he entered, in 1845, the Columbia Theological Seminary, from which he graduated three years later. At the Seminary he came in contact with Thornwell, the brilliant professor and preacher in the South Carolina College. Dr. B. M. Palmer was at that time preaching to delighted audiences at the First Presbyterian Church in Columbia, where most of the students from the Seminary attended. Dr. Thornwell was preaching to the college students at the College Chapel. Here young Girardeau and two or three other students attended with unfailing regularity. He gave these college sermons credit for giving shape and form to his theology.)

As a student he was zealous in mission work in and near Columbia. On one occasion he was passing a field in which a number of boys were playing ball. Such a desecration of the Sabbath was abhorrent to him. Walking out near where the boys were playing, he took off his hat and began to sing a familiar hymn. He was a splendid musician and had in his youth a voice as sweet as the notes of a flute. In a few minutes the boys were all standing around him. He made them a little talk on his own work and spoke to them of the danger of Sabbath-desecration, closing with a request that they go to their homes. As he turned on his way to his mission, the boys turned quietly back to the city.

He also held meetings in an old shed or deserted warehouse in the lower part of the city. Here prostitutes and persons of the lowest classes attended his services. Some of them professed conversion.

His classmates in the Seminary were G. H. Cartledge, S. R. Frierson, Robert W. Halden, Arnold W. Miller, Edward P. Palmer, and Joseph D. Porter.

At the end of his second year in the Seminary he applied to the Presbytery of Charleston to be received under its call. The record says: "He was received under the call of Presbytery with the understanding that before applying for licensure he transfer his connection from the Independent Church of James Island to some church in the Presbyterian communion."

The following minutes record his licensure: "These candidates, after a careful and satisfactory examination, and having submitted all of the pieces assigned them, it was resolved that all of their parts of trial be sustained and Presbytery do now proceed to their licensure. Therefore the Presbytery of Charleston, being in session October 9, 1848, did proceed to the licensure of Messrs. Walker, Girardeau and Miller. They having severally adopted the confession of faith of this Church, and satisfactorily answered the questions appointed to be put to candidates to be licensed."

His first appointment was to preach on the fourth Sabbath of November, 1848, to the Graniteville Church. This church was supplied every second and fourth Sabbath by ministers and licentiates of the Presbytery. He accepted, as his first regular work, an invitation to supply the pulpit of the Wappetaw Church, an independent congregation in Christ's Church Parish, about seventeen miles from Mt. Pleasant, S. C. Here, gathered every Sabbath morning, large numbers of both whites and blacks to hear him preach, some of them coming from as far as twenty miles away. He preached first to the white congregation, which always filled the building. As soon as it withdrew the negroes

filled every available foot of space and he immediately began another service, preaching, according to many witnesses, his best sermon to them. On his way back to Charleston, where he lived, he would ordinarily stop at some plantation and preach again to the negroes. His heart sought the salvation of their souls, and he threw the zeal of his great soul into the work of their salvation, nor was he without his reward.

In January, 1849, he married Penelope Sarah Hamlin, daughter of Thomas and Mary Moore Hamlin, of Christ Church Parish, South Carolina. This was certainly a gift from the Lord. He was naturally a spendthrift. Money had little value to him, and business was an intolerable burden. His pocket was open to every beggar. All that he had was subject to the call of his friends, and all who sought his friendship were esteemed by him as his friends. He was so unwilling to make any profit in his business transactions, especially with preachers, that he was accustomed to say, when he had loaned money to any brother minister and interest was offered, "Dog won't eat dog." On the other hand, Mrs. Girardeau was careful, economical, saving. She looked after the expenses and the business side of life. Although she had been brought up with the luxuries that belong to the old Southern plantation, and believed in living comfortably, when circumstances allowed, she inherited a disposition that made carelessness, waste or any form of prodigality painful to her.

To them were born ten children—Susan King, Thomas Hamlin, Edward Herne, John Bohun, Edward Freer, Claude Herne, Sarah DuPré, Hannah Moore, William Richmond and Annie Williams. Of these, John and Claude became elders and Edward an hon-

ored member in the Presbyterian Church; while Susan, Sarah, and Annie married Presbyterian ministers. Susan married the Rev. Thos. B. Trenholm, Sarah married the Rev. Robert A. Webb, and Annie married the Rev. Geo. A. Blackburn.

From the Wappetaw Church he moved to Adams' Run to accept work in the Wilton Church. The following is the minutes of the Presbytery relating to the matter: "Barnwell C. H., April 11, 1850. A request was received from the Wilton Church for the ordination and ministerial labors of Mr. L.* Girardeau, which request not being in the usual form, and presenting some constitutional difficulties, Presbytery did not feel prepared to act upon it. The Rev. G. Howe, J. H. Thornwell, D. D., and Elder A. Crawford were appointed a committee to examine the subject and bring in a report directing the action of Presbytery in the matter."

This committee reported: "The committee appointed to prepare a minute for the consideration of Presbytery in reference to the application of Mr. Girardeau for ordination, respectfully submit the following: 'Resolved, That Presbytery regret that the informality of this application presents certain constitutional difficulties in the way of our acting in the premises. They would, therefore, respectfully suggest to the church at Wilton that they present their call for the services of Mr. Girardeau according to the usual form found in the Book of Discipline, that it may be regularly laid before this body; and that they further express their willingness to be connected with the Presbytery from

*Dr. Girardeau did not add "John" to his name until after he became a minister. He made this addition with his father's consent, and for the reason that he did not like the name "Lafayette."

whom they seek Mr. Girardeau as their pastor. All obstacles interposed by our constitution being thus removed, a meeting of Presbytery will be called with as little delay as possible for the ordination and installation of Mr. Girardeau as pastor of said church.' This report was accepted and Mr. Girardeau was requested to communicate it to the church."

As a result of this action the Wilton Church asked to be received under the care of the Presbytery, and also made out its call for Mr. Girardeau in due form. The Presbytery met at Wilton Church on June 6, 1850. There were present the Reverend Messrs. A. A. Porter, J. B. Adger, J. Douglas, and Ferdinand Jacobs, with Elders Hugh Wilson, William Barral, A. Campbell and Hawkins S. King. After his examination and trial parts had been sustained, a committee was appointed to provide for his ordination and installation. The records of the Presbytery say: "After recess the Presbytery came to order and the committee of arrangements reported the following order of exercises for ordination, which was adopted and is as follows: The moderátor, Rev. Ferdinand Jacobs, to preside, propose the constitutional questions and make the prayer of ordination; Rev. A. A. Porter to preach the sermon; Rev. J. B. Adger to give the charge to the pastor, and the Rev. John Douglas to give the charge to the people." This order was carried out on the following morning, June 9, 1850.

He remained pastor of Wilton Church for three years, preaching in the morning to the white people and ordinarily to the colored people in the afternoon at one of the nearby plantations, and then again in the evening to the whites at the village, about two miles from the church.

In addition to all of this preaching he found time to study. In 1851 he was appointed to preach to the Presbytery on "Justification." In the same year he was placed on the committee to examine on Theology. And in 1852 he was elected moderator of the Presbytery.

In November, 1853, two calls were made for his services, one from Columbus, Ga., and the other to take charge of the work for the negroes in Anson Street, Charleston, S. C. He visited Columbus first, where his sermon gave great pleasure to the whole congregation. One of the elders, thinking that it was too good a sermon for so young a man, asked him if it was entirely original. That settled the question in so far as Columbus was concerned.

The Anson Street, Charleston, work appealed to him, for he had already had great success in his work with the negroes. His heart went out to them, and he determined to accept the call.

CHAPTER III

WORK AMONG THE NEGROES

By EDWARD C. JONES.

Rev. Dr. John B. Adger having returned from his Smyrna Mission, the Second Presbyterian Church arranged to transfer their negro membership to him in a separate church building. The Anson Street edifice was erected with Rev. Dr. Adger in charge—the negroes still retaining their membership under the care of Rev. Dr. Smyth, it being the hope that the African race at large would be attracted to this mission, but the work was not a success. In 1852 Rev. Dr. Post took a summer vacation and Rev. Dr. Girardeau was engaged to fill the Circular Church pulpit.* During these services quite a number were attracted to the ministrations of Dr. Girardeau, and thus opened the way for his usefulness in Charleston. Rev. Dr. Adger concluding to withdraw from his mission work, Dr. Girardeau was induced to take charge of this work, but with their negro membership still remaining under Rev. Dr. Smyth's church. To assist Dr. Girardeau, a call was made from the several Presbyterian churches for two white members from each to unite with Dr. Girardeau's work. No response was made, with the exception of myself, and while my membership was in the Central Presbyterian Church, I was set aside to unite with Dr. Girardeau's mission work, to which I became devotedly attached so that I regularly attended

*A well-known independent church.

the two weekly night meetings and the three Sabbath services, and in addition, Dr. Girardeau spent an evening each week at my house to mature plans for carrying on the work. It soon became evident that with the negro membership retained in the Second Church, there could be no growth. After Dr. Girardeau brought the matter before the Church, since it was agreed that the Anson Street Mission should be detached from the parent Church, and a call was made for negro members, thirty-six joined the new organization. The wisdom of this change was soon evident. With a steady growth the membership was divided into classes, each under a proper leader. The sick, with a sick fund, were regularly looked after. The energetic work of Dr. Girardeau, at the Bible weekly instruction, led the leading negroes of other churches to admit that the Anson Street work was "*of the Lord.*"

Thus, starting with the thirty-six members in 1854, there was in 1860 over six hundred enrolled members, with a regular congregation of 1,500 attendance.

With this large increase, one of the great difficulties in the work was the ambition of the leaders, who, by their energy and influence, would bring in new members, thus adding to their individual classes so that one would have a hundred or more, while other leaders, without gifts or opportunity, would have few in number. This would give great power to certain men, and thus in a measure hamper the preacher. After much study it was arranged that every class would have twenty regular members especially under the care of a leader, with an addition of another twenty under an assistant leader.*

*This was an amendment of the rules of membership or a mistake of memory.

When this membership reached the second twenty, and the assistant leader prove acceptable as to character and gifts, they would become a regular class under his full charge. Thus every leader would have free scope for the extra growth of members, but their number would never exceed forty. By this plan ample field was given to the ambition and energy of the leaders, with assistants in regular training for service. This plan was found to work with perfect success, and had the war not closed the mission, Dr. Girardeau could have managed two thousand as easily as two hundred members.

When the mission was well under way there was a large growth of white attendants who occupied the side seats next the pulpit. Dr. Girardeau's gifts as a preacher, and his skill in congregational music, increased the Sabbath afternoon and night services, but his management of the choir was subject to much trouble. The leader of the choir, in order to give a better field for his select singers, insisted on the control of the tunes, thus restraining the freedom of the congregation in singing. Hoping to meet this difficulty, the leader being gifted for the work, Dr. Girardeau made a contract with him, paying ten dollars per month if he would use the tunes that Dr. Girardeau selected. This was agreed to, but after several months he notified Dr. Girardeau that he would rather give up the money and control the tunes himself. In many cases Dr. Girardeau was forced to lead the singing himself and thus force the choir to terms.

During the great revival a large number of whites and blacks were brought to Christ and it soon became evident that the building must be enlarged. About this time Col. C. G. Memmenger attended one of the services, and the day following he sent for me. During my

call he said, "I have been very much impressed with Mr. Girardeau's intellectual power as a preacher, and while he has great and special gifts in reaching the uneducated negro. I want to say to you, as his friend, that he is doing himself a great injury in his efforts to bring down his mental gifts to the capacity of his people, and unless he can have some suitable field his intellectual power as a preacher will be seriously impaired." I reported this to Dr. Girardeau, to which he responded, "I know it, and feel that I waste much of my mental growth and much valuable time in preaching at the morning service where the attendance is so small; if I had a morning white audience I would be able to use my studies, which I am now forced to dilute to meet the negro mind." A good providence soon responded to the need of the hour. In a few weeks I was sent for by Mr. Robert Adger, and to my utter surprise he said, "I want you to approach Mr. Girardeau on a matter that I do not know how he will receive. I am satisfied that Mr. Girardeau greatly needs a larger building, and since his revival services I find it is my duty to place my children under Mr. Girardeau's teaching; and, if it is possible, I want to join his Mission Church. I find that Mr. Alex Campbell, F. D. Fanning, J. S. Chambers, and my brother, Joe Adger, have made up their mind to leave Dr. Smyth's church and, if possible, unite with that of Dr. Girardeau. We want you to approach him on the subject, and if he will accede we will build him a large church building where he can give us the morning service. It is likely, however, that Mr. Girardeau will resist our leaving Dr. Smyth's church, and he may feel that it will interfere with his negro work." I saw Mr. Girardeau at once, and on laying the matter

before him, he at once said, "If this plan proposes in any way to interfere with our negro work, I will never agree to their proposition." I pressed upon him Colonel Memmenger's view—the need of the church being self-supporting—and the influence of a regular church organization. He at once accepted this plan, provided the negro element was assured. All matters being arranged to his satisfaction, Mr. Adger erected at once a building on Calhoun Street 80 by 100 feet, one-half of the first story being given to the whites, the other half to the prayer meeting of the negroes, and the upper floor given wholly to the negroes, except the side pews and one of the galleries to the whites, the other gallery being for the overflow of the negroes.

The church was now regularly organized with elders and deacons—and up to the war there was a steady growth of both whites and blacks—with all machinery for the management of the large negro congregation so perfect that success was assured in every department.

In order to show Dr. Girardeau's own view of the work in its early stages, his report to the Charleston Presbytery in 1857 will be added as a close to this part of the chapter.

"As the Missionary in charge of the Anson-Street Coloured Church, I beg leave respectfully to present to the Presbytery a report of my labours during the past year, and of the present condition and prospects of the enterprise.

"It appears that the opinion expressed with caution in last year's Report, that the Mission was then manifesting an upward tendency, was not unfounded. I would now, with gratitude to God, mention the fact,

that the Church has received, during the past year, encouraging tokens of the Divine favour; and that it is now in a much more prosperous condition than at any previous stage of its history. A simple statement of facts will justify this opinion. Since the Spring meeting of Presbytery last year, six persons have been received into the communion of the Church by certificate, and sixty-one on examination—sixty-seven in all. At the commencement of the Presbyterial year, the number of communicants was eighty-eight. It is now one hundred and forty-five. In May, 1855, the Church was established, with a membership of forty-eight. It thus appears that, in two years, after deducting removals, the number of communicants has been trebled.

“During the year, we have held two protracted meetings, which were conducted in a regular and orderly manner, and resulted in great apparent good. One has just been concluded, having lasted for a fortnight, and at its close thirteen inquirers applied for instruction preparatory to admission. There are now about thirty on the list of candidates, and more applications are expected. During the year, five members have been dismissed by certificates; two have left without having obtained certificates; two have been removed by death; and two have been excommunicated for infidelity to the marriage covenant. One of those who died, had been for several years a bed-ridden paralytic. He regularly received from the charity fund of the church one dollar a week, making an annuity of fifty-two dollars. This fact exhibits the care which is taken of poor and needy members, and the result which follows from a regular weekly collection made up, though each may

be, of driblets. The amount of contributions, to various purposes, is shown in the Statistical Report.

“The stated attendance upon worship is good. The building is usually filled, and sometimes it is difficult for a portion of the congregation to obtain seats. During the protracted meeting, to which allusion has been made as having been recently held, the house was filled to overflowing. The portion of the building appropriated to the coloured congregation, was wholly insufficient to accommodate them; so that they were forced to occupy most of the seats appropriated to the whites, and even then there were some standing without at the doors. Taking these circumstances into connexion with the fact that the building itself is but ill adapted to the purposes of the enterprize, and, in the judgment of many, unsuitably located, it would be better if it could be disposed of and another and more complete edifice erected. The interests of the Church would, no doubt, be subserved by the change.

“The weekly Prayer-meeting, which two or three years ago was very thinly attended, has gradually increased in numbers, until recently the room which has hitherto been used for the purpose, has been found too strait, and we have been forced to abandon it and hold the meetings in the main building. This can not but be regarded as a favourable indication. If the people are abundant in prayers, the Church will not suffer.

“The attendance on the Sabbath School has been fluctuating, and I cannot but ascribe its halting condition, in great measure, to the want of a suitable room.

“On the whole, the prospects of the Mission are exceedingly encouraging. The tide of popular feeling,

among the coloured people generally, seems at length to be setting in its favour; the difficulties and embarrassments which have hitherto impeded its progress appear to be gradually vanishing, and I see no reason why they should not fully receive the Gospel, and if the work be faithfully prosecuted, why the Church may not, with the Divine blessing, be made a vehicle of incalculable blessing to the coloured people of Charleston, and become a joy and a praise in the community.

“If the Presbytery will indulge me, I will submit some remarks touching the principle upon which the Anson-Street enterprize has been conducted. There have always been some who have objected to the establishment of separate Churches for the benefit of the coloured people. Their opposition has, perhaps, in most instances, been based on a misconception of the nature and operation of the plan. I propose to present a few considerations in favour of what, for convenience sake, has been termed the ‘Separate System,’ and to discuss the prominent objections which have been urged against it.

“1. The first argument which may be mentioned in favour of that scheme is, the accommodation of instruction to the wants and the tastes of the coloured people which is secured by it.

“Unless they understand the Gospel, they cannot embrace it; and unless they embrace it, they cannot be saved. The question is, whether, on the *ordinary* plan of our Churches, especially in cities, the Gospel is imparted to them as fully and effectually as it may be on the *separate* plan. From the nature of the case, it cannot be. There may be some instances in which, by extraordinary exertion, and by means of extra services,

pastors succeed in imparting to them the Gospel in such a manner as to be understood by them. These cases, however, are rare. The *amount* of labour required is too much for most men, and for the *sort* of labour demanded, many are unsuited. To meet the necessities of both whites and blacks, in the *same* service, is ordinarily impossible. He who pleases one class fails to please the other. If he gratifies the taste of the whites, the blacks do not understand him; and if he preaches so as to be comprehended by the blacks, the expectations of the whites are disappointed. The 'separate plan' meets and resolves this difficulty. The minister is devoted to the instruction of the coloured people, and there is no reason why they should not fully receive the Gospel. Shall we retain the old plan, at the risk of allowing the blacks to remain in comparative ignorance of the Gospel, or, by establishing separate congregations, communicate it to them in all its fullness? The question is a vital one. The interests of their souls are involved. Their first great want is the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ. Have it they must, or perish in their sins. The 'separate system' meets this urgent necessity. Unless, therefore, it can be shown that it is exposed to fatal objections, must we not conclude that it is the plan upon which, as Southern Christians, we must prosecute the work of evangelizing the coloured population?

"2. The second argument which may be alleged in favour of the 'separate plan' is, that it is the only one now in existence upon which the blacks can experience the full benefit of *pastoral* labour.

"Besides preaching the Gospel, the other functions of a pastor are catechizing, visiting, administering rule and discipline, and performing marriage and funeral

ceremonies. Now, on the ordinary plan of our Churches, how much of the labour involved in the discharge of these functions is overtaken? Facts would answer, but little. The system is more to blame than the pastor. Can a man discharge his duties to a large white congregation, and at the same time perform the labour required in catechizing coloured candidates for Church membership as they should be, visiting the coloured sick and poor, performing funeral and marriage ceremonies, and, above all, investigating and deciding the numerous and tangled cases of discipline which are ever arising? He cannot, simply because he is human. But, are these duties to be neglected? Adopt the 'separate system,' and the difficulties, in a great measure, vanish. There is a division of labour, and the work may be compassed.

"3. The third argument in support of the 'separate plan' is, that ampler accommodation is afforded to the coloured people in attending worship. On the old plan, room is wanted. The space allotted to them is insufficient. An appeal to facts would sustain this position. Even the members of some Churches, were they to attempt to be present at the same service, would fail to be accommodated with seats. What becomes of the unconverted? Are they to be excluded from hearing the Gospel, from lack of room in our church edifices? Adopt the 'separate system,' and room enough is easily furnished. In view of these facts, it becomes a serious question whether we are not driven, by a sheer sense of duty, to the erection of separate houses of worship for the coloured population. There will always be some who will prefer to worship with the whites. Let *their* wishes be gratified in that respect; but every consideration of duty and charity

would impel us to give the Gospel to those who never visit our white Churches, and who could not stately do it, if they would. It does seem to be a case in which there is no election. We ought to do it, or essentially modify our present system, so as to meet the difficulty. Otherwise, shall we not be chargeable with neglecting to make provision for the spiritual wants of a large portion of our coloured population? We hesitate not to institute missionary arrangements contemplating the benefit of destitute whites; why not do the same for destitute blacks?

“4. A fourth argument which may be adduced in favour of the establishment of separate Churches for the coloured people *served by white Ministers* is, that they prove a bar to the collection of such congregations under the supervision and control of ignorant coloured men. The necessity, under existing circumstances, for separate Churches is and must be felt; and in some Southern cities, this felt necessity has led to the establishment of such congregations as we have mentioned last. In these cases, good may be done, but it is mingled with much evil. These congregations are served very generally by uneducated men, and where the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. Let the former plan be adopted, and the demand for the latter will cease to exist. The Gospel will be preached to the masses of the coloured people, and preached with ability and wisdom.

“To the erection of separate Churches for the benefit of the blacks, sundry objections have been raised, which I propose briefly to consider.

“1. In the first place, it is urged that it is inexpedient to separate masters and servants in the worship of God; that the ‘separate system’ fails to sanctify their

relation to each other; and that it is a departure from the spirit of the Gospel to deal with men apart from any of the great relations of life which they sustain.

“In order to maintain this objection, two things must be shown: first, that what is charged upon the separate system as *not* done by it, *is* actually accomplished on the ordinary mixed plan of our Churches; and secondly, that this *is not done* under the former scheme. Now, it is absolutely necessary that we should consult facts, and not hypotheses, in reference to this whole question. If the actual condition of the Churches is not the subject of discussion, then the discussion itself is gratuitous and fruitless. Let it be observed, that it is assumed that on the ‘mixed plan,’ masters and servants do worship together, and that their relation is thus palpably brought under a sanctifying influence. Now, if the common worship of the two classes, *whites and blacks*, be conceived to be the same thing as the common worship of *masters and servants*, then we admit that the objection is not without some basis of fact. It is granted, of course, that whites and blacks worship together on the mixed plan, and consequently, that their relation to each other as distinct social classes, as bond and free, is affected by the influences of that common worship. But there is more of conjecture than of fact in the assumption that on the mixed plan, masters and servants, as such, worship together. The fact, upon examination, may appear to be otherwise; that is, plainly, that masters and servants do not ordinarily, particularly in cities, attend the same services. Masters worship with other men’s servants, and servants worship with other men’s masters. The relation, in the abstract, may be affected by the common worship of the classes, bond and free, but in the

concrete, it is not always subjected to the influence of such common worship. This point is thus dwelt on, because it is taken for granted that the master and servant habitually meet in the same Church, and participate in the same religious services. The master looks up into the gallery and sees *his* servant there, and the servant looks down and sees *his* master there. Of course this is beautiful. The relation is eminently patriarchal. A pity though it be to handle roughly so pretty a theory, still the plain fact is, that ordinarily, it is not so. Where a choice exists, masters and servants are very generally found in different Churches. In support of this remark, an appeal may be taken to experience and observation. The fact, it may be observed incidentally, is mainly the result of that large and unrestricted freedom in religious matters, which is granted by masters to their servants. The preference of most servants for other Churches than those in which their masters worship, is not to be conceived as resulting altogether from their wish to avoid association with them in worship, but partly from a love of novelty, a passion for change, and partly from the fact that the Churches which are popular with them, are not always so with their masters. That we are not altogether wrong in assigning these causes for the preference above mentioned, is evinced by the fact that where no choice of Churches exists, as in some parts of the country, they attend of their own accord and in great numbers, the Churches where their masters worship. Now, if there is not *such* a community of worship betwixt masters and servants, as is assumed to characterize the mixed plan, then it is obviously unfair to regard its absence from the separate plan as a vital defect peculiar to it. Our duty is clear to furnish the

Gospel to the coloured people. If that can be done most thoroughly on the separate plan, we ought not to be deterred from doing it by an hypothesis more beautiful than substantial. It is not intended to deny that there is *to a certain extent*, a common worship of masters and servants on the mixed plan, but attention is called to the fact that this is not the ordinary rule. In the city of Charleston, for example, there are about six thousand coloured members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It may be questioned, whether one-sixth of that number are servants of Methodist masters.

“It deserves to be remarked, moreover, that the ‘separate plan’ is not justly liable to the objection of separating the bond and free in the worship of God. The plan does not contemplate the complete separation of the coloured people from the whites. Nor does such a separation take place in fact. With a *pure* separate system, the argument has nothing to do. That is not *the* separate system which is contemplated in theory, and exists in fact. It is not fair, therefore, to attach consequences to the plan that actually obtains, which could only legitimately flow from another and a merely hypothetical scheme. Now, the fact is, that whites and blacks, bond and free, do ordinarily worship together on the separate plan. A class-worship, as it is called, is not produced. More than this, the *sympathy* between the two classes, on this plan, is even more perfect than on the mixed, because the community of worship is more distinctly felt. They sit on the same floor, and during the administration of the Lord’s Supper, are served at the same time. This is not generally the case, under the operation of the mixed system. So far, therefore, from its being the fact that the bond and

free are separated on the so-called separate plan, the truth is, that they are brought into a closer association and a warmer sympathy. There is the same opportunity, too, for the common worship of masters and servants, as on the mixed plan, though not perhaps to the same numerical extent. If it be urged that there is a disproportion of the numbers of the whites to those of the blacks on the separate plan, the answer is obvious. The argument proves too much, for there is very often an equal disproportion of blacks to whites in our mixed Churches.

“To sum up the matter, it is perceived that the alleged superiority of the mixed to the separate plan, on the ground that the former secures a community of worship between masters and servants, and tends to sanctify their relation to each other, while the latter does not, vanishes in a great measure under the application of the touchstone of fact. It is seen, upon examination, that the separate system does not dissociate the bond and the free in the solemn offices of religion, and is not, therefore, justly liable to the objection which has just been considered.

“If, however, it be contended that there is, on the separate plan, an *exclusive* appropriation of the services to the benefit of the coloured people, which renders it impracticable to inculcate on both classes, in each other's presence, their relative duties, it may be replied, that if it be a fact that both classes are generally present in the so-called separate congregations, then there is no reason why the preacher should not address each class whenever he judges it proper to insist on the specific duties of masters and servants. He is not bound. The opportunity exists, and he may

use it, and use it as freely as in the ordinary mixed congregations.

“The objection which has thus been considered, is not without importance, because it proceeds on the supposition that the establishment of separate Churches for the blacks is inconsistent with the temper of the Gospel and the genius of Southern institutions. A candid investigation of the facts in the case will, however, remove the ground of the objection, and thus leave the preaching of the Gospel to the blacks less hampered, and the field of evangelical operations among them less restricted.

“2. Another objection which has been urged against the separate plan is, that under its operation, discipline is administered altogether by one class to another, and thus an invidious distinction is drawn between the bond and the free, a distinction which the nature of the Gospel will hardly justify.

“This difficulty is evacuated of force by the consideration that the same thing, to all intents and purposes, obtains in mixed Churches. In them, the power to govern and to administer discipline is confined exclusively to the whites. The blacks may be the subjects, they never are the dispensers of rule. Whenever, therefore, in mixed Churches, discipline is administered to coloured members, it is invariably exercised by one class towards another. It makes very little difference that white members are subject to the same exercise of discipline, and that the coloured man does not feel oppressed by the application of a rule which he knows to be equally extended to whites. The fact that the white members of Churches are subject to discipline, is known to the coloured members of separate congregations. They surely have intelligence enough

to perceive that the application of discipline is not confined merely to themselves, and that the reason why it does not terminate on white people in their Churches, is simply because there are no white people there.

“In short, the animus of Southern institutions necessarily pervades the Churches, whether based on the mixed or the separate plan; and the fact that discipline is administered by one class to another in both sorts of Churches, is but the necessary result of the influence of civil society upon the constitution of the Church.

“3. A third objection which is frequently advanced against the establishment of separate Churches for the coloured people is, that the poor are segregated from the Christian congregations, and collected into isolated communities. It is contended that this is contrary to the genius of christianity, which contemplates the perpetual presence of the poor in the Churches, and that the separation entails injury upon the white Churches, by tending to foster pride and exclusiveness, and to dwarf the graces of humility and love.

“This objection is grounded on a two-fold fallacy, which a little observation will correct. It supposes, in the first place, that *none but the poor* worship in these ‘separate’ congregations; and in the second place, that *all the poor* would, if the separate system were fully adopted, be removed from the ordinary Churches.

“The first supposition is met by the fact already mentioned, that a pure separate Church is a figment, and that in the so-called separate congregations, whites and blacks, bond and free, rich and poor, do actually mingle in Divine worship. The rich and poor do meet together, and feel their common relation to the Lord,

the Maker of them all. The second supposition is overthrown by the equally obvious fact, that there are poor whites as well as poor blacks in every Church, and that there ever will be, separate congregations to the contrary notwithstanding, some coloured folk in every white Church. One would suppose from the tenor of the objection, and the manner in which it is pressed, that the blacks are the only poor in the country, and that all white people south of Mason and Dixon's are, of necessity, nabobs. If all the coloured people were swept away by a plague, or, what would be equivalent, by transportation, the Church would have no cause to lament that all her poor had gone, and that none remained to call out her sympathy, and deplete her purse. It seems, too, rather strange that the blacks should be emphatically designated as the poor, when it is known that their wants are as well provided for as those of half the white population, and provided for not because they are objects of charity, but because they earn their bread by their labour. Their security against privation is guaranteed by the interest in them which their masters must feel. Let those who urge this objection inquire upon whom the charities of the Church are mainly expended. Surely, not so much upon the blacks as the poor whites. If the blacks, then, are gathered into separate congregations, that the Gospel may be given them in its fullness, does that rob the Churches of their poor? It is clear that there is not, and cannot be, on this scheme, a division of the Church into the two distinct and isolated classes of rich and poor.

“4. A fourth objection to separate Churches for the blacks is, that their constitution is ecclesiastically irregular; that our form of government does not con-

template the permanent exercise of evangelistic functions in a settled community, and in the vicinity of regularly organized Churches.

“In reference to this difficulty, which deserves consideration, it may be replied that the coloured people virtually constitute a frontier settlement. They are, although not geographically, yet morally and intellectually, the frontiers of society. The *spirit* of our constitution is not violated by imparting to them the Gospel through the labours of an Evangelist; and as from the nature of the case, they can never pass out of a condition of ecclesiastical minority, the necessity which at any time exists for that sort of labour among them, must always exist.

“The fact is, that the Southern Church is forced, by the nature of the civil society in which she is providentially placed, to institute particular arrangements adapted to her exigencies. They should not, however, trench upon the constitution. She is warranted in adopting means to give the Gospel to the blacks, which, although not specifically provided for in the constitution, are not inconsistent with its spirit. Separate Churches for the blacks contemplating the permanent exercises of the functions of the Evangelist, would fall under the operation of this principle.

“5. It only remains briefly to consider a plan by which it is proposed to obviate the necessity for separate congregations.

“An ingenious writer, in *The Southern Presbyterian*, is of opinion that the obstacles which hinder the thorough cultivation of the coloured field may be removed without establishing separate Churches, by restricting the growth of our ordinary mixed Churches, and thus rendering it practicable for pastors to compass their

duties both to whites and blacks. He contends that a Southern Church ought not to expand beyond a certain point; that when it has reached that point, a colony should be detailed to organize a new Church. Now, if this were feasible, if the growth of our Churches could, in fact, be thus arrested at a given point, and if, in addition to this, lay labour could be called in to an effective assistance of pastors, why then, perhaps, as he intimates, this would be the best plan upon which to constitute a Southern Church. The difficulty, however, lies in the realization of this idea; and it is a difficulty which, it may be feared, amounts to an impossibility. The question at once arises whether any general rule securing these results could be established. Every one knows the reluctance of Churches to colonize. There seems to be a natural tendency in organized bodies to perpetuate themselves and to resist all attempts to diminish their corporate strength. Popular and attractive preaching, moreover, combined with various circumstances, tends to keep a large congregation together; and, after all, it is very generally the case, that even a small white congregation absorbs the attention of a pastor, to the comparative neglect of the coloured people.

“The consideration, however, which presses with most weight is, that it is necessary that something be done, and that speedily, to furnish the Gospel to the ignorant and perishing sons of Ham, and to bring them to the knowledge of salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord. We can ill afford to wait until theories are reduced to fact. Meanwhile souls are perishing, and the ‘separate system’ presents a practicable means of giving them the Gospel, and giving it to them with some tolerable efficiency. We are not, however, so

wedded to the plan, as to refuse to accept a more excellent way. If such a way can be pointed out, it will be our duty, as well as privilege, to walk therein.

“In the remarks which have been made, it has not been intended to express the conviction that the ‘separate plan’ is absolutely the best that can be devised for accomplishing the evangelization of the coloured people. It may be that some such plans as that suggested by the writer to whom we have alluded, or one which would admit only a limited number of whites, would be preferable. The question can only be determined by actual experiment. When a trial of the different plans shall have been thoroughly made, we may be in a better position than at present to decide upon the best method of evangelizing the coloured people.”

Work Among the Negroes—Part II

By JOSEPH B. MACK, D. D.

The Rev. Dr. John LaFayette Girardeau was remarkable as a man, and pre-eminently so as a minister.

With a body well formed, agile and vigorous, with a mind clear, broad, patient and accurate, with emotions easily touched, which, like his heart’s blood, continually enlivened his whole being, and with a peculiar spiritual experience somewhat similar to that of the Apostle Paul; he was, by nature and by grace, divinely fitted for his self-sacrificing and unique work.

He was wonderfully gifted as a *pastor*. So tender and so sympathetic was he with the afflicted; so certain to say the right word at the right time and in the

proper place that many felt, as one of his people remarked, "He appears to be a messenger just from God, and bringing with him some of the atmosphere of heaven."

He was also wonderfully gifted as a *teacher*. He not only gave the pupil a view of the subject in its entirety, but also presented every detail of importance. As one of his students said, "When Dr. Girardeau is through I feel that the whole ground has been covered and that nothing more need be said."

But he was most wonderfully gifted as a *preacher*. The pulpit was his throne—its prayers, a golden scepter—its sermon, a jewelled crown. To preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified was the "one thing" of his life, his chiefest joy—and often did the tones of his voice so reveal this highest delight of his heart as to make the melody of his words sound as sweetly as the echoes of the morning.

My first meeting with Dr. Girardeau was in 1860 at the residence of Rev. Dr. John B. Adger, while I was a student in the Columbia Theological Seminary. Pointing to Dr. Girardeau, who was on the other side of the room, Dr. Adger emphatically affirmed to several of us, "There is the Spurgeon of America, the grandest preacher in all of our Southland." This statement then seemed to me a very extravagant one, and provoked the criticism, "See how these South Carolinians love one another." But afterwards I often realized that it was strictly and entirely true. Let me mention three incidents in illustration.

Once in Zion (Calhoun Street) Church of Charleston he was preaching to a large congregation of negroes. As in plaintive tones he pictured Jesus Christ going forth to death and bending beneath the burden

of the cross, every eye was opened wide and riveted upon the speaker, while each breast seemed to rise and fall, as step after step was taken up the rugged steep of Calvary. When the place of execution was reached everybody fell back and many hands were raised in horror. When the nails were driven a deep sigh swept through the house like the sad moan of the sea as it rolls in upon the shore, and when the Saviour's head was drooped in death a deep shudder convulsed the weeping throng as hundreds piteously cried, "O, my God! O, my God!"

Again, during the summer of 1870 we were holding a meeting in the back country of South Carolina at a place called Whippy Swamp. It was my night to preach, but he sat with me in the pulpit. The interest was so intense that before the sermon was finished I was awed into silence, as I realized my utter inability to fully meet the eternal issues of that hour. In despair I turned round and cried to Dr. Girardeau, "Can you not tell these perishing sinners of our precious Saviour?"

At once he was on his feet. In a voice tremulous with emotion he tenderly told them of their critical, their very critical condition because of the presence of God's Holy Spirit, and pointed to Christ as a refuge, an entirely safe refuge. Then his voice changed—the subdued manner was gone—the tremulous tone disappeared. In accents of exultation he proclaimed a divinely glorious Saviour. As the fires of Christian triumph flashed from his eyes and flamed forth in his words the hearts of all God's people were kindled with the joy of His salvation, and tears of gratitude coursed down every cheek.

Just then, in a voice loud and thrilling, he cried, "O, sinners, dear, dying sinners, this is our Saviour. Come to Him just as you are. Come to Him right now." In an instant every impenitent person in the house (with a single exception) rose up and rushed forward to the foot of the pulpit. Some outside dashed through the doors and one or two sprang through the windows to reach the same place. Suddenly there came a strange hush over the house. I expected Dr. Girardeau to lead in prayer or make an earnest exhortation. But no! In clear, sweet and ringing tones he began to sing the well known hymn, "Come to Jesus." Ere the hymn was finished there was joy in two worlds. In God's glorious heaven angels were singing and saying, "He has saved *them*." In the rude country church sinners were singing and saying, "He hath saved *me*." And to the heart of our Lord the song of the sinners here was sweeter than the song of the angels there.

Once again, in November, 1881, we had the semi-centennial of the Columbia Seminary, hoping thus to help in its endowment. A large number of ministers were present, among whom was Rev. W. A. Wood, D. D., of Statesville, N. C., a cultured scholar and a keen critic; he said, "I came especially to hear Dr. Girardeau and to size him up." On Sunday, to a large congregation, a prince of orators in our Israel preached. As we came out of the church Dr. Wood enthusiastically said, "magnificent, magnificent."

On Tuesday, to a comparatively small congregation, Dr. Girardeau preached. For the first half hour, with logic on fire, he discussed an important doctrine, and then described its glorious effects, closing with a vivid view of our Saviour's ascension and the descent of the angelic hosts meeting Him with song and the chimes

of silver cymbals. As he began to close almost every hearer was either leaning forward or else was standing up, and as after he ceased to speak he continued to move his hands in circles up, and up, and up, stopping for a second at the completion of each circle, the sweet chimes of silver cymbals in angel hands seemed to fill the house and thrill every heart.

For over a minute all remained spellbound and breathless, and then came the rustling sound as they fell back into their seats like those awakening from a delightful dream. No prayer was made, no hymn was sung, only the benediction was pronounced, and then in silence the strangely impressed hearers quietly passed out of the church.

Dr. Wood, Dr. J. H. Thornwell, Jr., of Fort Mill, and myself were together. Not a word was spoken until nearly a square had we gone. I broke the silence by saying, "Brother Wood, you have now heard Dr. Girardeau, and what do you think?" Claspng his hands together and looking upward, he replied, "It was more than magnificent. I have never heard anything to equal that. No other man can speak like that man." Dr. Thornwell then added in a voice trembling with emotion, "Put me down for \$100.00 to the endowment of the Seminary as a thank offering for the privilege of hearing that sermon. It is worth ten times that much to me in my work, but that is all I have to give."

These three instances could be made five-fold more, but they are sufficient. Perhaps some reader may think they are colored by the partiality of a friend. Let me then give two instances of the estimate of those who were entire strangers to him, each of whom heard him only once.

1. When Dr. Girardeau was preaching at the Second, now the Arsenal Hill, Presbyterian Church in Columbia, S. C., the Rev. J. M. Buckley, D. D., of the Northern Methodist Church, and another minister going South, stopped over one Sunday in Columbia. Dr. Buckley was one of the finest scholars in America; the editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, the author of a number of books, among which is "Extemporaneous Oratory," and a man who had special opportunities for hearing the greatest orators of the world. Let me give his estimate as told in his own paper:

"We arrived in Columbia on Saturday evening. After being settled at the hotel we walked through the city and were charmed with it. After a walk of two or three miles we went into a book store to make a few purchases. I said, 'Sir, whose church would you advise a stranger, who wished to hear the best preacher, to visit tomorrow?' Without a moment's hesitation he answered, 'Dr. Girardeau's Mission,' and a gentleman standing by looked acquiescence.

"Never was there a more beautiful day than Sunday, March 17th, in Columbia. There have been days as fine; none finer; the perfection of a spring day. It would take the pen of a Thomson or a Wadsworth to describe it worthily. Every window was open; the trees were full of birds, the streets of children; the peach and other fruit trees in blossom and many flowers in bloom.

"On reaching 'Dr. Girardeau's Mission' we found every seat occupied and some of the congregation standing. Perceiving that we were strangers, an usher procured chairs and placed us very near the pulpit. As we were about to enter, one of us said to the other, 'We don't get the chance to hear others preach

often. I would like to hear something that would *move my soul.*'

"The first thing noticed was the character of the congregation. It was the most refined and intelligent congregation of its number that I had ever seen in the South—and I do not remember to have seen it surpassed in the North—more solid-looking gentlemen and ladies of striking appearance. And the young people were of the best sort. Never did I see an assembly that looked so little like a 'mission'—not only intelligence, but the evidence of wealth were apparent.

"I have now to say that, having heard Thomas Guthrie of Edinburgh, James Hamilton of London, and Mr. Spurgeon six or eight times, it has never fallen to my lot to hear a more absorbing, spiritual, eloquent and moving sermon on an ordinary occasion. It was worthy of William Wirt's Blind Preacher. It made all the preaching I have ever done, and nearly all I have ever heard seem like mere sermonizing. Looking around to catch the eye of my friend, I saw that two-thirds of all the men in the audience were in tears. It was no rant or artificial excitement or mere pathos, but *thought* burning and glowing. None but a man of equal intellect, learning, piety and eloquence could preach such a discourse without notes."

The second instance was told me by Rev. J. H. McNeilly, D. D., of Nashville, Tenn., who received it from Col. Alfred Robb himself. Colonel Robb was a prominent lawyer in middle Tennessee, an influential elder of the Presbyterian Church, a colonel of the Forty-sixth Tennessee Regiment, C. S. A., and a delegate to the National Democratic Convention that met at Charleston in 1860. In the hotel on Sunday he was accosted by Gen. Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts,

who was also a delegate to the convention, who asked, "Where are you going?" Colonel Robb replied, "To hear a great white preacher whose life is consecrated to the salvation of negroes." General Butler exclaimed, "Well, as I have never heard of any such thing as that, I will go with you." On entering the church they found the negroes occupying the main floor, while the whites were seated in the gallery.

Colonel Robb described the scene thus: "The prayer of the preacher was earnest, simple and humble as of a man pleading with God. The singing was general, heartfelt and grand. The sermon was tender and spiritual, and though profound, was plain, delivered with fire and unction. After the preacher took his seat, deeply impressed, I was with closed eyes meditating on the wonderful sermon, when I heard some one sobbing. Looking around I saw General Butler's face bathed in tears. Just then the church officers came for the usual collection and at once General Butler drew from his pockets both hands full of silver coin (put there to tip the waiters), and cast it into the basket, with the audible remark, 'Well, I have never heard such a man and have never heard such a sermon.'" In two years from that day Colonel Robb had died on the field of battle fighting for the South, Dr. Girardeau was a chaplain in the Confederate States Army, and General Butler was hated by the men and women of Dixie.

But remarkable as was the preacher, even more remarkable, if that is possible, was his *chosen field of labor*. It was not among the cultured and refined, the educated and influential who so highly appreciated his sermons and delighted in his eloquence; but among the

illiterate and the ignorant to whom his scholarly sermons would seemingly be like words spoken in an unknown tongue. It was not among the Southern whites, that people of almost pure British stock, with whom in everything he was in full and hearty sympathy, but among negro slaves whose black skins and kinky hair were symbols of their inferiority.

Why did this man, the equal of any preacher in America, refuse calls to New York and Philadelphia, to Baltimore and Wilmington, to St. Louis and Louisville, to Nashville and Atlanta, to Memphis and New Orleans, where he could have been admired, renowned and influential—why did he turn his back upon all these prominent places, upon these best gifts that preachers very properly covet, and consecrate his life to work among slaves, negro slaves, and to the most inferior of them, even to the Gullah negroes of the tide water section of South Carolina?

1. Because of *his love for South Carolina*. The love of native land is a God-given instinct implanted within the human heart to ennoble him who was created in the image of his Maker. Even upon the inferior races it is divinely and indelibly stamped. The sallow Esquimaux says that the sun shines nowhere so bright as in his own Greenland. The brown Polynesian feels that no land is as fair as his own Seagirt isle. The red Indian can imagine nothing so grand as the forests of his own hunting grounds. The negro of the Carolina coast esteems the fragrance of the rose and lily as far inferior to the odor of his salt marsh.

In the ethics of the white man the love of native land is a cardinal virtue and the lack of it a detestable vice. Thus Walter Scott speaks of it:

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
 Who never to himself hath said,
 This is my own, my native land!
 Whose heart has ne'er within him burned
 As home his footsteps he hath turned
 From wanderings on a foreign strand!

“If such there be, go mark him well,
 For him no Minstrel raptures tell,
 High though his titles, proud his name,
 Boundless his wealth as wish may claim;
 Despite these titles, power and pelf
 The wretch concentered all in self,
 Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
 And, doubly dying, shall go down
 To the vile earth from whence he sprung,
 Unwept, unhonored and unsung.”

Dr. Girardeau was born about the time when South Carolina stood ready to assert her sovereignty and nullify any Act of Congress that threatened her welfare or her honor. Hence, as a boy, by his environment, he was impressed with the idea that the State of South Carolina was his native land, to which his love and loyalty was due as that of a child to the mother who gave him birth.

This sacred affection grew with his growth, filling every avenue of his heart and thrilling every fiber of his whole being. When a young man, he felt that his mother State needed the service of her sons, and so to her he consecrated his life, resolving to live in no other State, to labor among no other people, and to sleep, after death, under no other soil.

Let me mention two incidents to illustrate this fact:

Just after the war he was released from a Federal prison and was journeying in a wagon with others to his home. When they had passed the State line some

one said, "We are now in South Carolina." Immediately Dr. Girardeau shouted "Stop," and then leaping out of the wagon he kneeled down and laid his head on the ground. With streaming eyes he exclaimed, "O South Carolina, my mother, dear, God be thanked that I can lay my head on your bosom once more." It was a strange scene, but characteristic of the man.

The other incident occurred when he was a professor in Columbia Seminary. The finances of the seminary were in a bad condition and the directors expected to lower the already small salaries of the professors. The Central Church of Atlanta gave him a call, promising a salary more than double what he was receiving. He promptly declined it. The church asked me to see him, and so I went to see him and urged him to accept it. He said, "I have wired them declining to accept, and so the case is settled." I replied, "No, I will write them and they will renew it." On my pressing him to accept it, he rose, and after walking several times across the room, stood in front of me and said, "I will tell you now why I cannot accept that call, though I never expected to tell any one. By the grace of God I was born in this State, through the mercy of God my home all my life has been in this State, and it is my heart's desire and prayer that my lifeless body shall sleep beneath its sod until the resurrection morn. South Carolina is my mother. She now needs the service of her sons. I would rather accept \$400.00 and a cabin in a country church of South Carolina than the \$4,000.00 and the splendid manse in the magnificent city of Atlanta."

2. *The Needs of the Coast Negro.* As he had consecrated himself to labor in his native State, he also consecrated himself to labor amongst the most needy class

in that State. These were the negroes on the coast—in the tide-water section of South Carolina.

The white people had a plenteous supply of ministers. Being descended from Christian parents, some of whom were martyrs, and many of whom were exiles for the cause of Christ, every impulse of their whole being called for the presence of a house of worship and the preaching of a man of God. Hence in every city, town and village, and in almost every country neighborhood there were regular church services for the whites.

In the middle and up-country sections of the State the negroes had many Christian privileges. As the whites were comparatively numerous, they permitted the negroes to have churches of their own in many places. The galleries in the white churches were set apart for the use of the negroes. The family servants were expected to be present at family prayers in most of the homes where the family altar was honored. In many homes there was instruction of all the servants on Sabbath afternoon. More than all these things, there was daily contact with Christian whites, and as the chameleon becomes brown when on the brown earth, and green when on the green leaf, so the negro, whose peculiarity is to take his character from his environment, was greatly blessed and elevated by association with these Christian men and women.

With the negroes on the coast the conditions were far different. The white families were comparatively few, and many of these had summer homes where they resided several months in the year. Hence Christian privileges were few and very limited. On the contrary, almost everything was against Christianity. The negroes were more ignorant than those in the upper

part of the State. They were in masses on large plantations so as to more easily preserve their heathenish ideas and customs. Some of them were born in Africa and venerated the religion of the dark continent. Among them were "The Witch Doctors," or "voodoo men," who exercised almost absolute control over many of their people, and who had a bitter and deathless hatred of the "white man's religion."

The prospect was very dark, and work among these people appeared to be a "forlorn hope." But if the difficulties loomed up mountain high, the grace of God in young Girardeau's heart, like the waters of the flood, could and did go far above the highest mountains and so prevailed that he freely and fully consecrated himself to labor among this people as the one work of his life.

It was the same spirit of sacrifice that sent Brainard to the savages of North America, and Paton to the cannibals of the New Hebrides, and Damien to the lepers of Molokai, that sent Girardeau to the "voodoo" dominated negroes of the Carolina coast.

Perhaps he also felt as Paul says of himself in Romans 15:20, "Yea, so have I strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation."

3. *He Himself Was a Slave Owner.* The tie of affection binding many masters to their slaves was tender, strong, and highly ennobling to both master and slave.

We love what belongs to us, often simply because it is our own. The words "Woodman, spare that tree, touch not a single bough," are not mere poetry. The saying, "Love me, love my dog" is not a mere proverb, but both are the living utterances of loving hearts. If so in regard to possessions that are without souls,

how much more dear to the Christian master's heart were those possessions made in the image of his God and endowed with immortality?

This tie was especially strong when the master had inherited his slaves, for then they were not only members of his own household, but they had been members of the household of his parents. The same feeling that caused Abraham to circumcise not only the children of his house, but also the servants of his household, filled the heart of many a Christian master. Hence they were far more deeply interested in the salvation of their servants than the Northern Christians are in the salvation of their foreign population, for these are only their fellow men, and neither their peculiar property nor members of their households.

This love of the master was heightened by the strong and striking but not strange affection which the mass of the negroes had for their white owners. They regarded the white man as superior to the black man; his white skin being God's symbol of superiority and their black skins the seal of their inferiority. Hence the most of them felt it to be an honor to belong to an honored white person, and the richer and more honored the owner, the prouder and happier the slave to call him master.

This affection was intense in the hearts of the house-servants. These were the nobility among the negroes, because of their more honorable position and also because of their superior intelligence resulting from their environment.

The love and loyalty of the "old mammy" nurse, the cook, the housemaid, the butler, the body-servant, the carriage driver, and the gardener, was like that of a clansman for his chief, like that of a trusted subject for

his king. Northern men and women have often wondered why during the civil war the Southern wives and children were so entirely safe at home, when their husbands and their fathers were far away in the army. It was because of this love and loyalty of the mass of the negroes, and especially that of the house servants who were the leaders of their race.

This love and loyalty of the master to the slave, and of the slave to the master was beautiful—often “passing the love of women”—like that of David and Jonathan, and would have continued to this day, as a fountain of continual blessing to both races, had it not been for the unholy alliance between the “Witch Doctors” among the negroes and the mistaken philanthropists of the North; who, like Pilate and Herod, becoming friends, made possible the crucifixion of this love and loyalty upon the cross of fratricidal strife.

The self-sacrifice of young Girardeau, the slave owner, for the souls of the degraded negroes of the Carolina coast, is an imperishable testimony to the existence of this tender tie, which, though unknown to almost all Christendom, is known to “The Christ,” and is as beautiful to His eyes “as apples of gold in a network of silver.”

4. *The Results of the Work.* These were marvellous. He won the devotion of the negroes to himself, he won a multitude of sinful souls for Christ, he won the desire and a determination on the part of many negroes, to attain to higher planes in the Christian life.

(1) He completely won the hearts of the negroes to whom he preached. They heard him reviled by some whites as a religious crank and a bigoted fool, who was wasting his magnificent talents and throwing away his

life on a low, dirty and degraded lot of beings who were only a little better than brutes.

These revilings only made him to them the more dear, for they esteemed him a martyr, sacrificing himself and suffering for their sakes. Hence, in his preaching they listened as to a messenger sent to them from heaven, and in his prayers they heard their representative at God's throne of grace. Thus as he pleaded (oftentimes with tears) with them for God and with God for them their whole hearts flowed out in love to him, and he became to many as dear as their own lives.

Two incidents sufficiently illustrate this. When he left Wappetaw Church to go to Wilton he preached his last sermon to a large congregation. The entire crowd were convulsed with grief and the church became a real Bochim. As he left the house on his way home the whole congregation, weeping and wailing, followed him for some distance. When at last they stopped, some were with heads bowed upon the ground, and some with outstretched arms looking heavenward, but all were sobbing and crying out, "O Lord, O my God, what mek our preacher lef us!"

Again. We all know that Charleston was the citadel of "Secession," and as such, detested by the Federal authorities and most of the people of the North. Not a few of these yearned to see it laid in ashes and made as desolate as Babylon or Tyre. Several times efforts were made to secretly organize the negroes, and through them to start fires at the same time in many parts of the city. Special agents were employed to carry out such designs, and more than once they almost succeeded.

After the war it became an open secret why these well laid schemes were frustrated. Some leaders of the

negroes religiously believed that Dr. Girardeau was the special representative of God to their race; and his church a holy temple in which the Almighty delighted to dwell. They feared, and they imparted this fear to other leaders, that if negroes burned that city so dear to this man of God, and that church so beloved and honored by the Lord of heaven, *then* the divine curse might rest upon their race and heaven withhold that "freedom" which they felt was almost within their grasp. The self-sacrificing work of one man indirectly but really saved "The City by the Sea."

(2) *He Won a Multitude of Souls for Christ.* The accessions to his church were like the waters of a river, a steady stream, yet there were also times when the heavenly rain caused those waters to be more abundant and the river to rise much higher, even occasionally to the revival overflow.

Perhaps not one-half of those brought to Christ by his preaching united with his church. It was a common thing for members of other denominations to hear him, for the negroes considered it a privilege to attend his church, and prided themselves upon taking part in its services. But such would almost always join the churches to which their families belonged.

It was the saintly Samuel Rutherford, the pastor of Anworth Church, who said:

"O, if one soul from Anworth
Meets me at God's right hand,
My heaven will be two heavens
In my Immanuel's land."

In full sympathy with this, Dr. Girardeau felt these saved souls would make his heaven brighter and more glorious. Like Paul, he looked upon his converts as his

“crown of rejoicing,” and each one won for Christ became a thread to strengthen the silken cord of love that bound him to his arduous work.

(3) He inspired many of these converts to strive for a higher Christian life through the transforming power of the Holy Spirit. The success of this was clearly seen in the spiritual tone of the prayer meeting, but especially in the high standard of Christian character among the membership, which was noted and frequently remarked upon by members of other negro churches, by members of the white churches, and particularly by the outside world. One cause of this was the fact that every applicant for church membership was put into a class, which met every week to receive the instruction of the pastor, who taught that our religion required three things: a distrust of self, a simple trust in Christ, and the desire and endeavor to daily live a moral and spiritual life. Such instruction for three or six months was often sufficient to lay a foundation upon which was built a beautiful Christian character, and the pastor, in seeing this, could forget the toil of the sower in the joy of the reaper.

5. There were four other things that riveted the four reasons already given, which, like bands of steel, bound this wondrous man to his earth-scorned but heaven-blessed work:

(1) *Dr. Girardeau Very Emotional.* Now emotion is one of the characteristics of the negro. Hence, when in his preaching their responsive interest was like the answer of an echo, that preaching became to him an exhilaration, a thrilling delight. As the mother forgets the pangs of travail in her joy over her new-born child, so he forgot all his sacrifices and was filled with joy exceeding great as he felt the glowing sympathy of his

spell-bound hearers, thirsting for the water of life. He saw before him not a dark cloud of ignorant, degraded negroes, but a cloud crimsoned with beauty divine as it reflected the radiance of the blood-stained cross of Calvary.

“This was the secret sympathy,
The silver link, the silken tie,
Which, heart to heart, and mind to mind,
Preacher unto hearer did bind.”

(2) He regarded the use of instruments in public worship in this dispensation as unscriptural. This view was held by Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge of Danville Seminary, by Rev. Dr. J. H. Thornwell of Columbia Seminary, and by other eminent divines. His practice strictly conformed to his belief. Before becoming pastor of Zion Church in Charleston, and what is now Arsenal Hill Church in Columbia, he stipulated that there should be no instrumental music in the worship of God's house.

Some of their members yielded to his belief in this, but preferred to have the organ, and this want of complete harmony marrèd the pleasure of his work among the whites. But the “ante-bellum” negro did not need and did not want the aid of instrumental music, for every fiber of his being was attuned to sacred song. As the whole congregation would sing some favorite hymn, in tones thrilling with delight, it sometimes seemed as if the praise of heaven was beginning here below. Then Dr. Girardeau, standing up, would, with strong voice and commanding form, lead the people in their praise of God. Doubtless this privilege of unrestrained participation in the service of song, a privilege so very rarely enjoyed among white congregations, this standing (as it were) in the very vestibule of heaven, and

breathing the crisp air of the celestial city, this divine joy was one link that bound him to his work among such people.

(3) He believed that association with the white man was essential to the uplift of the negro.. He realized that both races were descended from the first Adam, and that for both the second Adam had died, but he also believed that God in His Providence had made the negro to be the inferior; that as to climb upward, the vine needs the trellis and the ivy the wall, so the negro needs the white man.

Hence he always desired the negro churches to be connected with and under the supervision of the white churches. Hence he doubted the propriety of sending American negroes, though well educated and even with an admixture of white blood, as missionaries to Africa, for he believed that when left to themselves they could not resist the temptation to dishonesty and adultery. Like the vine and ivy, when deprived of its support they would fall to the ground and be damaged by the dirt.

Forty years ago I thought that Dr. Girardeau was wrong in this opinion, but for a long time I have realized that he was right. Several churches conducting mission work in Africa have, by sad experience, learned the same lesson, and among these is our own Southern Presbyterian Church, whose Executive Committee of Foreign Missions once believed that his view was wrong and a reflection on the work of the Holy Spirit.

(4) A peculiar gift which he used in preaching to negroes. Perhaps no one else ever possessed such a unique power.

Sometimes when both races were present he would preach a profound sermon, and there would be witnessed a strange anomaly. The minds of the cultured whites would be strained to keep up with the train of thought, while the negroes seemed to clearly understand and fully appreciate the whole sermon. Hence the remark was frequently made, "How can those ignorant negroes understand such a sermon?"

Being myself much perplexed, I asked him to explain the problem. He replied, "The negroes understand my sermon as clearly but not as fully as you do. I have acquired the power to put *key-words* in my sentences, and to emphasize them both in tone and by manner, and as they are vividly impressed by those words they secure the current of my thought."

To illustrate this: He preached a sermon in which the first part was on the vileness of sin and the certainty of its punishment. There was the phrase "Holy God" spoken in a tone of deep humility and awe—then "sin hateful," with a look of intense abhorrence—then "God angry" with an expression of heartfelt indignation, and then among other words were "judge," "guilty," "doomed," "death," "depart," "hell," "wailing," "forever," and each word or phrase so emphasized in tone and by gesture as to stamp its meaning upon the mind of the hearer. One could easily see how, through such word painting, the ignorant hearer could readily grasp the main line of truth, and without any weakening of its power by trying also to lay hold upon the subordinate thoughts connected with it. The negro got enough to fill his head and heart, not too much so as to overflow and bring confusion to his mind.

Whether this strange power was a natural gift which he assiduously cultivated, or whether it was acquired

by continuous toil I know not. But its possession made him feel that God had called him to his work, and was one reason why he turned a deaf ear to calls from so many leading churches among the whites.

John LaFayette Girardeau was a man singularly gifted and wondrously fitted for a peculiar work, the effect of which was to carve upon his character the likeness of his Lord in a lineament rarely found. That Lord was "The Master," yet he denied Himself heavenly glory and became a servant, the servant of God to lost men. Our friend denied himself earthly fame and became a servant, the servant of Jesus Christ to the menials of the South.

That Lord saith in Revelation, 3:21: "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with Me on My throne, even as I also overcame and am set down with my Father in His throne."

Work Among the Negroes—Part III

By GEORGE A. BLACKBURN, D. D.

The death of Dr. J. B. Mack before he had finished his account of Dr. Girardeau's work among the negroes necessitates another section on the most important facts connected with this important part of his life.

Dr. Girardeau's general view of the situation and his personal relation to it are interestingly set forth in a letter to Dr. Mallard. He says:

"Columbia, S. C., November 10, 1890.

"Rev. Dr. Mallard.

"My Dear Brother: Your letter, and the copy of the *S. W. Presbyterian* containing your first article, have been received. I am glad of your purpose to write on

the theme proposed, and regret that I cannot afford you any material assistance, in consequence of having neglected to keep a diary of experience in the work among the slaves.

“I send you a few documents which may possibly be of some service to you, which I beg that you will return to me at your convenience. You may glean something from them.

“Let me jot down some statements which may be of interest.

“1. Previously to the war the coast of South Carolina was covered by a net-work of Missions among the slaves, conducted by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. These Missions were not the same as the Circuits, nor were they embraced in them, but were served by separate ministers devoted to them. They were mainly supported *by the planters*. Besides preaching, the functions of the Missionaries included catechizing of the children and visiting of the sick on plantations. It was a great work.

“2. The pastors of the Presbyterian Church regularly preached to the colored people, large numbers of whom were members of their churches. In addition to this, some of them preached regularly on plantations, catechized the negro children and youth, and visited the sick. This was also a great work.

“3. The ministers of other evangelical denominations partook in similar labors. In the country along the Santee River, the Rev. Alexander Glennie, an Episcopal clergyman, devoted special attention to the religious instruction of the negroes.

“4. In cases in which families or members of families were pious, great attention was bestowed on the

instruction of the slaves, especially the children. Sabbath Schools on plantations were maintained.

"5. A separate enterprise, in 1848, was begun for the more thorough-going evangelization of the colored people in Charleston under the auspices of the Rev. John B. Adger, D. D., and the session of the Second Presbyterian Church. A brick house of worship was built at a cost of \$7,500. In 1859, in consequence of the enormous growth of the congregation, another church building, which cost \$25,000, *contributed by the citizens of Charleston*, was dedicated. This house was 100 feet long by 80 feet broad, and was on a basement divided into two rooms, which afforded ample conveniences for prayer meetings, catechizing of classes, and personal instruction of candidates for membership. From the first the great building was filled, the blacks occupying the most of the main floor, and whites the galleries, which seated 250 persons.

"The enterprise began as a branch congregation of the Second Presbyterian Church; then became a missionary church under the care of Rev. J. L. Girardeau, evangelist of Charleston Presbytery; and finally, in consequence of the admission of white members, a regular church with a white session.

"The close of the war found it with exactly 500 colored members and nearly 100 white. Such was its growth from organization as missionary church in 1857, with only 48 colored members.

"I hardly know how to communicate personal reminiscences. They would be too numerous and detailed. Perhaps I had better not enter into the edge of the forest. But I adventure a few which may be of some use to you. If not, throw them out. Of course, you do not expect to mention my name.

“I remember that before I became a preacher I used to hold meetings on my father’s plantation, the cotton house affording a convenient place of assemblage. Previously the plantation resounded with the sounds of jollity, the merry strains of the fiddle, the measured beat of the ‘quaw-sticks,’ and the rythmical shuffling and pattering of feet in the Ethiopian jig. Now the fiddle and the quaw-sticks were abandoned, and the light, carnal song gave way to psalms and hymns. The congregations were numerous and attentive, and a genuine revival of religion seemed to obtain. I can never forget with what enthusiasm they used to sing their own improvised ‘spiritual’:

‘My brother, you promised Jesus,
 My brother, you promised Jesus,
 My brother, you promised Jesus
 To either fight or die.

‘O, I wish I was there,
 To wear my starry crown.’
 Oh, I wish I was there, Lord,
 To wear my starry crown.”

“On another plantation which I was in the habit of visiting, a prayer meeting was commenced by one or two young men, which became more and more solemn, until the religious interest grew intense, and a powerful revival took place which involved the white family and their neighbors. The results of that meeting were marked, and some of its fruits remain to this day. If ever I witnessed an outpouring of the Spirit, I did then.

“While teaching school in another place it was my custom to visit plantations, in rotation, on certain afternoons of the week, and catechize and exhort the

slaves. I knew of but one planter in that community who objected to this practice, and he was a very irreligious man. On Sabbaths, after the regular services of the sanctuary had been held, and the white congregation had dispersed, the negroes would crowd the church building, and standing on the pulpit-steps, I would address them. Their feelings sometimes were irrepressible. This was with the sanction of the minister and elders.

“While at the Theological Seminary, I only refrained from going on a foreign mission, because I felt it to be my duty to preach to the mass of slaves on the seaboard of South Carolina. Having rejected, after licensure, a call to a large and important church which had very few negroes connected with it, I accepted an invitation to preach temporarily to a small church which was surrounded by a dense body of slaves. The scenes on Sabbath were affecting. The negroes came in crowds from two parishes. Often have I seen (a sight, I reckon, not often witnessed) groups of them “double-quicking” in the roads, in order to reach the church in time—trotting to church! The white service, as many negroes as could attending, being over, the slaves would pour in and throng the seats vacated by their masters—yes, cram the building up to the pulpit. I have seen them rock to and fro, under the influence of their feelings, like a wood in a storm. What singing! What hearty hand-shakings after the service! I have had my finger joints stripped of the scarf-skin in consequence of them. Upon leaving the church after the last, mournful service with them, and going to my vehicle, which was some hundred yards distant, a poor little native African woman followed

me weeping and crying out, 'O, Massa, you goin' to leave us? O, Massa, for Jesus' sake, don't leave us!' I had made an engagement with another church, or the poor little African's plea might have prevailed. When next I visited that people, I asked after my little African friend. 'She crossed over, sir,' was the answer. May we meet where parting will be no more, the song to Jesus never cease!

"The church to which I next went was in a different part of the seaboard of South Carolina. In connection with it I was ordained, and here my work began in earnest. The congregation included some of the most cultivated gentlemen of the State. They were cordially in favor of the religious instruction of their slaves. The work among them consisted of preaching to them on Sabbath noons in the church building in which their masters had just worshipped, preaching to them again in the afternoons on the plantations, and preaching at night to mixed congregations of whites and blacks. This in the summer. In the winter, I preached at nights on plantations, often reaching home after midnight. Many a time have I seen the slaves gathered in their masters' piazzas for worship, and when it was very cold in their dining rooms and their sitting rooms. The family and the servants would worship together. This was common, and the fact deserves to be signalized. In order the better to compass the work, I selected four points in the congregational territory, the diameter of which was about twenty miles in one direction, and purposed to secure the erection of meeting houses, which would each be central to several plantations, in order to economize labor and bring the Gospel more frequently in con-

tact with the people by preaching regularly once a month, on Sabbaths, at those points. This plan was prevented of accomplishment by my removal to the missionary work in Charleston. It is curious that after the war the colored people erected houses of worship at those very points. My last service with the negroes at this church I will never forget. The final words had been spoken to the white congregation, and they had retired. While a tempest of emotion was shaking me behind the desk, the tramp of a great multitude was heard as the negroes poured into the building, and occupied all available space up to the little old wine-glass shaped pulpit. When approaching the conclusion of the sermon, I turned to the unconverted, asked what I should say to *them*, and called on them to come to Jesus. At this moment the great mass of the congregation simultaneously broke down, dropped their heads to their knees, and uttered a wail which seemed to prelude the judgment. Poor people! They had deeply appreciated the preaching of the Gospel to them.

“Into the details of the work in Charleston I cannot enter. They would occupy too much space. It lasted (with me) from 1854 to 1862. I have sometimes thought that I devoted too much time to it. I was absorbed in it. But the labor was not in vain, I trust. Besides Sabbath preaching, most of the nights in the week were spent at the church in the discharge of various duties—holding prayer meetings, catechizing classes, administering discipline, settling difficulties, and performing marriage ceremonies. Often have I sat for over an hour in a cold room instructing individual inquirers and candidates for membership; often have I risen in the night to visit the sick and dying or

to administer baptism to ill children. I made it a duty to attend all their funerals and conduct them. Just two extreme instances of dying experience I will give. One was that of a servant of a distinguished judge. He was dying. As I entered his room, he rubbed his hands together, chuckled with a hilarious delight like that of a boy going home on Christmas Eve, and exclaimed, 'I'm going home! Oh, how glad I am!' So he passed away.

"Another was that of my own servant. He was reared by me; was a bad boy; when he grew up, attended my church; professed conversion, and was seized not long after with galloping consumption. He was in terror. His sins filled him with dismay. I labored with him, but he refused to be comforted. At last, not long before his departure, the light of God's reconciled countenance broke upon the midnight of his soul. From that time he had perfect peace, and breathed his last, I firmly believe, on the bosom of his Saviour. Freely did my tears flow while I was uttering the last words of prayer and exhortation over his encoffined body. His mother, also my servant, died after him, during the war when I was absent in Virginia. She kept calling for me till she expired. Tell me that there was no true, deep affection of masters to slaves and slaves to masters! It was often like that between near relatives.

"The most glorious work of grace I ever felt or witnessed was one which occurred in 1858, in connection with this missionary work in Charleston. It began with a remarkable exhibition of the Spirit's supernatural power. For eight weeks, night after night, save Saturday nights, I preached to dense and deeply

moved congregations. The result I have given in the general statement prefixed.

“The work steadily and rapidly grew until it was arrested by the war. I could give you some incidents that would be interesting, but time will not permit. One I mention in which the ludicrous and the pathetic were blended, and the saying was fulfilled, that the fountains of laughter and tears are next to each other. After a session had been formed, there came before it for admission into the church a small native African, whose name was Cudjo. The following colloquy occurred between the minister and the candidate: ‘Cudjo, you want to join the church?’ ‘Yessy, Massa.’ ‘Cudjo, you trust in Jesus?’ ‘Yessy, Massa.’ ‘Cudjo, you love Jesus?’ ‘Oh, yessy, Massa; me lub Jesus.’ ‘Cudjo, you expect to see Jesus?’ ‘Oh, yessy, Massa; me ’spec to see Jesus.’ ‘When he sees you coming, what do you think Jesus will say?’ ‘Wat he say? He say, Cudjo, you come? I say, Yessy, Ma’am, I come.’ Here he struck his hands together, and the session laughed and cried at the same time.

“The conduct of this church after the war justified the wisdom of those who projected it. They clung to the white people. One of the first invitations, in writing, which I received upon my return from imprisonment at Johnson’s Island, and while yet in the interior of the State where my family were refugees, in July, 1865, to resume labor, was from this colored membership, entreating me to come back and preach to them as of old. For years they declined to separate themselves from the Southern Presbyterian Church, and even after its Assembly had, in 1874, recommended an organic separation of the whites and blacks, they continued to maintain an independent

position. Only at a late date did they resolve to connect themselves with the Northern Presbyterian Church.”

“JOHN L. GIRARDEAU.”

The authority for the organization of the Church, its covenant, and the original signers constitute a most interesting document. It is as follows:

“*Whereas*, The Charleston Presbytery, meeting at Columbia, S. C., did, on the thirty-first day of March, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-five, separate the congregation of coloured people worshipping in the building, known as the Anson Street Church, from the Second Presbyterian Church, and did place it, with forty-eight coloured persons consenting to be members of it, under the care of Rev. J. L. Girardeau, to govern the said Church and to be responsible for the same directly to the Presbytery, with the aid of an advisory committee acting with him, consisting of ruling elders appointed by Presbytery from the several churches of the city (see printed minutes of Presbytery for March, 1855, page 12), and

“*Whereas*, the said Presbytery meeting at James Island did, on the day of April, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-eight, adopt the following minute and resolution, viz: ‘In consideration of the application now made by sundry white persons to join the Anson Street Church, and the statements of the Rev. John L. Girardeau, Rev. Dr. Adger, and others,

“*Be it resolved*, That this Presbytery does now reaffirm its resolution adopted in 1854, authorizing the present committee of elders, together with Rev. Mr. Girardeau, as a Committee of Presbytery, to receive these and any other white members in the

usual regular way, with a view to organize a church with its white members, elders, and coloured members:’ and,

“*Whereas*, in accordance with the above resolution of the Presbytery, we, the subscribers hereunto, have been received into the communion of the said Missionary Church, with a view to organize a regularly constituted Church, henceforth to be known as Zion Presbyterian Church. Now, therefore, we do, by our signatures to this covenant, agree to walk together in a church relation, as disciples of Jesus Christ, on the principles of the Confession of Faith and Form of Government of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, commending ourselves, our children, and our servants, to the mercy and grace of God in Christ as our only hope and confidence, whether as individuals, or as a church; and,

“*Whereas*, the case of this Church is altogether peculiar, and the opinion exists that there is a possibility that the missionary feature of the Church, contemplating chiefly the religious culture of the coloured people, may, in the course of time, be destroyed in consequence of the expansion of the white membership and the possible exorbitancy of its demands, we do add to the above covenant the following Declaration and Agreement, by which we are willing to be bound, so long as we continue members of this Church, namely: We declare that we enter this Church, as white members of the same, with the fullest understanding that its primary design and chief purpose is to benefit the coloured and especially the slave population of this city, and that the white membership is a feature added to the original organization for the purpose of better securing the ends of that organiza-

tion. We declare, further, that we have chosen to attach ourselves to this Church, not only for the benefit of ourselves and our families, which we believe will, with God's blessing, be secured by such a connection, but also that we may assist by our means and our personal efforts in the support and prosecution of this missionary work, regarding this field of labour as one that has peculiar claims upon us. Furthermore, in accordance with the above declaration, we do hereby agree that the pastor of this church is to be selected always with a view to his suitability for labouring most profitably among the coloured people, and that for all time the services and labours of the minister shall ordinarily be so divided as to apportion the regular morning service to the whites especially, and the remaining regular service or services to the blacks especially; and we do further agree that the coloured people shall always be allowed to occupy, in these services designed peculiarly for their benefit, the main floor of the building, excepting such seats on the right and left of the pulpit as may be appropriated to the whites. . . . Moreover, in order to secure the perpetuation of the aforesaid missionary feature in the organization of this Church, we do severally agree that, in event of our dissatisfaction with the order of things for which this declaration and agreement provides, we will rather withdraw from connection with the Church than attempt, by any influence on our part, to divert it from its original purpose as a church contemplating chiefly the benefit of the coloured population.— And, finally, we do agree, with one accord, to adopt it as an essential and unalterable rule of this particular church, that no one shall be admitted into its white member-

ship who is not cordially willing to sign the above Covenant, Declaration and Agreement.

“In witness whereof we append our signatures:—

“Charleston, June 13th, 1858.

“John L. Girardeau,	E. F. Fanning,
Minister;	M. F. Gillespie,
Edward C. Jones.	Jane E. Adger,
A. Campbell,	Clara W. Adger,
Robt. Adger,	Sarah E. Adger,
F. D. Fanning,	Jane E. Adger,
Fleming Arnold,	M. Anne Adger,
J. Ellison Adger,	Susan C. Adger,
O. A. Bowen,	R. A. Lanneau,
T. C. H. Dukes,	Sarah P. Girardeau,
Fredk. Fanning,	Mary Dewees,
Fleetwood Lanneau, Sr.,	Susan M. Dowell,
I. H. Dickinson,	Anna M. Small,
F. S. Averill,	Susan D. Lee,
I. H. Averill,	M. Addie Chambers,
Sparkman R. Scriven,	Mary I. Cotchett,
M. I. Jones,	Louisa M. Kent.”

The colored members were governed by a constitution prepared for them by Dr. Girardeau.

RULES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COLOURED
MEMBERS OF ZION PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

GOVERNMENT.

Denomination.

RULE 1. This Church shall be governed in accordance with the Constitution of the Old School Presbyterian Church in the United States.

Officers.

RULE 2. Its officers shall be only those which the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church recognizes, namely—a pastor, ruling elders and deacons.

THE PASTOR.

Peculiar Functions.

RULE 1. To preach the Gospel, to administer the Sacraments and to pronounce the Apostolic Benediction shall be considered functions of the ministerial office alone.

THE SESSION.

Power to Govern.

RULE 1. The power to govern this Church is lodged in the Session, which consists of the pastor and the other ruling elders; and no authority from within the Church shall be considered binding on the members thereof, except that of the Session.

Admission to Membership.

RULE 2. No person shall be admitted into the membership of the Church, except upon examination or approval by the Session.

Removal from Membership.

RULE 3. No person shall be removed from the membership of the Church except by the action of the Session.

Discipline.

RULE 4. All cases of members requiring the exercise of discipline shall be tried and decided by the Session in conformity with the Book of Discipline of the Presbyterian Church.

Departments of Operations.

RULE 5. The Session shall distribute the operations of the Church into departments, each of which shall be assigned by it to the superintendence of some officer or officers of the Church who shall be responsible to the Session; and who shall make regular quarterly reports to that body touching the departments committed to their care.

Appointment of Workers.

RULE 6. The persons engaged in the several branches of the work of the Church shall be appointed by the Session, and shall be responsible to it.

DEACONS.

Duties.

RULE 1. It is the duty of the deacons to take care of the poor and the needy members of the Church; and to attend to the collection and disbursement of all moneys for charitable purposes.

RULE 2. Applications in behalf of the sick shall be made to the deacon or deacons who shall be charged with the disbursement of the collections for the sick.

RULE 3. Applications in behalf of the poor and infirm shall be made to the deacon or deacons who shall be charged with the disbursement of the collections for the poor and infirm.

MEMBERSHIP.

Applications.

RULE 1. Applications for membership shall be made at the weekly candidates' meeting.

Roll.

RULE 2. A roll of members regularly posted up for the use of the Session shall be kept by one of the elders designated for that purpose.

Classes.

RULE 3. The members shall be distributed into divisions called classes; the distribution to be made by the Session.

RULE 4. The candidates, as they are admitted into the Church, shall be assigned to the several classes by a committee of Session appointed for that purpose; to be called the Committee on Classes.

RULE 5. The number of *regular* members in each class shall not exceed fifty; but when this number shall have been reached, *new* members may temporarily be received into connection with it, until their number shall be sufficient to warrant, in the judgment of the Session, their being set off as a separate class; provided, always, that these new members shall be so set off when they reach the number of fifty.

RULE 6. No member shall be transferred from one class to another except by the authority of the Session's Committee on Classes.

RULE 7. The objects of the class meetings are—to promote mutual acquaintance and brotherly love among the members; to apprise them of one another's sickness and need; to acquaint the leaders with the same; and to further the growth of the members in Christian knowledge and experimental religion.

The Sick.

RULE 8. A collection shall regularly be taken up in behalf of the sick members of the Church at the weekly prayer meeting on Monday night.

RULE 9. Applications for aid in behalf of sick members of the Church shall be regularly made by the leaders to whose classes they belong at the close of the weekly prayer meeting on Monday night.

RULE 10. A weekly stipend of fifty cents shall be appropriated to the sick members during the time of their sickness, for the delivery of which the leaders to whose classes they belong shall be responsible.

RULE 11. Ordinarily, sickness must be of at least a week's duration to entitle to aid; but in cases of urgent need, this rule may be dispensed with, at the discretion of the deacons, upon the representation of the leaders.

RULE 12. In doubtful cases requiring investigation a committee of leaders may be appointed for that purpose by the deacons, who shall receive the report of the committee and pass upon the merits of such cases.

The Poor and Infirm.

RULE 13. There shall be a special fund for the purpose of affording relief to the poor and infirm members of the Church, and at their death (if destitute) of providing for their funeral and burial expenses.

RULE 14. A collection for the benefit of the poor and infirm shall be taken up at each communion service.

RULE 15. The deacons shall be judges of the fitness of applicants to receive aid from the fund, and of the amount of aid to be appropriated in each particular case.

RULE 16. In doubtful cases requiring investigation a committee of leaders shall be appointed for that purpose by the deacons, who shall receive the report of the committee and pass upon the merits of such cases.

Attendance.

RULE 17. The members shall regularly attend the services of the Church, except when domestic duties prevent; protracted absence from the same without sufficient excuse shall be considered a just cause for the exercise of discipline.

Baptism of Infants.

RULE 18. Parents shall report the births of their children as early as possible to the leaders of the classes to which they belong; and shall, if possible, present their children for baptism within four months after their birth.

MEETINGS AND SERVICES.

Outside Meetings.

RULE 1. The Church hereby declares that she will not be responsible for any meetings held outside the church building; and in case the name or authority of the Church, or of the pastor or officers thereof, is used in behalf of such meetings by those who hold them, the parties so doing shall be subject to the discipline of the Church.

Stated Meetings.

RULE 2. The stated meetings of the Church shall be as follows:

A prayer meeting on Sabbath morning, in winter, beginning at 7 o'clock and closing at 8 o'clock; and in summer, beginning at 6 o'clock and closing at 7 o'clock.

A forenoon meeting on Sabbath for public worship and preaching, beginning at half-past 10 o'clock and closing by 12 o'clock, all the year round.

An afternoon meeting on Sabbath, for public worship and preaching, in winter beginning at half-past 3 o'clock, and closing by 5 o'clock, and in summer beginning at half-past 4 o'clock and closing by 6 o'clock.

A prayer meeting on Monday night, in winter beginning at 7 o'clock and closing by half-past 8 o'clock, and in summer beginning at 8 o'clock and closing by half-past 9 o'clock.

A meeting for the instruction of inquirers and candidates for membership, on Tuesday night, in winter beginning at 7 o'clock and closing by half-past 8 o'clock, and in summer beginning at 8 o'clock and closing by half-past 9 o'clock.

A meeting of the classes on Wednesday night, in winter beginning at 7 o'clock and closing by half-past 8 o'clock, and in summer beginning at 8 o'clock and closing by half-past 9 o'clock.

A meeting of the leaders in connection with the Session's Committee on Classes, once a fortnight on Friday night.

RULE 3. The expediency of holding any other than the stated meetings shall be determined by the Session.

Mode of Conducting Meetings.

RULE 4. No meeting shall be held without the presence of responsible white persons approved by the Session.

RULE 5. Every meeting shall be presided over by one or more of the officers of the Church, or by some white member or members of the Church approved by the Session.

Seating of Congregation.

RULE 6. The person who first occupies a seat shall be entitled to hold the same; except in the case of the leaders and singers for whom particular seats shall be reserved; and in the case of aged and infirm persons, who shall upon application be entitled to occupy particular seats.

RULE 7. Ordinarily males and females shall occupy separate seats.

RULE 8. A white superintendent and persons under his direction shall be appointed by the Session who shall be charged with the seating of the congregation and the maintenance of order. Cases of difficulty which cannot otherwise be adjusted shall be immediately referred to the superintendent, who shall proceed to rectify them.

RULE 9. The Sacrament of Baptism shall be administered to adults on the Communion Sabbath on which they make a public profession of their faith.

RULE 10. The Sacrament of Baptism shall be statedly administered to infants on the afternoon of the Sabbath next after the Communion Sabbath, at which time parents who have children to be baptized are expected to present them.

RULE 11. The names of the children to be baptized shall be reported to the Session before the ordinance is administered.

RULE 12. Only parents shall present their children for baptism; or in case of the death of the parents, only those who stand to the children in the relation of parents.

RULE 13. In accordance with the principles of the Presbyterian Church no child will be baptized, except one of the parents be a member of an evangelical church.

RULE 14. The baptism of adults and of infants shall be administered at the Church, except in extraordinary cases of which the Session shall be the judge.

The Lord's Supper.

RULE 15. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall be statedly administered once a quarter, namely—on

the afternoon of the first Sabbath in March, June, September and December.

RULE 16. No candidates for Church membership shall partake of the Lord's Supper until they shall have been admitted by the Session into the communion of the Church.

RULE 17. Persons, who were not baptized in infancy, shall not partake of the Lord's Supper until they shall have been baptized as adults.

RULE 18. The Lord's Supper shall be administered only at the Church, except in extraordinary cases of which the Session shall be the judge.

Funerals.

RULE 19. Funeral services shall be conducted by the pastor or by persons appointed by the Session.

LEADERS.

Appointment.

RULE 1. The leaders shall be appointed by the Session, and continued in service at the discretion of that body.

Charges.

RULE 2. Each leader shall have charge of one of the classes, for the good order of which he shall be responsible to the Session.

Duties.

RULE 3. It shall be the duty of the leaders to meet with their classes weekly at the Church; to visit and look after the members; to assist in taking care of the sick and needy; and to superintend the burial of the dead.

RULE 4. It shall be the duty of the leaders to report the cases of sickness and want which require aid; and also those which call for the attention of the pastor.

RULE 5. It shall be their duty to report all cases which appear to require the exercise of discipline.

RULE 6. It shall be their duty to summon parties for trial or examination by the Session, according to the direction of that body.

RULE 7. It shall be their duty to examine into all applications for marriage, and to report thereon to the pastor.

RULE 8. It shall be their duty—as it is their privilege—to set a good example to the members by punctual attendance upon the services of the Church.

RULE 9. Only those leaders shall be exhorters and shall be entitled to conduct funeral services, who have been appointed by the Session.

Assistants.

RULE 10. Assistants to the leaders shall be appointed by the Session and continued in service at the discretion of that body.

RULE 11. It shall be the duty of the assistants to aid the leaders in looking after the members; in visiting the sick and needy; and in burying the dead.

RULE 12. The appointment of assistants shall not be considered as giving them any necessary claim to be future leaders; and the Session shall decide upon their fitness or unfitness, after trial as assistants, to be promoted to the leadership.

Leaders' Meeting.

RULE 13. The leaders' meetings shall always be presided over by the Session's Committee on Classes; and

none shall be held without the presence of that committee.

RULE 14. At these meetings, the leaders shall present a report of the condition of their classes; and all cases of difficulty not requiring the intervention of Session shall be adjusted.

RULE 15. One member of the Session's Committee on Classes shall be considered a quorum competent to the transaction of business at the leaders' meeting, except in very important and difficult cases.

RULE 16. The assistant leaders shall be expected to attend the leaders' meetings, except when in the judgment of the committee on classes their presence shall be deemed inexpedient.

Candidates' Leader.

RULE 17. The candidates shall be placed under the care of a leader to be called the candidates' leader, who shall not be connected with any of the members' classes; and he shall have an assistant or assistants who shall be appointed by the Session.

Duties.

RULE 18. It shall be the duty of the candidates' leader to be present at the candidates' meetings; to look after and visit them; to examine into the character and conduct of all applicants for membership; and to report upon all these matters to the Session's Committee on Candidates.

INSTRUCTION.

Superintendence of Instruction.

RULE 1. Instruction shall always be imparted by or under the immediate supervision of one or more of the officers of the Church designated by the Session and

responsible to it. In the absence of the officers this duty may devolve on white members of the Church appointed by the Session and responsible to it.

Matter of Instruction.

RULE 2. Nothing shall be taught which is not in strict accordance with the Bible and the Standards of the Presbyterian Church.

Form of Instruction.

RULE 3. The form of instruction shall be *oral*.

Parties to be Instructed.

RULE 4. The members of the Church shall be catechetically instructed once a week when assembled as classes.

RULE 5. Candidates for Church membership shall be catechetically instructed as a class once a week by a member of Session; and at the same time they shall be individually conversed with and examined by the pastor touching their experience and qualifications for admission into the Church.

RULE 6. Bible classes of advanced children, and of adults, shall be instructed by the white members of the Church immediately after the afternoon service on the Sabbath.

RULE 7. The children shall be catechetically instructed on the afternoon of every Sabbath, except those on which the Lord's Supper is administered.

RULE 8. A class of young men shall be regularly instructed with a view chiefly to the appointment of leaders, as they may be required by the wants of the Church. This class may include the leaders and assistant leaders.

MARRIAGES.

Application to Leader.

RULE 1. Parties wishing to be married shall first apply to a leader of this Church in order that an opportunity may be afforded for an investigation of their case, and a report thereupon to the pastor.

Second Marriages.

RULE 2. Members of the Church purposing to marry a second time, except in the case of the death of a former husband or wife, shall first secure the consent of the Session to such second marriage.

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF CHURCH
WORK.

The principles and methods of church work were thoroughly modern, and explain in a measure the wonderful efficiency of the church. They are as follows:

"PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF CHURCH WORK.

"Paper Submitted by J. L. G. to Session of Zion Church, Glebe Street, Charleston, and Adopted by It.

"1. The church as the body of which Christ is the living Head, and the Holy Spirit the informing life, is itself a living organism, every particular member of which is intended to discharge a vital function.

"2. As such a living organism the church is competent to do every work which Christ, its Head, has designed it to accomplish; and as, from its very nature, it is a society which was constituted for the purpose of discharging missionary, benevolent and charitable offices, every member of the church is by virtue of his relation to it a member of a missionary, benevolent and

charitable society, and is both obliged and privileged to perform the duties which grow out of that relation.

“3. What cannot be done by individuals ought to be done by an association of individuals. The principle of combination ought to be recognized and employed by the church for the prosecution of the work which the Master has assigned her. Each particular combination of members will be but a committee of the whole society. It will be the church acting through a committee.

“4. The principle of division of labour ought to be employed. Different combinations or committees of the members of the church may have distinct spheres of labour assigned them in accordance with their gifts, or elected by themselves as their abilities, opportunities and wishes may lead them.

“5. The principle of thorough-going responsibility should be invoked in connexion with the others in order to the complete and regulated employment of the working energies of a church. Each association or committee of members ought to be responsible to the session as the Divinely appointed rulers of the congregation, to act under their advice, and to present to them, at stated intervals, reports of its operations.

“The following resolutions are submitted for the consideration of the Session :

“1. That an effort be made to put these principles into practical operation in this church.

“2. That for this purpose, meetings of the male and female members of the church be separately called; that the subject be laid before them; and that they be requested to take part in the endeavour to reduce these principles to practice.

“3. That the female members of the church be requested to form the following associations or committees: 1. Circles of prayer. 2. A sewing circle. 3. A missionary committee. 4. A visiting committee.

“4. That the male members of the church be requested to form the following committees: 1. A missionary committee. 2. A committee on the sick.

“5. That upon the agreement of the members to act upon these committees, said committees be formally appointed or at least endorsed by the Session.

“6. That each of these committees shall periodically submit reports of its operations to the Session, excepting the circles of prayer.’”

Dr. Girardeau preached habitually to from 1,500 to 2,000 people, yet his membership was never what would be called large. Here is his own statement of membership:

“Dec. 1860.

Coloured Members.	462
White	“ 62
	—————
Total	“ 524
	—————

460—Total coloured communicants Apr. 1861.

“At the close of the war (1865) the number of coloured members was precisely 500. In January, 1876, when a call was made for those who wished to be re-enrolled, 116 responded. Subsequently the number of coloured members swelled to over 450, when the General Assembly adopted the policy of separation between the races, and I retired from the work. The

church afterwards ran down. Now, 1884, it seems to look up a little.”

The greatest event in his ministry was the revival in the later fifties. This began with a prayer meeting that constantly increased until the house was filled. Some of the officers of the church wanted him to commence preaching services, but he steadily refused, waiting for the outpouring of the Spirit. His view was that the Father had given to Jesus, as the King and Head of the church, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and that Jesus in His sovereign administration of the affairs of his church, bestowed him upon whomsoever He pleased, and in whatever measure He pleased. Day after day he, therefore, kept his prayer addressed directly to the mediatorial throne for the Holy Spirit in mighty reviving power.

One evening, while leading the people in prayer, he received a sensation as if a bolt of electricity had struck his head and diffused itself through his whole body. For a little while he stood speechless under the strange physical feeling. Then he said: “The Holy Spirit has come; we will begin preaching tomorrow evening.” He closed the service with a hymn, dismissed the congregation, and came down from the pulpit; but no one left the house. The whole congregation had quietly resumed its seat. Instantly he realized the situation. The Holy Spirit had not only come to him—He had also taken possession of the hearts of the people. Immediately he began exhorting them to accept the Gospel. They began to sob, softly, like the falling of rain; then, with deeper emotion, to weep bitterly, or to rejoice loudly, according to their circumstances. It was midnight before he could dismiss his congrega-

tion. A noted evangelist from the North, who was present, said, between his sobs, to an officer of the church: "I never saw it on this fashion." The meeting went on night and day for eight weeks. Large numbers of both white and black were converted and joined the various churches of the city. His own was wonderfully built up, not only in numbers, but also in an experience that remained in the church. He was accustomed to say that he could always count on those who were converted in that meeting. This was probably due to the deep work of conviction of sin, the protracted period of the conviction, the clear sense of pardon, and the joyful witness of the Spirit to their adoption.

His sermons during the meetings, as shown by his notes, were very instructive. He dealt with the great doctrines of sin, regeneration, faith, justification, repentance and such subjects. None of those who went through these meetings ever forgot the wonderful preaching.

About this period revivals occurred over practically the whole country, and large numbers of young men were brought into the church. Dr. Girardeau frequently referred to this as the Lord's mercy in gathering His elect for the great war that was soon to sweep so many of them into eternity.

After the war another great effort was made to secure a revival of the same kind. A sunrise prayer meeting was organized for the sole purpose of praying for such a work of grace, and although the people went into it with great enthusiasm and with high expectations, after several months of earnest and persistent effort many of them began to cease their attendance. Some with stronger faith continued for a year

before becoming discouraged and finally giving up hope. In speaking of this great struggle, Dr. Girardeau was accustomed to say, "God is a Sovereign."

His ministry was filled with interesting and sometimes exciting circumstances. The following one came near being tragic: A few years before the war, two negroes were charged with having killed a white man. One was captured, the other escaped. The captured one had applied for membership in Zion church some time before this occurrence. Dr. Girardeau, as his custom was, put him on probation. This negro affirmed that he was only a witness to the killing, and that the other negro had committed the murder. He was, however, convicted and hanged. Just after the execution Dr. Girardeau announced that he would preach on this negro's death, meaning to use it as a warning to negroes against bad company, sinful living, and delay in coming to Christ. Somehow the report got started that he was going to preach a sermon justifying the negro. The excited state of public feeling, and the lack of acquaintance with the young preacher to the slaves, enabled the report to gain credence. On Saturday evening before the sermon was to be preached, Mr. Dan Campbell, a member of Zion Church, was on his way to Summerville when he noticed near the depot a large crowd of excited men. Joining them, he found that his pastor was the subject of discussion. Some were in favor of killing him outright as a dangerous character, others thought best to tar and feather him and burn the church. Mr. Campbell saw that the spirit of the mob was dangerous, and, giving up his trip, hastened to report the matter to his father, an elder in the church, and a warm friend of Dr. Girardeau's. The situation was explained to the mayor, and

a strong guard secured for the church while the white members of the congregation guarded the house of the preacher, all unknown to him.

On Sunday afternoon, the time for preaching the sermon, the Charleston Minute Men, as they called themselves, filled one gallery of the church. They were all armed and had come for the purpose of shooting the preacher as soon as the subject should be mentioned. The opposite gallery was filled with his friends, who were also armed, and were determined to shoot the first man who drew a gun. Below were a great mass of negroes, determined that if anything should happen to their beloved pastor to destroy every "minute man" in the building. The house, the windows, the doors, the streets were packed. Dr. Girardeau, accompanied by his little son, John, went calmly to the church, worked his way through the crowd to a side entrance, and quietly entered his pulpit. After carefully looking over his great audience, he bowed his head and asked the Lord to control their hearts and minds until they should see the drift of his sermon. The services went on without excitement on his part, but when he began to preach the tenseness of his congregation seemed to excite all of his masterful powers to the very highest activity, and the spell of his eloquence soon made Minute Man and churchman and negro forget what had brought them together. When he reached his climax and showed the awful consequences of sin in the struggling form of the condemned and hanging criminal, and pointed quickly to the condemned and dying form of the Son of God making an atonement for the sinner, his audience broke down. Then, amid their tears and groans, he exhorted them to faith and repentance. When he

had finished, the Minute Men stopped to apologize, and many of them became attendants of his church and were among the warmest of his admirers. The leader of the company afterwards entreated him to take a trip to Europe at his expense.

Another serious case was that of Riley, the hackman. This was after the war. Riley was a negro Democrat who always voted with the white men, which displeased the negroes so much that after an election in which they were defeated, they planned to take their revenge on him. They watched their chance until they got him hemmed up in a narrow street. Fortunately, he was riding a very fine horse, to which he put spurs and so riding down some and knocking off others who tried to catch him, he managed to escape. As he fled Mr. Trenholm, who saw the situation, opened the gate of his back yard, which, like many Charleston yards, was enclosed with a high stout fence, and as soon as Riley was in, closed and locked the gate. Several of Mr. Trenholm's neighbors gathered, and the negroes were warned not to come into the yard. In the meantime Riley's wife, hearing of the trouble, fled from her house to that of Dr. Girardeau. And although he promised her protection, he could not overcome her fear sufficiently to keep her from running to the garret and hiding herself under some furniture. A crowd soon followed, crying, "Kill her! Kill her!" Dr. Girardeau's sons got their shot-guns and joined their father. He told the crowd that he was going to protect the woman, and advised them to leave. Some of the bolder spirits, however, approached the gate in a threatening manner. He ordered them to stop, and in a firm, calm way, told them that the first man who put his foot in the yard would be shot

down. After talking to them for a while, he dismissed them and they quietly withdrew.

Humorous incidents were constantly occurring. In the congregation was an old negro who had been imported from Africa, and who developed real piety, showing zeal and earnestness in all his Christian duties. He loved his pastor and imitated him in every possible way. The congregation, therefore, understood how he happened, in the open meeting, to pray, "Lord, be merciful to Thy unworthy servant, our pastor, and keep him in health that he may do Thy work."

On another occasion one of his negro members asked another negro to go with him to church. The latter, refusing on the ground that the church had a white preacher, received this prompt reply from Dr. Girardeau's friend, "Yas, he face is white, but he heart is black."

When the war began Dr. Girardeau went to the front as chaplain in the Twenty-third South Carolina Regiment. His church, like many others in the South, had to take care of itself. When the war was over and he returned to Charleston, he found a stricken city and an impoverished people, with scattered and dismantled congregations, calling for the exercise of all of his faith and piety. Although he began work with the white churches, his heart went out to his old negro members, many of whom remained in the city. When these, getting together, formally called him to become their pastor, he consented, provided the rules that had governed the church during slavery should still be the law of the church. To this the negroes heartily agreed, and he became the pastor of the negroes as well as of the white people of Glebe Street. This relation continued until 1869, when the action of the General As-

sembly recommending that the negroes be placed in separate church, led to the setting off of three hundred and fifty-five negroes who were organized into a separate church, and Dr. Girardeau's relation to them was ended. During the last two years of his work as pastor of both the white and colored people Dr. J. B. Mack was associated with him in the work.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONFEDERATE CHAPLAIN

By D. W. McLAURIN.

I have been requested to briefly sketch my recollections of the services of the late Reverend John L. Girardeau, D. D., as chaplain of the Twenty-third Regiment of the South Carolina Volunteers.

Upon first blush it may appear but a small undertaking to follow the course and delineate the services of this active man and eulogize his conduct and transcendent genius. But after the lapse of fifty years, which have been filled with shifting scenes and ruthless contact with this workaday world, I find that the mind is not so quick to summons to its command the details of those years of conflict.

It is true that no man who followed the Stars and Bars as his pillar of cloud by day and his pillar of fire by night can refrain, at times, from contemplating retrospectively and living over again the days when he battled for the life of the Confederacy. When an attempt is made, however, to summons the actors in those bloody dramas upon the stage and take a panoramic view of the entire four years of the death-dealing tempest, there are numerous details which escape the memory and leave only their shadowy forms behind.

It is needless to mention the impossibility, in a brief sketch such as this must necessarily be, of doing justice to the object of the discourse, and in my portrayal there

will of necessity appear very often the personal pronoun.

In treating of the army life of our chaplain, it will be necessary to follow, in a casual way, the checkered career of our regiment, and in doing so, it will only be necessary to recall that throughout the varying vicissitudes, the hardships of the march, the bloody carnage of the battlefield, or the quiet and less dramatic routine of the camp, he was ever with us, inspiring confidence by his presence, inculcating a just conception of our duty to our country and to our God.

In the summer of 1861 Col. L. M. Hatch organized four companies from Charleston District into a battalion for coast service. In the early fall six companies from the Piedmont section of South Carolina were added to it and organized as the Twenty-third regiment of South Carolina Volunteers. It was upon this organization that Doctor John L. Girardeau was appointed to attend as chaplain. Here began the services that were to end only with his capture, which occurred when the bleeding Confederacy was tottering to its fall.

The regiment, as it assembled on Morris Island, was composed of four companies from Charleston, A, B, C, and D; two companies from Marion, E and H; Company F from Chester; Company G from Marlboro; Company I from Clarendon, and Company K from Sumter. This was the consummation of the organization, and we began regular battalion and regimental drill. About this time was begun the construction of Fort Wagner, which later assisted in withstanding the Federal siege.

It was near Fort Wagner in March, 1862, that a vessel, while trying to run the blockade, was grounded,

and so near was it to our position that at low tide a large number of our regiment waded out to it for the purpose of saving the cargo. The Union gunboats immediately opened fire upon us. As I had been drilled in artillery practice prior to this time, I was detailed by the colonel of the regiment to take position behind a sand hill with two pieces of field artillery and return the fire. After a spirited duel, lasting several minutes, the Union boats withdrew, leaving three of our men wounded by fragments of shells. We then proceeded to bring the remainder of the cargo ashore and burn the vessel.

We continued our routine camp duties until April, when we were reorganized and enlisted for the war. Capt. H. L. Benbow was elected colonel of the regiment, Capt. R. H. Roberts, lieutenant-colonel, and John R. Wilden, major.

On the fifteenth day of the following June we were to be brought for the first time within sight of the clash of arms. The enemy made a desperate assault upon the fortifications of Secessionville, James Island, and after a desperate struggle, were repulsed by a portion of Evans' Brigade and driven to their boats in Stono River.

Immediately following this repulse there occurred an incident worth relating. The ascendancy of the Christ-spirit above human nature was never better exemplified. Dr. Girardeau, though one of the most ardent of Southerners, one, in fact, who was never reconstructed, went down on his knees by these dying Union soldiers and offered up fervent prayers to his God for their final salvation. R. E. Seabrook described this incident to the *News and Courier* in the following language:

“The death of the lamented Dr. J. L. Girardeau recalls an incident of the desperate assault on the earthworks of Secessionville, James Island, during the late war, which has never been published, and yet is not only worthy of record, but also eminently characteristic of the Christian charity of that good and great man.

“On the morning of June 16, 1862, I, with others of my command, was detailed to act as one of a bodyguard and as a courier for Gen. N. G. Evans, in command of our troops engaged in defence of James Island. Immediately after the gallant repulse of the enemy, General Evans rode into the earthworks in order to make arrangements to meet a second assault, momentarily expected.

“As we approached the rear of the work, the first thing that attracted my attention was a large number—fifty or more—of mortally wounded and dying Federal soldiers, who had been collected and placed in the excavation behind the magazine. In the midst of these, on his knees, was Dr. Girardeau offering up an earnest and eloquent prayer for those dying soldiers, so lately the enemies of all he loved. I was so moved I forgot war and the dangers incident thereto. In view of the fact that Dr. Girardeau was an ardent, if not bitter, advocate of Southern rights, this triumph of Christian virtue over human nature, this absolute forgiveness accorded to dying and no longer active enemies, emphasized his God-like soul and brings out in radiant light the benediction of this true disciple of the Master. The scene, as witnessed under such tragic surroundings, is worthy of an artist’s brush and deserves to be handed down as a study, exemplifying, as it does, the influence of Christ’s teachings in the most trying circumstances,

‘Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.’ ”

By the 20th day of June the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-second and Twenty-third regiments, and Holcomb’s Legion were combined into a brigade, and N. G. Evans was placed in command. Then began our work in earnest. Our regimental and brigade drills became a serious matter, as we realized that we were preparing for active service in Virginia.

In the latter part of that memorable month of June, 1862, our brigade was ordered to Virginia, to the great delight of all. We passed through Richmond and were stationed at Thayer’s Farm for a few days, only to break camp on a minute’s notice and take up the march for Malvern Hill and there, under General Longstreet, to participate in the historic battle of that name. The slaughter on that day was fearful, and the fighting continued long after darkness had fallen. Through the drenching rain on the following morning we looked for the enemy in vain; they had withdrawn under cover of darkness.

While awaiting the designated hour for the assault, Dr. Girardeau showed his earnest solicitation for the spiritual and physical man by speaking words of hope and cheer, and urging all to pray for Divine assistance. Upon this bloody field we saw the tender consideration with which he treated the wounded, Confederate and Federal alike, and here was the real beginning of my friendship for that prince of men, which afterwards became cemented by the common brotherhood of suffering and privations which we underwent together. From this time on to the close of the war Dr. Girardeau became more closely associated with our regiment,

until he became the personal friend of every man with whom he came in contact.

Within a few days we were issued five days' rations and twenty-five rounds more of ammunition and took up the march for Richmond. Here we were loaded on the cars and carried over to Gordonsville, and there saw for the first time the idol of the South, and the terror of the Union lines, Gen. Thomas J. Jackson.

History is replete with illustrations of hardships borne by the men in the ranks. Southern history, at least, rings with applause for the immortal Stonewall Jackson and his famous foot cavalry. From this time on to the close of the war we were to undergo the same hardships that gave the Stonewall brigade a place in history. We were moved as men upon a chess board. From Gordonsville we were marched to Martin's Cross Roads and went into camp for several days.

A glance at any authentic history will readily reveal the forced marches, the skirmishes, and the fights in which we participated from Malvern Hill to Second Manassas. On several occasions, when the weary soldiers were staggering along, scarcely able to go, after having marched all day and night, Dr. Girardeau would dismount and lend his horse to some one and he would take up the march with the regiment.

After a hard march we reached the Rapidan River and were permitted a few hours rest. Early in the following morning we were awakened by the dull roar of cannon and the rattle of musketry, and on the distant hills we could see the blue lines in motion. We forded the river, formed in line of battle and continued in our position until far into the day. Under a heavy artillery fire here, we lost the first man in our company—Corporal J. W. Allen. The summer sun on

this sultry day was almost unbearable, but toward evening we began our march for the Rappahannock.

Here followed a chain of events which would have been laughable, indeed, had it not been so serious. We were ordered to store our baggage for transportation to Brandy Station. An unfortunate cavalry raid destroyed all of our possessions, and for months we were forced to forego the pleasures of a change of clothing. Rain, dust, and heat were alike deposited on everybody's one and only uniform.

On the 28th of August we arrived at Manassas Gap and halted for the night. When the first gray streaks of dawn were lighting the Virginia sky on the morning of the 29th, we were ordered to fall in line and began a double quick march for Bull Run.

We met the enemy on this little stream, already made famous by the battle of that name, fought on its banks one year before. The fighting was hard and the ground stubbornly contested; however, we succeeded in driving the blue lines back, and just before night repulsed a determined cavalry charge. We rested on our arms that night and awoke to renew the conflict.

In the early hours of the morning the hills echoed with the roar of artillery, and the battle was begun. The enemy made a desperate attack on our lines, but were repulsed. One attack followed another; the lines surged back and forth; first advancing and then receding, and so it continued throughout the day. As the night was closing in on this bloody field the Union lines began breaking up and General Lee ordered a charge along the whole line.

General Hood advanced his Texans to the front and right, and our brigade followed over the same ground where the havoc that had been wrought was easily dis-

cernable. The ground was strewn with the dead and dying. Hood's Texas Rangers had made a desperate assault. To our left was Walker and his Alabamians. This was one of the most fatal battles of the war for our regiment. We advanced under heavy artillery and musketry fire which was literally sweeping the field. Colonel Benbow and Major Wilden were both wounded, of which wound the latter died a week later.

We were ordered to take the Union battery which was dealing its iron death to our ranks. We would fall down until the discharge was fired over our heads and arise and run. This continued until we were within about a hundred yards of the battery, when we gave the rebel yell, dashed up the incline, sweeping everything before us. We captured the battery and pursued the enemy until after dark, when a halt was ordered for the night. Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts received a fatal wound in this charge, of which he died a week later.

Another great battle had been won, but at a fearful cost. More than two-thirds of our regiment was killed or wounded. Many are the recorded acts of heroic conduct on this bloody field, but, like the man in the ranks, without whom there could be no army nor ever a battle won, but whose name is never mentioned in song or story, so was our beloved chaplain as he moved among us, constantly exposed to the deadly fire of the enemy, trying to alleviate the suffering of the wounded, and assist them in making peace with their God before being ushered into His presence.

Following this great battle came our first Maryland campaign. Dr. Girardeau did not accompany the regiment into Maryland. He remained by the bedside of his friends, Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts and Major

Wilden, until his vigilance was relieved by the grim reaper, Death, which carried those intimate friends across the still waters within fifteen minutes of each other. Beyond the Potomac we were in the midst of the fight. Boonsboro and Antietam, or Sharpsburg, as it was called, are too fully set forth upon the pages of history to require any review at my hands. After the latter, however—one of the bloodiest battles of the entire war—we about faced and retraced our march across the Potomac into Virginia.

We went into camp near Winchester, and were here joined by Dr. Girardeau, to the great delight of all. Here we were allowed to rest and recuperate, and we were joined by a number of those who had been prevented by wounds and sickness. In this quiet and beautiful valley of the Shenandoah was constructed a rough house of worship, in which prayer services were held regularly by the subject of this sketch.

In the early days of December, 1862, we were started on the march for Fredericksburg, but had gone only a short distance when our regiment was loaded on the cars, which were covered with snow, and passed through Richmond to Tarboro, N. C. A wait of several days and we were moved on to Kinston, and then went into encampment near New Bern.

Our brief stay here was among the most enjoyable of the war. We were furnished with fresh vegetables and various other foods that were soon thereafter to become unknown in our army. But the All-Wise Dispenser has seen fit to allow the mingling of the bitter with the sweet; to allow the poisonous vine to entwine itself around the vines of luscious grapes. So, necessarily, when the country was overrun with the iron heel of war, and the blood of patriots flowed on every

field, we could not remain idle. General Foster, of the Union army was approaching Goldsboro with seven thousand men for the purpose of destroying the railroad. General Evans, with his brigade of twenty-five hundred men, marched out to intercept him and save the railroad. After a desperate struggle we succeeded in pressing them back and finally drove them from the field, from which they retired to New Bern. We followed as far as Kinston, where we remained until the first of December, and from there went to Wilmington, N. C., where we were quartered for the winter.

In the following March we were transported to Charleston, S. C., and over to Mount Pleasant and Sullivan's Island. We remained here for over a month, enjoying good things sent from home and seeing some of our friends from various parts of the State.

In May Col. A. D. Smith, with the Twenty-sixth regiment, joined our brigade and remained with us throughout the remainder of the war. Shortly after this we were ordered to report at Jackson, Miss. It appeared that Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was concentrating his forces here with a view of relieving Vicksburg, which was undergoing that historic siege. Upon our arrival we went into camp on the bank of Pearl River. About the 1st of July we were marched up the Big Black River and on toward Vicksburg. We were halted without warning and about-faced and marched back. All was in confusion; there seemed to be some mystery about this strange proceeding, and finally the news was whispered down the line that Vicksburg, with all its garrison, had surrendered.

The hardships of this march were almost unbearable. The road was ground into a fine dust several inches deep; there was no water to be had except from cow

ponds, which were stagnant and pregnant with the seeds of pestilence and death. All this, under a July sun, contributed to the hardships. The Union army was following close upon our heels. General Johnston halted and threw up temporary works and awaited the attack, which came with great energy. These assaults continued for eight days, always with great vigor, but we succeeded in repulsing them with heavy loss.

Our regiment bore the brunt of the battle in these engagements. We were sent out as skirmishers. One shell wounded the color-bearer, Elwell, who lost his right arm. After the war he became a minister in the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church. Two of the color-guards were also wounded and one was killed. I alone of the five remained unhurt, and carried the colors for some time thereafter.

General Johnston then evacuated Jackson and fell back on Meridian but was not followed.

In August we were ordered to Savannah, Ga., where we went into camp on the Isle of Hope for a short time, and then were moved to Charleston, S. C., and stationed on Sullivan's Island, doing picket duty on Long Island and relieving the garrison at Fort Sumter, occasionally, for several months.

Early in January, 1864, we were again moved to Wilmington, N. C., where we remained until the following May, when we were ordered to meet Butler at Bermuda Hundred, Va., on which point he was moving for the purpose of destroying the railroads. After continual engagements for some time we succeeded in driving the Union forces away from the railroad.

On the 15th day of June we were ordered to Petersburg to meet General Grant. On the morning of the 16th there was some skirmishing, and in the afternoon the fighting was severe for several hours, continuing

at intervals until far into the night. By dawn on the following morning the battle was in full progress. There was charge and counter charge along the whole line of battle. The unabating fury extended far into the evening without cessation. About dusk the Union army made a desperate assault on our lines, and after a death struggle at each others' throats, our line was broken, and for a time the situation was serious indeed, but we were reinforced and the battle broke out with renewed fury and continued until after midnight, when the Union army withdrew and left us in possession of the field.

On this night we were ordered to desert our lines, fall back a few hundred yards and reform. General Beauregard had found his lines entirely too long for the number of men he had, so we took a position nearer to Petersburg and began to dig, with split canteens, bayonets, tin plates, and anything that we could get, that could be used, to erect our fortifications, and this was the line permanently established and the beginning of that formidable line of breastworks that defied Grant and the whole Northern army for nearly a year.

In the early morning of the 18th the conflict was renewed. By noon the assault was terrific, as the Union army hurled brigade after brigade against our newly made works, and their guns assisted, but with little effect. Night came and there was a temporary lull, and then could be seen the fearful cost at which the Federals had made their determined but futile attack, as the ground was thickly strewn with their dead.

On the evening of the 18th the two great armies had come into line facing each other for the death grapple, this time for the settlement forever of the issues by

force of arms. Grant and Lee, those grim adversaries, stood in full battle array for the final conflict, the siege of Petersburg had begun.

In the trenches for days, weeks and months, Dr. Girardeau was always with the soldiers, bearing their privations and undergoing the same hardships with them, always lending cheer to all with whom he came in contact. He held regular prayer meetings even under these trying conditions, and many times he came into the trenches and, gathering a little crowd around him, expounded the Scripture and prayed with them. On these occasions, so close were the lines together, that our singing would attract the attention of the Union gunners and cause them to open fire on us.

On one occasion, Dr. Dabney, the chaplain of the Army of Northern Virginia, invited Dr. Girardeau to conduct services for him in Petersburg. The house was crowded to the extent of its capacity, and just before the services began Gen. Robert E. Lee and his staff came in and occupied the seats reserved on the rostrum. Although the siege was in full blast, under the magic of his eloquence we were forced away from the consideration of this mundane sphere and given a picture of the world where bloodshed is unknown.

Conditions gradually grew worse in the trenches. We could not expose the least part of our person above the works without the imminent danger of being picked off by a sharpshooter's bullet. The war had practically narrowed down to the desire to kill, regardless of how it was done. There were no more battles fought as in the first few years of the struggle, but from morning until night, and throughout the night the Union batteries were never hushed.

There was but little change in general conditions until July, when it became apparent to all that the enemy was tunnelling somewhere, probably under our works, as we could see from day to day fresh dirt which they were hauling out. So sure of this fact had some of our generals become that they sank several shafts and tunnelled before our works for the purpose of intercepting their tunnel. This, however, proved a failure, as we did not intercept them.

History records the fatal occurrence of the Crater, but it may not be amiss for me to state here that our regiment was stationed directly over this mine from the 18th day of June until the 29th day of July, when we were moved about a hundred yards up the trenches to our right, and the Twenty-second Regiment took our place.

About 4:30 on the morning of the 30th of July the whole earth seemed to tremble, and to our left there shot far into the heavens a solid mass of fire, smoke, cannon, timbers and human beings, as if a volcano had been born in a minute. The expected had come, but even though expected, it was a great surprise. We were in position in a few minutes, however, ready for the attack that we were certain would follow.

The smoke had scarcely died away when the Union lines surged up to the mouth of the crater, and we opened a death-dealing fire upon them. They halted, swung to the right and went into the mouth of the crater. Charge after charge was made with like result. One brigade of negroes was among those who were hurled into this crater. Our mortar batteries were stationed back of this seething mine and the iron hail was terrific. The hole was soon filled with the dead and dying. Several attempts were made by the Federals to

pass around the crater and occupy Cemetery Hill in the rear, but they, like those who had come before, were hurled back to the same doom.

Our regiment lost heavier in this engagement than in any other during the war. The ensign, D. J. Kelly, was killed and Corporal Richbourg, and one of the color-guards wounded. I and one other of the color-guards escaped injury.

We were in the midst of the fight from the time of the explosion until the last charge was made about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when we drove them from the crater. We buried our dead in the rear; and hundreds of the men in blue in the crater and in front of the works. Under the July sun the stench from the dead men and the blood was almost unbearable, and this continued for months. No one who has never undergone such an experience can realize the conditions as they really were.

The siege continued without cessation. We were always in the trenches, except for a day or two at the time, when we were moved out to rest and others took our places. Not only were we fighting overwhelming odds in our front, but daily the contest with famine grew more acute. We were half clad and shivering over feeble fires, exposed to snow and sleet with the pangs of hunger, an ever present companion, while sickness and disease grew apace.

As the spring opened General Grant began mobilizing his entire force before Petersburg for the final struggle. The Confederate lines had been stretched until they were almost ready to break of their own weight. To the far-sighted the fall of the Confederacy was imminent and inevitable. Only that hope which "springs eternal in the human breast" was left us. The

South must succumb to the overwhelming numbers and powerful material resources of the North, despite its courage and sacrifice.

At about 4 o'clock on the morning of the 25th day of March, 1865, our regiment composed a part of the storming force under the intrepid John B. Gordon for the capture of Fort Stedman. As the signal gun was fired we rushed across the open space between the lines, captured the batteries and turned them on the blue hosts that were swarming around us. This fort was situated about the center of the Federal lines. Their batteries of each side commanded a direct sweep of the field, and their entire batteries were turned on us. The carnage was fearful, as charge after charge was made against us and repulsed with heavy loss.

Our anticipated support never came. We captured the fort and held it as long as possible under the withering fire of the Federal batteries and the concentrated musketry fire, but with the small force we had it was impossible to long hold back the contending hosts, and those who were not killed or wounded drifted back to our lines. So ended this forlorn hope of our beleaguered army.

It was now apparent that General Lee was desirous of uniting his army with that under Johnston, so the evacuation of the trenches and the retreat followed.

I shall not attempt to follow step by step our movements until the surrender at Appomattox, as our desperate struggle for a lease of life, even when bound hand and foot, are too well known to all to require mention from me. On the retreat, however, at one time we were engaged in a desperate struggle far in the night. Dr. Girardeau approached the colonel of the regiment, touched him on the shoulder, asked if his

men were not aiming too high, and suggested that they be ordered to aim lower. Shortly after this occurrence Dr. Girardeau was captured by the enemy, and I shall briefly refer to that again.

Then came the closing scene of one of the greatest tragedies ever enacted on the world's stage. Four such acts as the world had never seen before, were played to their conclusion. Now the last act was over, the curtain fell, the actors disappeared from the stage, the lights were extinguished, the Confederacy was dead.

The following is an article taken from the *Christian Observer*, coming from the pen of Rev. H. C. DuBose, D. D.:

"On the retreat from Richmond, April, 1865, besides the decimated battalions of a noble army, two chaplains, James McDowell and J. L. Girardeau, were riding along together, when they alighted and sat beside the road conversing on the stern realities of the gloomy situation. 'The Federals are coming,' sounded along the lines. The former rode forward and joined his own brigade, while in fifteen minutes the latter, with his brave comrades, was captured and on his way to Johnson's Island. He returned from prison about the 1st of July to his family, who had found a secure refuge in the 'back woods' of Darlington County, S. C.

"One of his fellow-captives, Capt. W. E. James, who was a member of the theological class in the island fortress, soon arranged for him to hold ten days' services in the Darlington church. Veterans from all over the district, with their wives and daughters, gathered to hear the Gospel chieftain. On Sunday morning, to an immense audience, he preached on the 'Judgment Day.' The vast galleries were packed, and just in front of me a young man of noble birth, but deaf and dumb,

stood motionless as in mute astonishment and with fixed gaze he beheld the face of the inspired orator, now pale with fear, then flushed with anger, at one time beaming with exquisite tenderness, and at another transfigured before the congregation. He listened, as only the deaf can, through the portals of the eyes, to the sweet notes of welcome, 'Come, ye blessed,' uttered by Zion's judge to the host ascending to the sky with thundering hallelujahs; or to the deep moans of the lost descending to the pit, as they were depicted by the shifting lights and shadows on the face of this prince of preachers. It was the grandest tribute paid to sacred eloquence that it was ever my lot to behold.

"Soon Dr. Girardeau returned to Charleston, invited by the scattered remnants of the white Presbyterian congregation, and was met at the depot by the colored members of the church, who desired to bear him on their shoulders through the streets, and could scarce be restrained in their superabounding enthusiasm.

"In a foot note the editor of the volume of his sermons, published by *The State Company*, says: 'There is nothing in the manuscript of Dr. Girardeau to show when this sermon was prepared.' Either at the time mentioned or during my seminary course I heard some minister remark that Dr. Girardeau said he 'wrote it in 1858 and had never altered the manuscript.'

"Here, a half century having passed, a lad, who was in the gallery of his old home church, and who heard that sermon on the July after the sword was returned to the scabbard, sits July, 1908, now no longer young, in his Chinese study translating this same sermon into the language of Simin, to form with biblical material already prepared, the forty-eighth chapter in his 'Christian Theology.' If now and then he paused in

his pleasant though difficult task and retired from where he was dictating to his writer to allow the unbidden tear to fall, and the thought would arise, 'Why should a man who could preach like this die?' the response would soon be heard in the depths of his soul, 'He is not dead, but speaketh in the tongue of earth's ancient nation for whose evangelization he so earnestly and so frequently pleaded in the pulpits of the Southland.' "

My labors might well end here as I have, in a very unsatisfactory manner, followed like a thread the movements of our regiment. In fact, this may appear to some as more of a sketch of that regiment than of him who forms the basis of the narrative, but it would be impossible to give an idea of his hardships without briefly setting forth those imposed on the regiment with which he was associated. And in this connection I shall append an estimate of him by Dr. J. H. McNeilly, of Nashville, Tenn., and a few excerpts from some of his addresses delivered after peace was restored.

Dr. McNeilly says:

"Among the many ministers with whom I have been associated in the course of my ministry of fifty-six years, my memory most frequently returns to the Rev. John L. Girardeau, D. D., of Columbia, S. C., as the one who, in a brief time, most influenced my ideals of the ministry of the Gospel, and inspired me with enthusiasm in my calling.

"My personal association with Dr. Girardeau was confined to three months during the War between the States, in 1863, though we had occasional correspondence by letter, and I met him two or three times on his journeys in the interest of Columbia Seminary.

“In the campaign under General Jos. E. Johnston for the relief of Vicksburg, I was chaplain of the Forty-ninth Tennessee Infantry—a young preacher recently graduated from the Danville, Kentucky, Seminary. Evans’ Brigade of South Carolina troops was sent from Virginia to reinforce General Johnston in Mississippi. One of the regiments of that brigade was Colonel Benbow’s, of which Dr. Girardeau was chaplain. I had heard a great deal of him as a preacher to the negroes, and as I was an enthusiast about that work, I at once sought him out, and a close friendship was then formed which continued to his death.

“As I was cut off from books, it was my habit during the war to get everything I could out of every preacher I met. As the pumping process went on, in many cases, it did not take long to exhaust the wells, which were not always deep, and soon my bucket drew up sand and mud. But with Dr. Girardeau I never reached the bottom. There came up cool, clear, refreshing waters.

“I was impressed by his wonderful power as a preacher, and by his fluency, clearness, and deep thought in conversation, always brightened by a gentle and vivacious humor that relieved it of tedium.

“I took every opportunity to hear him preach to the soldiers. His voice was a marvelous instrument, clear as a bell, sounding like a bugle, or melting into tenderest pathos, he could sound the triumph of victory, the deepest notes of passion, or the gentlest tones of love. He generally preached for an hour; and chose for his subjects the highest themes of the gospel. I remember one of his sermons was on the ‘Influence of the atonement on other worlds than ours.’ I don’t remember the text, but it was something showing angels’ interest in man’s salvation, ‘which things the

angels desire to look into.' His sermons abounded in appeals to the reason, and while magnifying God's love, they were equally strong in asserting God's justice. He had a passion for righteousness. His manner was a vivacious conversational address; and as some great thought flashed before him, his voice rose to the highest range of impassioned utterance, his language became vivid, while his whole frame quivered with emotion.

"I have heard him preach to 1,000 to 1,500 soldiers, and with all the distractions of camp about them, sometimes in expectation of immediate battle, the whole mass of men were held spellbound by his eloquence. I think not a man left the audience.

"As another example of his power as a preacher, this was told me by my cousin, a major of artillery, who was a prisoner at Johnson's Island. Dr. Girardeau was taken prisoner and carried to the island. He preached very often in the prison. His platform was the center of a great circle from which the streets radiated to the various sections of the barracks. My cousin told me that when Dr. Girardeau preached, not only the circle, but the streets as far as he could be heard, were crowded with eager listeners. Confederates and Federal guards all mingled together, held by a common interest. He said many men dated their conversion from these services.

"As an illustration of Dr. Girardeau's power in the pulpit, I will mention an incident that occurred in Nashville, some time in the seventies. Dr. T. A. Hoyt, a classmate and warm friend of Dr. Girardeau, was pastor of the First Church, and I was pastor of Woodland Street. We were holding a joint meeting in the First Church, and I was doing the preaching. Dr. Girardeau was passing through Nashville, and stopped

over a day with his old classmate. Of course we had him to preach. The service was held in the basement of the church; there were 600 or 700 people present. He preached from the text: 'Him that cometh unto Me, I will in no wise cast out.' He lost sight of everything but the loving Saviour, with wide arms of mercy, welcoming returning sinners. As he closed I and the whole audience were standing, leaning forward.

"In conversation Dr. Girardeau was admirable. He would listen with an interested manner to my dreams and speculations, and if I happened to suggest a thought that took hold of him, he would throw his arms around me and give me a big hug. He had the faculty of all great conversers, of taking a crude thought and passing it through the crucible of his own mind and giving it back to you rich and full with new meaning. We had the habit, after the day's march or after camp duties were over, of getting together and talking late into the night. I had read Sir Wm. Hamilton's Lectures before leaving the Seminary, and he was an enthusiast on metaphysical subjects. I remember he expressed his opinion of a brother minister thus: 'A good man, a strong man, a fine preacher, but he don't care a button for the absolute.'

"The last night we were together was at Meridian, Mississippi. His brigade had been ordered back to the East, and was to start the following morning. We spread our blankets on the depot platform a little after dark. As we talked, or as I listened, I took no note of time. I was fascinated. After a while I saw, as I thought, the moon rising, and remarked, 'Now we'll get more light on our subject.' But it was the sun rising—we had spent the whole night in this soul communion.

“I had but little chance to see his ministrations to the wounded and dying, for my attention was taken up with my own suffering comrades, but at the Battle of Jackson, Mississippi, after the fall of Vicksburg, all of our wounded were taken to a camp across Pearl River, and there I could note the tenderness and faithfulness of his ministrations, as he held up Christ crucified as the only hope of a sinner. All his preaching, that I heard in the army, was full of appeal to men to accept Christ and trust him for life or death.”

In 1866, at Magnolia Cemetery, Dr. Girardeau delivered an address in memory of the Confederate dead, from which the following is taken:

“We are here as mourners today. We have repaired to this burial ground to mingle the tears of a common sorrow, and to pay that tribute of respect to our deceased soldiers which was previously prevented by the hindrances of war. The act which we are assembled to perform is suggested not by acrimony toward the living, but by affection for the dead. . . . It affords, it is true, not only an expression of our grief over the ashes of our heroes, but of our admiration for their character, and our love for their memory and their names; but there is no noble and generous spirit, even among those who were victors in the great and sanguinary struggle through which we have passed, that would refuse us the consolation of dropping a tear, and of laying our chaplets of cypress upon the graves of our dead.

“Whether they were right or wrong in the prosecution of the contest which cost them their lives, the men whose sunken graves we repair, and whose memory we honor, died for us. We can never, never forget that they were sacrificial victims on the altar which

we helped to rear, and that their blood was poured out like water in defence of principles which we avowed, and which we counseled and exhorted them to maintain to the last extremity. For that cause which we as well as they regarded as the exponent of constitutional liberty, and which, during its protracted and agonizing struggle for existence, we loved with a passionate intensity which no words can express—for that cause these men encountered every hardship, underwent every privation, and freely sacrificed their lives. . . .

“The blood, the precious, priceless blood of our brethren, may seem to have been drunk up by the earth in vain—but whatever of truth, whatever of right, whatever of pure and lofty principle there was for which they contended and for which they died, may, in another day, in some golden age, sung by poets, sages and prophets, come forth in the resurrection of buried principles and live to bless mankind, when the bones of its confessors and martyrs shall have mouldered into dust.”

At this same spot, when the dead were being re-interred from Gettysburg, he ended his address as follows:

“Heroes of Gettysburg! Champions of constitutional rights! Martyrs for regulated liberty! Once again, farewell! Descend to your final sleep with a people’s benediction upon your names! Rest ye here, soldiers of a defeated—God grant it may not be a wholly lost—Cause! We may not fire a soldier’s salute over your dust, but the pulses of our hearts beat like muffled drums, and every deep-drawn sigh breathes a low and passionate requiem. Memory will keep her guard of honor over your graves; Love will bedew them with her tears; Faith will draw from them her

inspiration for future sacrifice; and Hope, kindling her torch at the fires which glow in your ashes, will, in its light, look forward to a day when a people once more redeemed and enfranchised will confess that your death was not in vain."

In a sermon preached in the Second Presbyterian, now the Arsenal Hill Presbyterian Church, immediately after the death of Jefferson Davis, he used this language:

"Alas, brethren and friends, our own pathetic circumstances have made us witnesses of the transitoriness of all earthly power. Less than thirty years ago, a young country sprung at once into lusty vigor, the co-ordinate and the peer of the mighty nations of the world. Maintaining principles tinctured by the blood of Revolutionary patriots, illustrated by brilliant military genius, borne forward by the intrepid, the dauntless, the unconquerable valor of her sons, she seemed destined to win assured existence in the teeth of formidable odds, and to wrest her independence from the hands of fate.

"The mediatorial sovereign determined otherwise. The crash of final disaster came, and that country went down into the grave wrapped in her own blood-dyed and battle-torn starry cross, with all her disarmed and broken-hearted children gathered round, and shedding the tears of an inconsolable grief. Her sun, whose rays had dazzled the eyes of the on-looking nations, sunk beneath the horizon, and beam after beam of the receding splendor has vanished from the sky, as hero after hero has descended to the tomb.

"One memorial light still remained—a zodiacal light, shooting its columns into the heavens and continuing to mark the wake of the departed glory. That, too,

has now faded away from the firmament, and darkness settles upon the scene. Jefferson Davis is no more. The distinguished man, who was the representative of a cause we once called ours, has gone to the eternal sphere. His spirit has passed beyond the consciousness of earth's praise and censures, and his body reposes in the gray habit of his loved Confederacy. Standing in imagination, with bowed heads, reverent mien, and falling tears besides the bier on which the illustrious chieftain sleeps his last sleep, contemplating the transitoriness of all earthly power, the evanescence of all earthly glory, encompassed with a sea of uncertainty, threatening to swell into the stormy tumult of communism and anarchy, let us turn for refuge to the immovable kingdom of Jesus Christ.

“All hail, undying King; enthroned on Zion's hill, conqueror of Herod and Pilate, of Jew and Gentile, of sin and satan, death and hell, triumphant recipient of the praises of angelic hosts, of the plaudits of the universe! We roll our interests for time and eternity upon thy everlasting, almighty, invincible arms. None who confide in Thee are ever confounded. Blessed, O Lord of armies, is the people, blessed is the man that trusteth in Thee!”

It was twenty years after the storm had died away and the waves had become still, before I saw Dr. Girardeau again. I met him then at synod in Abbeville, S. C. The last time it was ever my pleasure to be in his company was on the 18th day of December, 1866, when he dedicated the Presbyterian Church at Little Rock, S. C. On that occasion I entertained him in my home.

I shall leave those intervening years to some one else to portray, and merely submit this as my tribute to the

most sublime, the most eloquent, the most devoutly Christian man with whom I have ever been associated. He, like the soldiers over whose graves he so eloquently pleaded, laid everything on the altar of his country, and received from the wreck of war nothing but the gratitude and love of his comrades.

CHAPTER V

PASTORATE AFTER THE WAR

By THOS. H. LAW, D. D.

When the Confederacy fell and hostilities between the North and the South ceased, Rev. J. L. Girardeau was languishing as a prisoner of war on Johnson's Island. For three years or more he had been serving faithfully, zealously and acceptably as chaplain of the Twenty-third South Carolina Regiment, and on the final retreat of the Army of Northern Virginia, although a non-combatant and pursuing strictly his spiritual duties, he was taken prisoner along with other chaplains, surgeons and non-combatants, who, according to the rules of civilized warfare, should have been undisturbed, and hustled off, first to Washington City, and then, despite the remonstrances against such unwaranted treatment, to the Federal prison on Johnson's Island. And here he was held a prisoner, under all the hardships and cruelties which have made that prison infamous, until late in June, long after the war had actually ceased and the Confederate armies had been disbanded.

Upon his release, as soon as he could procure the necessary funds for traveling expenses and decent clothing, by the sale of his watch and the aid of friends in Philadelphia, he returned to his family, at their refugee home, near Timmons ville, S. C. Here I visited him soon after his arrival, heard from his own lips the story of his capture and prolonged imprisonment, sympathized with him in his keen disappoint-

ment at the sad and unexpected result of the contest for States' rights and Southern independence, and shared his righteous indignation at the manner in which the Federal authorities had dealt with those who had been so unfortunate as to fall into their cruel and vengeful hands.

Mr. Girardeau was now nearly forty years of age, in the prime of a mature and vigorous manhood, and through his splendid work among the negroes in Charleston and among the soldiers in the army, stood at the height of his reputation as a preacher. Accordingly, he was in constant demand for pulpit services. Of course, in the unsettled condition of things and the interruption of railroad travel just succeeding the war, he could not go far; but pastors nearby were frequently calling upon him to preach. I myself was among them, and at Florence, Hartsville and Darlington I heard many noble and delightful sermons from him in those dark and trying days.

But what about regular work in the future? His mind naturally turned to his beloved Zion Church in Charleston, and his heart yearned to be with that dear flock again. But it had been scattered to the four winds through the exigencies of the war. Hostilities began at Charleston in 1861; and the city had constantly been threatened with attack ever afterwards and was frequently shelled by the enemy's batteries on Morris Island. Consequently, the white population, as far as practicable, abandoned the city early in the dread conflict and removed their slaves also to places of greater security. And at this date the white citizens were only beginning to return, and the negroes, now emancipated, were scattered all over the country.

Thus Mr. Girardeau could hardly expect for the present to resume work with his own former charge.

But about this time, September, 1865, he began to receive overtures from the Presbyterian young men in Charleston, many of whom had returned to the smitten old city and taken up the struggle to recuperate their lost fortunes and do the work of life, to come down and preach for them. And as none of the Presbyterian pastors had yet gotten back to their homes, this seemed a reasonable proposition, and, at the same time, offered him a favorable opportunity for regular work in the ministry, and for the support of his family, which, under the proposed arrangement, was to come entirely from the weekly Sabbath offerings of the congregation.

After due consideration Mr. Girardeau accepted this proposition, and early in September returned to the old city, which held a very warm place in his loving heart, and once more resumed his ministerial labors there, occupying the pulpit of the stately and commodious old Second Church building.

At this time there were five Presbyterian Churches in Charleston: the First or Scotch Church, situated down town on the corner of Meeting and Tradd Streets and served as pastor by the Rev. Dr. John Forrest, but holding an independent relation, not being as yet connected with Charleston Presbytery; the Second Church, situated higher up on Meeting Street, facing Wragg Square and the Citadel, whose pastor was the eloquent and devoted Dr. Thomas Smyth; the Central Church (now Westminster), whose beautiful and classic building stood also on Meeting near Society Street, between the two already named, whose pastor was the Rev. W. C. Dana; Glebe Street Church, at

this time without a pastor; and Zion Church, whose immense building had been erected by white Presbyterians for the use of the large congregation of colored people, whom, together with a small white element, Mr. Girardeau had been serving as pastor. The members of these several congregations, as far as they had yet returned to the city, united in worshipping under Mr. Girardeau's ministry, in the Second Church building.

But soon the question came up as to permanent arrangements for the future when all the people of the city should have returned to their homes. Mr. Girardeau was absolutely shut out of his own church building, which had been taken possession of by a missionary of the Northern Presbyterian Church and held by the Freedman's Bureau, under the authority of the United States Government, and its occupancy positively denied to its legal owners and regularly installed pastor. And the old arrangement of a small white element owning and controlling the church and meeting in worship with the negroes, seemed neither desirable nor practicable under the new conditions resulting from the war. Consequently, propositions came from both the Second and Glebe Street Churches to the white element and the popular pastor of Zion Church to come over and unite, Dr. Smyth, who had long since been crippled, though not disabled, by paralysis, tendering his resignation as pastor of the Second Church, so as to open the way for the proposed union with that church. But Mr. Girardeau was unwilling to adopt a measure which might appear to push the venerable, beloved and devoted pastor of the Second Church out of his long and eminently useful pastorate. He, therefore, with his white congregation of Zion Church, accepted the proposition of the Glebe Street

Church, and, accordingly, this church, in April, 1866, by order of the Presbytery, was consolidated with the Zion Church, retaining the officers of both congregations in the united church, including the pastor, and holding the name of Zion Church, the regular worship being conducted in the building on Glebe Street. And thus Mr. Girardeau entered upon his memorable pastorate in Charleston after the war.

At this point in my narrative I pause to give my impressions of Mr. Girardeau as a preacher. He was a man of superb physique, tall (about five feet ten or eleven inches), rather slender at this time, though he grew stouter as age advanced; muscular, agile and with fine use of his body in every way. And in the pulpit his action was energetic, graceful and exceedingly impressive—a gesture often thrilling the hearer. His voice was keen and penetrating, but, at the same time, smooth and musical. His mind was quick and logical, with well trained faculties and strongly disposed to reading and study. His taste was poetic—he often composed beautiful hymns—his imagination vivid, and his descriptive powers wonderful. His temperament was ardent and his emotions strong. His demeanor in the pulpit was dignified, grave and earnest, indicating that he fully realized his responsibility as an ambassador of Christ and a minister to dying men. I can never forget the solemn countenance he carried into the pulpit and the earnestness with which he read the hymns and conducted the services. And he threw his whole self, body, mind and spirit, into his preaching, speaking with a fervor such as I have rarely seen equalled in the pulpit, and which deeply impressed his hearers with his zeal for God and for their souls.

He was, too, most faithful in preaching Divine truth. He received the Bible with unwavering faith and ardent devotion as the very word of God, and he never turned aside from it to preach science or philosophy or any other doctrines of men. He was very plain in preaching, not blinking to discuss sin, judgment and hell, declaring, as Paul did to the Ephesians, the whole counsel of God and keeping back nothing that was profitable to his people. At the same time, he was thoroughly evangelical, glorying in the doctrines of grace, and constantly appealing with passionate fervor unto sinners to believe and be saved.

Mr. Girardeau had a remarkable use of the best English and great fluency of speech. He wrote elegantly and beautifully, and sometimes on special occasions used a manuscript in the pulpit; but very rarely, and greatly to the disadvantage of his preaching. He was a splendid orator, and was at his best when, unhampered by paper, he spoke extempore and freely, out of the abundance of his mind and heart. He was also very happy and forcible in the use of illustrations, which he introduced with a keen appreciation and relish, but never employed to redundancy.

Mr. Girardeau seemed to be fond of preaching in series, and often used that method in his pulpit ministrations. I recall one series of five sermons, all of which I heard with great interest and pleasure, when he was preaching to his negro congregation on Anson Street. They were all founded upon a single short text, John 5:40—"And ye will not come to Me, that ye might have life," and were distinguished by the emphasis placed upon the several leading words of this text—(1) "And ye *will* not come to Me"; (2) "And ye will not *come* to Me"; (3) "And ye will not come to *Me*";

(4) "And ye will not come to Me that ye might have *life*"; and (5) *Not* coming to Me ye cannot have life. And also during his later ministry in the Glebe Street Church, I remember that he preached series on "Prayer" and on "Adoption," some of which I heard and can testify that they were excellent and noble discourses, always very instructive and very edifying.

Mr. Girardeau clearly stood in the front rank of the great preachers of his day. Without doubt the three greatest preachers ever produced by our Presbyterian Church in South Carolina—than whom there were no others superior—were Drs. James H. Thornwell, Benjamin M. Palmer and John L. Girardeau. And I had the rare privilege, in early life, of sitting, more or less frequently, under the ministrations of each of these three distinguished divines. Dr. Thornwell I regard as *facile princeps*—the greatest preacher I ever heard. His bodily presence was not imposing, his voice was not strong or sweet, his gestures were not specially graceful; and his language was decidedly scholastic—too much so for the ordinary hearer. But his clear and sweeping logic, his profound and masterly unfolding of the truth out of a rich experience of it, and his overpowering earnestness in presenting it, impressed me as no other preacher has ever done. Dr. Palmer I regard as the most magnificent pulpit orator I have ever heard. With perfect mastery of himself in the pulpit, with a rich, deep melodious voice that appealed at once to the ear, with graceful and appropriate action delightful to behold, and with profound treatment of the great doctrines of religion in a practical and experimental way, he was superb. Dr. Girardeau, as I conceive, stood just between the two. He wielded the logic on fire of Thornwell, with much of

the graceful oratory of Palmer; and through his long training in preaching to negroes, he used simple and plain language adapted to the common people. And so, as a preacher for the masses, he was no doubt as popular and as efficient as either of his distinguished, admired and beloved fellow Presbyters.

The conditions in Charleston under which Mr. Girardeau entered upon his Glebe Street pastorate were peculiar. Our people had just emerged from a long and desolating war in which the cause for which they had so loyally and devotedly contended had been lost; multitudes of their sons had been sacrificed upon the altar of their country, their property, for the most part, had been destroyed, their homes in many cases had been broken up, and their social and economical system had been uprooted. And Charleston had been most deeply affected in all these ways. In the early part of the war a very destructive and extensive conflagration had swept across the city, destroying much property and consuming many homes. For years the city had been under the continual storm of shot and shell from the enemy's batteries, which, besides the injury to houses, public and private, made it an unsafe habitation for its citizens who were scattered as refugees all over the country. And now, as the people returned to the city, it was to find themselves impoverished, thrown out of business, upset in their domestic arrangements, and that peculiar charm of old Charleston, its social life, well-nigh broken up. Besides these things, the city was subject to the galling yoke of military rule, administered by our late adversaries, many of whose unprincipled officers seemed to delight in lording it over a subjugated and helpless people. And this was followed by the horrible and detestable

Reconstruction oppression in South Carolina, which dragged its slimy course of corruption and fraud and misrule and degradation of a high-toned people throughout the whole period of Dr. Girardeau's pastorate of Zion Church, Glebe Street. And it was under the constant pressure of these abnormal conditions that he pursued his work.

And with what success?

Large congregations of attentive and interested hearers filled the church regularly at its two services, Sabbath after Sabbath, despite its unfavorable situation on a short, narrow side-street. So that soon it became necessary to enlarge the building in order to accommodate the attendants. And this was without any other attraction than the eloquent, earnest, faithful preaching of the old Gospel, "the faith which was once delivered to the saints." There was no display of music; not even an organ or a set choir. Dr. Girardeau, like Dr. Thornwell and Dr. Adger, was conscientiously opposed to the use of instrumental music in the public worship of God, and never would allow one in the churches which he regularly served. Not because he lacked taste for good music. He was himself a fine singer and often led this part of the worship in his services. But, in his opinion, the use of instruments in the worship of God's house under the New Testament dispensation lacked Divine authority, and he would therefore rigidly exclude them. It will be remembered that the first volume which he ever issued from the press was an argument against the use of instrumental music in public worship.

Neither had he in Glebe Street Church a trained choir to dispense beautiful, artistic music through the services. For a good part of the time he had a pre-

centor, an earnest, Christian man, with a clear, strong, well-trained voice, who arose after the reading of the hymn, raised the tune, and led the singing throughout, assisted at some times by cultivated vocalists.

Neither was there any reading in concert, or repeating of creeds and prayers; but only the simple, old-time Presbyterian worship, handed down to us by our fathers, consisting of solemn, earnest prayers led by the minister, plain congregational singing, the impressive reading of the Scripture, and the zealous, faithful exposition and application of the Word, followed by an offering for the service of the Lord. This was the plain bill of spiritual fare which Dr. Girardeau set before those who attended his ministry in Glebe Street Church. But the crowds came and partook of it, and were nourished; and they came again; and they continued to come throughout his ten years' ministry in that place.

Early in 1867, after much correspondence, and delay through provoking obstacles thrown in the way, Dr. Girardeau and the owners of the large Zion Church on Calhoun Street, in which he had previously preached the Gospel to thousands of negroes, succeeded in getting possession of their building, and he felt it to be his duty to minister again, as far as practicable, to his former colored flock. From the records of the Session it appears that he was ready even to surrender his white congregation and his work in Glebe Street, and throw himself once more fully into the service of the colored people. But the upshot of the matter was, after earnest and prayerful consideration on the part of pastor and people, an agreement that he should give up one preaching service on the Sabbath in Glebe Street Church so that he might be able to serve also

the colored congregation regularly in Calhoun Street Church.

This, however, was only a temporary arrangement. And as the negroes and whites would not now, under the new conditions, worship together as formerly, a little later on, at the call of the church, he secured an assistant in the relation of a co-pastor, in order that full services might be maintained in both churches. The Rev. J. B. Mack, then pastor of Salem (B. R.) Church in Sumter County, S. C., was called to this position and was duly installed with Dr. Girardeau as co-pastor of Zion Church, the consolidated organization, which still included both the white and colored congregations. This arrangement was effected about the end of 1867, the formal installation occurring December the 29th.

But the colored flock had long been "as sheep without a shepherd"; they had been sadly scattered and torn, misled by ignorant and designing teachers, and filled with new notions as the result of emancipation and the changed conditions in the South. Hence, while a goodly number—even more than we might have expected under the circumstances—especially of the more sober and thoughtful ones among them, were ready to come back to their old church and remained loyal to their former faithful and devoted pastor, and sometimes large congregations attended the services, yet the ante-bellum congregation could never be gathered together again.

While another presents more fully this part of Dr. Girardeau's work, I deem it proper to note its bearing upon his Glebe Street pastorate. It was like a first love with him to serve these children of Africa, and with all the burdens and the attractions and the

encouragements of a large and influential white city congregation to minister unto, his heart ever yearned for the salvation of the negro and his development into efficient Christian service. It is indeed pathetic to follow the struggles which he made in this direction as they appear in the records of the church. But he had finally to yield to that ordering of Providence which sundered the negroes of the South from their former white preachers, and give his energies as pastor wholly to the Glebe Street congregation.

This work among the whites continued to prosper. Church statistics were very defective in those days, especially as to the aggregate of communicant membership, in consequence of the unsettled condition of our people. But the annual reports of Zion Church show steady and considerable accessions on profession of faith.

These came largely from the Sabbath School, of which the pastor kept a close and continual oversight, and which was conducted fully under the control of the Session. This was before the days of the widespread and vigorous influence and leadership of the International Sunday School Association and the general use, which came later, of the Uniform Lesson System. It will therefore be interesting, no doubt, to know the method which Dr. Girardeau and his church employed in this important Sabbath School work. I was myself; as the pastor at Spartanburg, S. C., struggling with the same problems; and, always appreciating his advice, I wrote to him, asking a statement of his plan. The following letter in reply explains it:

"You ask what our method of Sabbath school instruction is. The best reply I can make is, by sending you the book we use. I will mail it at the same time with this letter. It is entitled,

as you will see, 'A Key to the Shorter Catechism, etc.' Besides the excellent arrangement of Scripture proofs which it gives, it presents in connection with each answer a scheme of analytical questions which attracted my attention to it. This exercise I regard as having great value on two accounts: First, because a very clear and definite understanding of the answer is secured by this means; and secondly, because the mental energies of the pupil are exercised and developed—an end which no sort of education, secular or spiritual, can afford to dispense with. I have often been surprised and gratified by the evidence of its success in this respect. The scholars are kept on the alert, the attention is cultivated, and the mind is incited to promptness of action. I have never seen any results equal to those which are secured by this method. I am delighted with it. And this I say from constant observation, for I attend the Sabbath school regularly and take charge of the main question and the analytical exercise when the school is brought together *en masse*. Indeed, one of the capital advantages of this plan is, that after every class has separately recited, all the classes brought together into one great class—the school itself—can be as easily taught as each. First, I ask the girls to recite all together the main answer, then the boys, then boys and girls at the same time. The two sexes thus hear each other recite and the stimulus is strong to answer correctly. Then the analytical questions are propounded to the whole school. Then I either ask questions extemporaneously, or address the school in reference to the lesson, endeavoring with all my might to stamp on the scholars the main thoughts, and practically applying them to their consciences and hearts. Oh, it is a glorious privilege and a grand opportunity. I regard the exercise as one of the most important and the most promising in the circle of pastoral labors. We are trying to train the scholars as *Presbyterian* Christians. For that end there is nothing like the Shorter Catechism, and I know no form in which that Catechism can be taught superior to this. All dryness disappears. I have never seen scholars so intensely interested in any other mode of Sabbath school instruction.

“The superintendent hears the recitation, in mass, of the Scripture proofs. The whole school recites the same lesson, except the infant class, which studies Brown's Short Catechism,

which I consider far better than the Introduction to the Shorter Catechism.

“Along with the key, the school also studies the American Sunday School Union’s ‘Child’s Scripture Question Book,’ on the obvious principle that the historical facts of Scripture ought to be taught as well as its doctrines. We have also a good hymn. We select about fifty of the best hymns, and the idea is to make the school go over them again and again until they are so fixed in memory that the feeble faculties of the dying may recall them.

“This is our method. Had I room and time I would like to assign the reasons which have led to its adoption; but I must defer their statement until I can talk with you face to face. Should you, however, require them before you adopt this plan, so excellent do I regard it, that it will give me pleasure to communicate them. Would that our whole Church would pursue this method! And why not? Are not our Catechisms our interpretation of the Bible? And does not this plan store the memory with the very words of Scripture in theological relations? I cannot understand why the Church (as in the Baptismal service) should urge upon parents the teaching of our standards to their children, and decline to teach them herself. The family and the Sabbath school ought to be complementary to each other.

“We are now working five Sabbath schools, the school of my own church, three white mission schools, and one colored. The same method is pursued in all of them; and there is but one testimony from all—that it is the best method the teachers have ever tried. It is surprising to me to hear the colored school recite. I have never witnessed the like among *them*. I am disposed to think that you would never regret making the experiment. The books can be got in any quantity from the Carters in New York.

“But enough! I shall tire you. May the Lord bless you in your Sabbath school work! The spirit of the age has substituted it for the plan of pastoral instruction of families at home—that is, of the children by Catechism. Let us get aboard, and take our turn at the wheel.”

Another development of his work which was specially encouraging was that the sons of Zion were

going into the Gospel ministry. During these years no less than three business men of the congregation, two of them married and with families to support, heeded the call of God to preach, left their worldly occupations, and became faithful and efficient ministers of the Word. These were the Rev. Jas. E. Fogartie, D. D., Rev. George A. Trenholm, D. D., both of whom were generously aided by the congregation in their preparation for the ministry, and Rev. W. G. Vardell, who had long served as precentor of the church. Three others, Rev. J. B. Warren, D. D., Rev. C. E. Chichester and Rev. T. B. Trenholm, who had been active and useful as workers in Zion Church, but moved to other fields, later on also entered the ministry. All these brethren, I venture to say, drew their inspiration and encouragement for the higher work from their consecrated and ever zealous pastor.

Under his wise and efficient leadership, Zion Church also engaged largely in city mission work. This was conducted chiefly through that most practicable and efficient means of reaching the destitute, disseminating the truth, and laying the foundation for new churches, the Mission Sabbath School. The regular Sabbath School of the church, as an indispensable agency for teaching and training the children and youth of the congregation and as many others as could be brought into it, enlisted the constant and earnest attention of pastor, elders and other zealous and faithful workers. But, besides this, four mission schools, including that among the colored people at the Calhoun Street Church, were organized in different parts of the city, and conducted under the direct supervision and control of the Session, to which they regularly reported, and which provided for their support. One of these,

in connection with which for a time a chapel was maintained and supplied by a regular minister, supported by this church, grew into a separate, though never self-sustaining, church, located in the upper part of the city.

But the interest and efforts of Dr. Girardeau and the noble flock which he led were by no means confined to Charleston. As a consequence of the war, the churches of the Presbytery had been sadly broken up and disabled. Outside the cities of Charleston and Columbia, in 1866 there were only three churches in the Presbytery which had ministers to serve them regularly. These were Orangeburg, served by the Rev. A. F. Dickson; Walterboro, by the Rev. Edward Palmer, and John's Island and Wadmalaw, by the Rev. John R. Dow, who shortly afterwards also removed to another field. This distressing condition of the country churches and of Presbyterianism in the low country of South Carolina, deeply moved Dr. Girardeau's heart. And early in 1867 I was induced by the Presbytery's committee, through the urgency of his pathetic pleas, to remove to Charleston and undertake the work of evangelist of Charleston Presbytery, laboring under his constant counsel and direction as the chairman of the Presbytery's Executive Committee of Domestic Missions. It is impossible for me to express my appreciation of his cordial interest, the helpful advice and the earnest support which he ever gave to me in this work. I continued for two or three years, until the feeble churches began to get on their feet again; and which Dr. Girardeau ever afterward contended was the saving of our weak churches and of the cause of Presbyterianism in that section. And it is due to him to say that this work

was made practicable only by the loyal and generous financial support of him and his people. The impoverished and disorganized little churches to which I ministered, were too poor to sustain the evangelist or do anything considerable for the support of his work; but, despite their limited means and heavy burdens, the noble people of Zion Church contributed with wonderful liberality, and the Session appropriated out of their weekly Sabbath collections much the larger part of the uncertain and indefinite salary that I received as evangelist. At the end of every month the Session, a fine body of intelligent, earnest men, who faithfully co-operated with the pastor in all his efforts for the advancement of Christ's cause, regularly assigned one-half of all the funds taken up at the Sunday morning services, to this work. And Dr. Girardeau often afterwards instanced and justified this course as a wise measure in meeting an important emergency in the history of our Church.

Besides this, under the inspiration of the pastor's zeal, who himself served for several years as a faithful and valuable member of the Assembly's Executive Committee of Foreign Missions and Sustentation, the church contributed liberally also to foreign missions, education and other causes, always responding to the calls of the General Assembly. As a more definite statement of the church's liberality and progress at this time, I quote from Dr. Mack's letter of resignation as co-pastor, bearing date September 24, 1869, the following: "In less than two years a heavy debt has been paid; the obligations of a double work fully met, nearly \$4,000 given to missionary objects and about 160 persons added to the church. We have indeed been wonderfully blessed; and now, with Israel, can we say,

‘The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.’”

During these years Dr. Girardeau grew in the estimation of the Church in general, as well as in the love and appreciation of his own people. He received, from time to time, overtures from other fields of labor; but he was singularly attached to his native State of South Carolina and to his devoted people in Charleston; and so he promptly rejected all such approaches.

He had, however, like other pastors, his seasons of discouragement and depression. And his throat began to give him some trouble and anxiety, inducing a doubt whether he should continue in this work. And all this assumed such form that on one occasion, in the early summer of 1871, he felt constrained, in the face of the vigorous opposition of the Session and the earnest remonstrance of the people, to tender his resignation, which he pressed so urgently that the pastoral relation was actually dissolved by the Presbytery. But when he came to deliver his farewell discourse, the demonstration of continued affection on the part of the people, and their earnest desire that he should remain as their pastor had taken such shape that he decided at once not to leave them; and the congregation proceeded to call him again, and the Presbytery, after a season of rest on his part, reinstated him pastor without his having separated from his cherished and devoted flock.

The record of this remarkable and unique episode in Dr. Girardeau’s pastoral experience is so interesting, and so beautifully portrays the feelings which prevailed on the part of both pastor and people, that I here insert the letter which he addressed to the congregation and submitted through the Session—after

they had first pleaded with him to withdraw it and offered him an indefinite vacation—to the congregation, and the paper which they adopted in reply :

“Charleston, June 5, 1871.

“To the Congregation of Zion Presbyterian Church.

“Beloved Brethren and Friends: With the profoundest respect, affection and regret, I hereby tender to you my resignation of my pastoral charge, and ask you to unite with me in requesting the Presbytery to dissolve the relation existing between us.

“The reasons which have governed me in taking this painful step are the following :

“First, the condition of my voice and chest appears to me to necessitate a change; and, secondly, I am convinced that a longer continuance of my pastoral relation would not tend to promote the growth of the congregation.

“I will not multiply words which are so easy of employment on an occasion like this. If my past course has not persuaded you of my affection for you, no phrases which might now be used would produce that impression. This, however, will I say, that it has cost me many a tear and many a pang to come to this decision; and with such tears as one sheds at finally separating from near kindred, do I pen these lines, which looks to the severance of a union which has been and is so dear to my heart. Only a sense of duty impels me to write them.

“I can scarcely bear the thought of parting with you—no more to preach to you the precious gospel of Christ, no more to mingle my prayers and praises with yours on earth, no more to minister to you in times of affliction and distress. There is not one of you whom I am not conscious of tenderly loving in Christ Jesus, and I would fain believe, not one of you who does not feel affectionately towards me.

“For Jesus' sake, dear friends, forgive me all my deficiencies in the preaching of the gospel and in the performance of pastoral duty among you. If *you* forgive them not, as I hope my compassionate Master has, my separation from you would indeed be a cause to me of inconsolate grief.

“Accept my heartfelt thanks for the tenderness with which you have borne with all my defects, for the loving concessions

which you have made to some of the views which I have advocated, and with which, perhaps not all of you were able to concur, and for the great kindness which you have ever evinced for me and mine. May the Lord requite you according to His riches in glory by Christ Jesus.

"I have no complaint to make of you—no fault to find with you. On the contrary, your cordial attachment to a simple and unadulterated gospel, your Berean disposition to abide by the Word of God as your only standard of judgment, your missionary zeal and noble spirit of liberality, have won for you the deepest admiration of my heart. It will be for a praise and an honor to me that I have served such a people.

"I do not ask a dissolution of the relation between us because I have preferred another field of labor. I could not gain my own consent to leave you so long as I feared that a change might prove detrimental to your interests. But I trust that the church has now arrived at that stage at which a change will not only not injure, but promote its prosperity.

"It will cost me a bitter pang not only to part with you, but to leave Charleston. Her very dust is dear to me. And I pray God that if it is His blessed will, I may not be sent out of South Carolina, but be permitted to suffer with her in her present trials, and to contribute what labor I am capable of for the interests of her beloved and afflicted people. But, wherever I may go, I shall to life's latest day bear with me the affectionate remembrance of your loving kindness, and dedicate to you a chief place in the profoundest affection of my soul.

"Returning to your hands the pastoral trust which, by your suffrages, you reposed in me, I am, dear brethren and friends,

"Your Servant in the Glorious Gospel of Christ,

"JOHN L. GIRARDEAU."

This letter was duly submitted to the congregation at a meeting called by the Session, and a committee of five to whom it was referred, after earnest and careful consideration, presented the following in reply, which was adopted by a well-nigh unanimous vote:

"The committee to which the letter of the Rev. J. L. Girardeau, D. D., resigning the pastoral charge of this church and congregation and asking us to unite with him 'in requesting the

Presbytery to dissolve the relation existing between us' was referred, would respectfully submit the following report and resolutions:

"It is impossible for your committee to describe the absolutely stunning effect produced by this letter upon the congregation. Some received it with unutterable amazement, some with mute astonishment, others with tears and sobs—the outward evidence of deep anguish of soul—and all, with one accord, with the exclamation, '*No, no—this cannot be; we cannot, must not let our beloved pastor go.*' This intense feeling is not confined to this congregation alone. The announcement of the resignation of the Rev. Dr. Girardeau has sent a thrill through this community and the entire church, and with united voice they all cry, '*You must not let him go!*'

"But however deeply our feelings may be moved, let us calmly consider the reasons assigned by our dear pastor for this step. We quote his own language: 'The reasons which govern me in taking this painful step are the following: First, the condition of my voice appears to me to necessitate a change; and secondly, I am convinced that a longer continuance of my pastoral relation would not tend to promote the growth of the congregation.'

"The first reason assigned is easily disposed of. It has been a source of painful anxiety to us for some time that our pastor was laboring beyond the limits assigned for the safe exercise of the mental and physical powers of any man; and we look forward to the period of repairs to our church edifice as an opportune occasion to grant him, not only the usual summer vacation, but a more protracted leave of absence, in the confident hope that he would return to us fully restored. But we are willing and ready to do more, and say to him cheerfully and in the most sincere frankness, 'Go and take a leave of absence for six, twelve, eighteen months, or longer if necessary, for the restoration of his physical powers; we grant it freely.' The second reason assigned is in these words: 'I am convinced that a longer continuance of my pastoral relation would not tend to promote the growth of the congregation.'

"We approach the consideration of this reason with mingled feelings of unfeigned surprise and the most profound emotions. What has been the history of this church since the close of the

war? When Dr. Girardeau took charge, it was constituted of a few fragments of two congregations, almost strangers to each other, and so limited in pecuniary resources that they were barely able to place the church edifice in habitable order, not even removing the unsightly effects of the rude hand of war. We have now but to look around to see the evidences of shot and shell upon its defaced walls. As an evidence of its steady and regular advance from that period, in its full organization and equipment, as a living and working church, we appeal to the words of our teacher and pastor. The devotion of this little band to the principles of the pure gospel, which he has so eloquently, earnestly and unceasingly preached to us, is but described in his own words. He remarked in his letter, which has just been read to you: 'I have no complaint to make of you—no fault to find with you. On the contrary, your cordial attachment to a simple and unadulterated gospel, your Berean disposition to abide by the Word of God as your only standard of judgment, your missionary zeal and noble spirit of liberality, have won for you the deepest admiration of my heart. It will be for a praise and an honor to me that I have served such a people.'

"Under his ministry the church has steadily increased in numbers, and the congregation almost outgrown the capacity of the building. It is unnecessary to go into a detailed statement of the various enterprises for the spread and building up of the Master's Kingdom, which have been inaugurated and sustained, under Providence, by his influence. Look at the evangelistic field in the bounds of our own Presbytery. A few evenings since, our beloved pastor stated that this congregation had contributed to that work more than all the congregations in the Presbytery put together; besides liberal donations to all the other benevolent operations of the Church at large. Look at the work among the colored population in the Calhoun Street Church, which has been almost exclusively sustained by contributions from the members of this congregation. Look at the Mission Chapel in the northwestern portion of the city, and the flourishing Sunday school gathered there. Look at the noble efforts of the ladies of the congregation to educate and equip young men for the ministry. In a word—since Dr. Girardeau took charge of this flock, up to the termination of the last

fiscal year, this congregation has contributed over \$60,000 for the maintenance of a preached gospel, and the various benevolent and charitable enterprises of the Southern Church.

“These are the fruits of the labor and zeal under Providence of our beloved pastor. And above all, how many souls in this church, and throughout the region where his influence has been felt, call him their spiritual father, and point to his preaching, under the providence of God, as the instrument of turning them from the broad road that leads to destruction, to that straight and narrow way which conducts to the communion of Christ ascended on high, and the eternal glory of the Father? We can fully appreciate his feelings when he declares: ‘It will cost me a bitter pang, not only to part with you, but to leave Charleston.’ In view of these facts, not to speak of the good which he has accomplished by those silent influences upon the young throughout the wide circle of his acquaintance and among the numerous strangers who seek to listen to the simple gospel of Jesus Christ so forcibly and eloquently expounded by him, we most solemnly and affectionately ask the question, ‘How could he have come to the conclusion that “the longer continuance of his pastoral relation would not tend to the growth of this congregation”?’ We feel assured that, with restored health and a judicious curtailment of labor, his usefulness, in this congregation and the community at large, is not at an end. In this we are upheld by an abiding faith, and are willing to wait in the confident expectation that, as God has given us the former rain of the Spirit, He will also give us the latter rain in a Pentecostal shower, which will develop a rich harvest to the glory of that blessed Redeemer who poured out His precious blood to save sinners from eternal death.

“We judge of the future by the past. The sun which shines today, bright, beautiful and glorious, will rise again tomorrow; but it may be that his rays will be intercepted by the clouds that surround our earth. This will be only for a season; when these clouds are dispersed the bright orb will again shine forth in all his splendor and majesty. So with the Holy Spirit. He may withhold His power for a season; but, true to the promises of the Divine Master, He will pour out His resistless influences to the salvation of sinners and the glory of God.

"The committee would submit the following resolutions for the consideration of the congregation, and respectfully recommend their adoption:

"Resolved, First, That we have received the letter of resignation of our beloved pastor, the Rev. J. L. Girardeau, D. D., with unfeigned surprise and profound sorrow, and cannot bring ourselves to believe that Providence designs to take him from us.

"Resolved, Second, That we as a Church and congregation fully and affectionately reciprocate the kind feelings of confidence and regard so touchingly expressed in his letter, and deeply sympathise with him in this the hour of his affliction and trial, and pray that God in His wisdom and mercy may restore him to health, and point out to him clearly the path of duty and usefulness.

"Resolved, Third, That we cordially tender to him a leave of absence from pastoral labor for such a length of time as may be necessary for the restoration of his health. We cannot, however, obtain our consent voluntarily to unite with him 'in requesting the Presbytery to dissolve the relation existing between us'; but as we claim to be true Presbyterians—willing to abide by the Constitution and Standards of our Church—we will consent that the subject be placed before Presbytery, and if that body accedes to the request of our pastor, we shall be constrained to submit to the decision, however painful it may be.

"Respectfully submitted,

"F. M. ROBERTSON, Chairman."

After this very unusual episode which so severely tested and strikingly brought out the relations existing between pastor and people, Dr. Girardeau, consenting to the re-establishment of the pastoral relation, took a much needed rest, while the church building was undergoing repairs and his people were scattered on account of the prevalence of yellow fever in Charleston. But in the autumn he resumed his regular ministrations in Zion Church, took up again the important mission work which had before been inaugurated, and continued to prosecute his pastoral duties

with his accustomed zeal and efficiency. It has been very interesting to note, in searching the records of this church, how wide and thorough was the work done by this noble congregation under the faithful leadership of this able pastor. The preaching services were faithfully conducted and well attended. The Sabbath School was carefully looked after in its organization and its instruction. The women were organized into societies which did efficient service. The missions were maintained and diligently worked. Infants in large numbers were baptized, and discipline was not neglected. And the blessing of the Lord seemed to rest continually upon the work.

But at the General Assembly of 1875 in St. Louis, Mo., the Columbia Theological Seminary being then under the control of the Assembly, which elected the Directors and the Professors, Dr. Girardeau was unanimously chosen, against his earnest protest, to the chair of Didactic and Polemic Theology in that institution, just vacated by the venerable Dr. William S. Plumer, who had been transferred to the chair of Pastoral, Casuistic and Historic Theology. Dr. Girardeau, however, in his humble estimate of himself, seriously discounted his qualifications for the high and responsible position, and promptly declined it. At the next meeting of the Synod of South Carolina, the Rev. Dr. J. O. Lindsay, on behalf of the Board of Directors of the Seminary, requested the Synod to unite with the Board in urging Dr. Girardeau to withdraw his declination and accept the place, which the Synod did by a hearty, rising vote. But Dr. Girardeau still persisted in declining. I well remember a private interview which Dr. J. L. Martin, then pastor of the Abbeville Church, and I had with him,

in which we zealously pleaded with him to yield to the judgment of his brethren, so clearly, strongly and repeatedly expressed, and accept. Dr. Girardeau while held a prisoner on Johnson's Island so long, had taught a class of ministers and theological students with such marked ability and success that the report of this work had gone abroad throughout the Church, and the conviction that he had, in an eminent degree, the qualifications of mind and heart and person and culture to fill this chair and take up the work laid down by the illustrious Dr. Thornwell at his premature decease. Besides, his continuance in the pulpit, with the excessive demands upon his voice seemed precarious. And the Seminary, through a recent disturbance, had lost two of its distinguished professors, Drs. John B. Adger and Jos. R. Wilson, so that its condition was such as to cause its friends serious anxiety. Thus all eyes seemed to turn to Dr. Girardeau, and many hearts were set upon him as the man, put by Divine Providence in the hands of the Church, to take up the leading professorship in the institution and lift it out of its depressed condition. Hence the pressure which we brought to bear upon him. But while he would not give us an affirmative answer at Yorkville, where the Synod was convened, a few weeks' later he wrote to me as Stated Clerk of the Synod, signifying his accession to the expressed wishes of his brethren and his acceptance of the professorship, provided the Board of Directors, after considering a statement of his views on certain questions which had arisen in the late disturbance in the Seminary, still urged his going. The statement referred to, which it is not necessary here to record, was duly laid before the Board, and with hearty unanimity they continued

to urge his acceptance. Accordingly, he again tendered his resignation as pastor of Zion Church, which this time, in view of the peculiar circumstances of the situation, reluctantly yielded to his request, and the Presbytery finally dissolved the pastoral relation.

In order to show that there was no cause in the church itself for the sundering of this relation, that the work was still progressing prosperously, and that the same old feeling of affectionate devotion prevailed to the end between pastor and people, I here once more copy Dr. Girardeau's letter requesting that the church concur in his release, and the reply of the Session, which was endorsed by a meeting of the congregation. Both are worthy of careful consideration and hearty admiration :

“Charleston, December 20th, 1875.

“To the Congregation of Zion Presbyterian Church.

Beloved Brethren and Friends: It is known to you that the General Assembly of our Church, which sat last May in the City of St. Louis, elected me Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in the Seminary at Columbia. The call was one which I found it difficult to resist, but I deemed it my duty to decline compliance with it. The Board of Directors of the Seminary, at their stated meeting in the fall, requested me to withdraw the letter to the Assembly in which I declined the professorship, and to accept the position. With that request, also, I thought it my duty to decline compliance. Subsequently the Synod of South Carolina urged me to reconsider the question and accept the position to which I had been called by the Assembly. In that action the Synod of Georgia concurred. This persistent pressure of the question upon me by the courts of the Church, impressed me, and I was led to the conclusion that if I could consistently with the course I have pursued with reference to some events which had occurred in connection with the Seminary, obey the voice of the Church, I ought to do so. Accordingly I addressed a communication to the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary, containing a frank exposition of my

views, accompanied by the remark that if, with the statement before them, the board should deem it inexpedient that I should go to the Seminary, the matter would be dropped; but if, on the other hand, they should judge that it was expedient for me to go, I would withdraw my letter of declination. The action of the board at its late meeting was unanimous and hearty in favor of my going to the Seminary, and I accordingly stand pledged to take such steps as contemplate a dissolution of my pastoral relation and my entrance upon the duties of the professorship. I, therefore, respectfully request that you will unite with me in asking Charleston Presbytery to dissolve the pastoral relation now subsisting between us.

“A little more than four years ago I deemed it my duty to make a similar request, but it pleased Providence to order that I should not then depart from you. I would now, with new emphasis, express the feelings to which I gave utterance on that occasion. Your affectionate and generous conduct towards me has increased my obligations to you, and bound my heart to you more closely than ever. I am profoundly grateful to you for all your kindness; I love you tenderly and deeply; and only a conviction of duty impels me to take this painful step. We are poor, blind creatures—liable to err. But I have sincerely prayed for guidance; and the construction which I have been led to place on providential indications in the case makes me feel that I ought to go. I have pleaded with the Church, I have pleaded with God, that I might not be sent to Columbia. The call, however, has been repeated again and again, and in such a way as to create the fear that I might be found to fight against Providence by refusing to go. I flatter myself that you are reluctant to part the bond which unites us. So am I. Were such the will of the Lord, gladly would I stay with you; but He seems to order otherwise, and I beg you to acquiesce in the action of the upper courts of the Church.

“Praying that the Holy Spirit may direct you in this matter, and that grace, mercy and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ may be multiplied abundantly unto you, I am, my dear brethren and friends,

“Your unworthy brother and servant in Jesus,

“JOHN L. GIRARDEAU.”

To this letter, presented at a meeting of the congregation on December 27, 1875, the following preamble and resolutions presented by Dr. F. M. Robertson, were unanimously adopted in response:

“The ordeal through which this church has been called to pass impresses upon us a lesson which can never be forgotten, and which should not be permitted to pass by without an appropriate recognition and record of the deep feeling which has moved the entire congregation. From the moment the remarkable proceedings of the General Assembly of our Church, at its meeting in the City of St. Louis in May last, calling our beloved pastor, with an almost unprecedented unanimity and emphasis, to fill a vacant chair in the Theological Seminary in Columbia, S. C., was made known to us, our hearts have been alternately agitated with fear and hope.

“If the question of his acceptance of the position had been submitted to this church and congregation, no doubt the answer would have been an emphatic unwillingness to part with him. And it was a sad trial for us to refrain from entering a direct plea in behalf of the little flock in Glebe street, who felt that the removal of their gifted, able, eloquent and beloved pastor would have tested the grace of acquiescence in the wishes of the General Assembly, the highest court of our Church, to the last degree.

“The possibility of the severance of our relation as pastor and flock has now and then been presented to us, but our answer has been uniformly the same, *‘We desire no change.’* Our attachment to him has grown with each rolling year. We have earnestly prayed that the day of our separation as pastor and people might be far, far distant, and that our Divine Master would strengthen the cords, and more firmly cement the bonds of our union, and enable us to add fresh proof from year to year of our heartfelt devotion to him.

“But an All-wise Providence has directed that he should be transferred to another sphere of labor in the vineyard of the Lord. He tells us, in his letter to the congregation, that the reiterated, unanimous and cordial calls from the General Assembly, Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary, and the Synods of South Carolina and Georgia appeal to him in such a

manner as to force upon him the conviction that it would be flying in the face of Providence to refuse to comply. In his letter to the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary he states, 'Among the moral reasons which have influenced me, unwillingness to give up my present field of labor did not have a place. It would indeed be a great wrench to my feelings to be obliged to leave my people, who have always treated me so generously and affectionately, but I admitted the power of the Assembly to order the transfer.'

"Under these circumstances it becomes us to pause before we adopt such a course as may embarrass him in following what he considers the path of paramount duty. It is unfortunately true that the very idea of our separation awakens gloomy forebodings in the minds of many as to the future of our church. But let us remember, beloved friends, this is God's church. He who has watched over us in the past, and used us, as we humbly trust, as instruments to extend His kingdom, and for the promotion of His glory, will sustain us in the future. Paul may plant and Apollos water, but God alone can give the increase. Let us present a united and harmonious front. With an unwavering faith let us be true to God's Church, and be assured He will be true to us. Our mission as a church and congregation is not a mere declaration of words. No, no. Let us show our faith by our works. Look around. Even within the bounds of our own Presbytery, and particularly on the seaboard, behold prostrate churches and souls starving for the want of heavenly bread. Let us hold together; cry to the Master for help; redouble our efforts to resuscitate these prostrate churches and send a pure gospel to the destitute.

"1. *Resolved*, That it is with the most unfeigned regret and sorrow that we have received the letter of our beloved pastor, the Rev. J. L. Girardeau, D. D., in which, under the pressure of Providential indications, he has felt it to be his duty to accept a call to a vacant chair in the Theological Seminary, and tender his resignation as pastor of this church.

"2. *Resolved*, That after a calm and prayerful consideration of the correspondence between the directors of the Theological Seminary and the Rev. Dr. Girardeau, and a careful review of his letter to this congregation, we feel reluctantly constrained

to unite with him in asking the Charleston Presbytery to dissolve the pastoral relations now existing between us.

"3. *Resolved*, That the session of this church be requested to ask the Rev. Dr. Girardeau, if not inconsistent with his other duties, to supply the pulpit of this church until the 1st of April next, when our fiscal year will terminate, and to earnestly urge him to comply with this request.

"4. *Resolved*, That an authenticated copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions be forwarded to Charleston Presbytery, through the representative of this church to that body. Also that a copy be handed to the Rev. Dr. Girardeau.

"5. *Resolved*, That the action of this meeting touching the resignation of the Rev. Dr. Girardeau of his pastoral charge of this church and congregation be published in the *Southern Presbyterian*, and that the Session be requested to have the same spread upon the Sessional Records of this church."

The Charleston Presbytery shortly afterwards, at a *pro-ac-rata* meeting, dissolved the pastoral relation; and while Dr. Girardeau, in compliance with the request of the congregation, continued to supply the pulpit for several months, he promptly removed to Columbia and took up the work in the Theological Seminary. And thus terminated his happy and successful pastorate of ten years in Zion Church, Glebe Street.

CHAPTER VI

THE SEMINARY PROFESSOR

By W. T. HALL, D. D.

Columbia Seminary, known at the present time technically as "The Theological Seminary of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Florida," was founded in 1828 by the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia. For a year or two it was conducted at Livingston, Georgia, the Rev. Thomas Goulding, D. D., being the only professor. In 1830 it was transferred to Columbia, South Carolina, and in 1831 to its present eligible site on Blanding Street. In chronological order it was the eighth strictly theological seminary established in the United States. The first was established in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, in 1793, by the Associate Presbyterian Church of North America; the second, by the Associate Reformed Church, in New York, in 1804; the third was Andover, in 1806; the fourth New Brunswick, in 1810; the fifth Princeton, in 1811; the sixth Union Seminary in Virginia, in 1824; the seventh the Associate Reformed Seminary at Alleghany, Pennsylvania. It thus appears that our branch of the Reformed Church was not the first to begin the work in this country of erecting strictly theological schools for the regular training of ministers of religion, and that it was not content to combine its resources on a single great institution at some suitable locality. The idea underlying the policy adopted by our fathers was the importance of educating candidates for the ministry at home. It was thought that the number of

candidates would be increased by having seminaries of sacred learning distributed over the territory at suitable intervals; that the candidates would be better adapted to the work in the home field; and that different sections of the Church would have an equal chance to secure a supply of laborers. The records of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia show that all these considerations operated on the minds of the founders of Columbia Seminary. And a survey of the work done by the Seminary in aiding to plant and develop our Church in the tier of States from South Carolina to Texas abundantly vindicates the wisdom of its founders. At the semi-centennial of the Seminary, celebrated in 1881, the Rev. George Howe, D. D., L.L. D., who gave his whole life to the service of the institution, made the following statement, which illustrates the point: "More than three-fourths of the ministers and licentiates of the Synod of South Carolina, more than half of those of the Synod of Georgia, about one-third of those of the Synod of Alabama and Arkansas, nearly one-half of the Synods of Memphis and Mississippi were students of this Seminary." It should not, however, be inferred that the founders of the Seminary had in view only the benefit of these extreme Southern States. They recognized the fact that the field is the world, and planted the institution with reference to every department of Church work. More than seven hundred ministers have been trained for their work in her classrooms; and have gone forth to adorn the pulpit and the press, to preside over institutions of learning, to fill the chairs of theological seminaries, and to take a leading part in evangelizing the world. Particularly has the service of her sons been conspicuous in the great work of foreign missions

and in the efforts to evangelise the colored population in our Southern country. How could it be otherwise with John Leighton Wilson and John L. Girardeau among her alumni?

Dr. Girardeau was elected Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in 1875. He was the sixth in the line of eminent theologians who had been called successively to this responsible position—including Dr. Goulding at the beginning, and Dr. Palmer for a year or two during the War between the States. We may refer again to the historical discourse of Dr. Howe for a glimpse of several of these distinguished men. “And now the forms of my own associates of the faculty pass before me—of Dr. Goulding, my first colleague, who, as he sometimes humorously said to me, ‘was the first native of Georgia that became a Presbyterian minister since the foundation of the world’; and who served the Church faithfully in this office for six years; of Dr. A. W. Leland, of commanding person and high native endowments, who served the Seminary as professor first of theology, and then of rhetoric and pastoral theology, for thirty-one years, till disabled by disease; of the matchless J. H. Thornwell, D. D., L.L. D., professor for six years of Didactic and Polemic Theology, called away, alas! too soon for us, to the skies; and to these brethren so dear to us, we have to add another, *nomen clarum et venerabile*, William S. Plumer, D. D., L.L. D., whom our Lord and Master has called home to himself from a life of great usefulness and unremitted toil.”

During the war the Seminary, with the consent of the Synods then owning it, passed under the control of the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, and so continued until after the date of Dr.

Girardeau's election. Thus it happened that he was called to service in the Seminary by the voice of the whole Church, expressed through the commissioners to the Assembly. The election was held by the Assembly during its sessions in the City of St. Louis in 1875. The nomination was made by the Rev. Dr. Palmer, of New Orleans, in a memorable speech. He had known Dr. Girardeau from a child. They were both born in or near the City of Charleston, and were both trained at Columbia Seminary. For many years they were associated as members of the Synod of South Carolina. Dr. Palmer also had full knowledge of the needs of the Seminary. He had known the institution through all its troubled history and had been twice a member of its faculty. Perhaps he never felt greater satisfaction in any event which he had a hand in shaping than in the call of his friend to the chair of theology. It did not require, however, much eloquent speech to move and guide the Assembly on the occasion. The attention of the friends of the Seminary had been directed to Dr. Girardeau for years as the proper successor to the lamented Dr. Thornwell. They recognized in him a man of deep piety, scholarly tastes, large attainments and national reputation as a preacher. No other man of his age in all the Church combined so many admirable qualities. He was known to be in full sympathy with all that distinguished the Southern Church from other Presbyterian bodies. He had become famous as a preacher to the negroes in Charleston, and spent his life in their service, notwithstanding his devotion to the principles for which the Confederate Government contended to the bitter end. It is hardly necessary to say that his election was hearty and unanimous; and that it gave great satisfaction to all the

friends and alumni of the Seminary. The right man had been found at last.

But what appeared so clear to the minds of all the other alumni and friends of the Seminary was a source of anxious thought and great embarrassment to Dr. Girardeau himself. At a meeting of the Board of Directors in September, 1875, the following resolution was adopted:

“That the Chairman of the Board write to Rev. J. L. Girardeau, D. D., and state to him that this Board regrets that he has declined to accept the professorship tendered to him by the Assembly, and requests him to reconsider the matter; and, if he can see his way clear to do so, that he will yet accept the appointment.”

In reply to this communication from the Board, Dr. Girardeau made the following answer:

“Dear Brethren: The Synod of South Carolina, at the late meeting, the Synod of Georgia having subsequently concurred, urged me to withdraw the letter to the Moderator of the General Assembly, in which I had declined to take the chair of Theology in the Seminary at Columbia. In earnestly endeavoring to dissuade the Synod from adopting that action, I pressed one reason, although there were others which had been prominent and obtrusive against my assuming the responsibility of the professorship. I afterwards regretted that I did not give a fuller disclosure of my difficulties, but the proposition took me by surprise, and on the spur of the moment I presented the great reason which appeared to my mind sufficient of itself to oppose my acceptance of the chair. The action of the Synod over my protest, I am constrained to confess, deeply affected me. The fact that it was taken by a body which knew me well, and which I greatly loved and honored, and that a question already once decided against, imposing sanctions was again urged upon me with a persistency I could not account for, both humbled and impressed me. I felt that I was called

on to reconsider the decision which had been rendered. Having done so, I now beg to lay before you for your consideration the result which has been reached. I have been extremely reluctant to submit the case in such a form as supposes a meeting of the board, but I am shut up either to take that course or else absolutely to decline. And I am compelled to address this communication to the board and not to the Synod, because the latter body will not meet again until late in next year, and it is practicable for the former to convene at any time. The propriety of invoking the action of the board, moreover, is justified by the consideration that they represented different Synods, and that they are the immediate curators of the Seminary. This, I beg, may be accepted as my excuse for subjecting the members of the board to the inconvenience of a special meeting, should one be deemed necessary.

“Circumstances render it proper and desirable that I should, at this stage of the matter, frankly expose to you, brethren of the board, the past and present posture of my mind in relation to it. This I will attempt to do with as much brevity as will consist with clearness. The reasons which have hitherto operated upon me have been of two sorts—one the matter of which was intellectual, and the other the matter of which was moral. In the first place, I was conscious of an inadequate furniture of scholarship and learning for the discharge of the duties of a chair which had been adorned by erudition as well as illustrated by genius. It was not so much a question of capacity, even though I could lay no claim to such a measure of it as the requirements of the chair demand. Upon that point my brethren had possessed the means of judging, and, if they thought me suited to be in some measure profitable to the Church in that respect, I was prepared to defer to their judgment. But it was a question of attainment which oppressed me and my own convictions as to that point sustained me in declining the position. Since the fresh and urgent pressure of the matter upon me by the Synod of South Carolina, with the concurrence of the Synod of Georgia, I have been led, somewhat to my own surprise, to take the view that the responsibility is lifted from me and assumed by the Church. I faithfully submitted the difficulty and it has been overruled. That reason, therefore, though still keenly felt, I now consent to waive.

“In the second place, among the moral reasons which have influenced me, unwilling to give up my present field of labor did not have a place. It would indeed be a great wrench to my feelings to be obliged to leave my beloved people, who have always treated me so generously and affectionately, but I admitted the power of the Assembly to make the transfer. Those reasons were the following: 1. There were certain private difficulties in the way of my acceptance which appeared to me to contribute to the justification of a declination. That reason, also, although not without great reluctance, I now relinquish. 2. I had received positive information that an impression existed, previously to my election by the Assembly, that I aspired to the Theological chair at Columbia, and also that in certain quarters a belief was entertained that there was a plan on the part of others which contemplated my being ultimately placed in it. In regard to the former I was innocent, and as to the latter I was ignorant. If any such plan existed I was unacquainted with it. It is plain that had I complied with the call of the Assembly those suppositions never could have been rebutted. Now, however, in consequence of my having declined, they must be exploded. That reason, therefore, is no longer operative. 3. I had made common cause with the brethren who have retired from the Seminary in contending for the principle of obedience to law on the part of theological students. In that contest we werè defeated. Hence a two-fold difficulty arose. How could I consistently go into an institution in which the principle to which we had borne testimony had been prostrated? And how could I, by going in, appear to desert my friends who were out precisely on that issue? Fidelity alike to principle and to friendship seemed to rise up and dispute my passage to the Seminary. Nor could these things be easily separated, for the principle of obedience to constitutional law appeared to be incarnated in my friends as living representatives of it, and representatives in defeat. It is this difficulty which, since the solution of others, has emerged into prominence and occasioned my delay in responding to the request of the Synod. It is true the last Assembly in electing to a chair in the Seminary one who was known to have stood for the principle to which allusion has been made, seemed to give it a practical endorsement; but the concession was virtual, not explicit,

and nothing was said or done beyond an implicit approval which directly relieved the position of the brethren who retired from the Seminary. Fidelity to friendship, then, and obedience to the call of the church confronted each other. If they could in no way be reconciled, I felt that I must yield to the claims of the former and decline compliance with the call of the Church as incorrectly addressed to one under such circumstances. Since it is obvious that the Church cannot legitimately call an individual to violate fundamental obligations enforced alike by nature and the word of God. The question, then, was narrowed down to this: Would my going to the Seminary be fairly interpretable as an abandonment of the cause which was common to me with my friends, and to an abandonment of them? Now the cause was common to them and me in so far as the contest for the maintenance of the principle of obedience to law was concerned. If, then, my going into the Seminary would imply my relinquishment, or even compromise, of that principle, I could not go. Conscience and honor would bar its gates to me.

“If, therefore, I go into the Seminary, it can only be under this distinct understanding: that I regard the action of the Assembly of 1875 as an endorsement of the principle in question, and as consequently opening the way for one who maintained it to enter the institution, and also as virtually sustaining the retired professor in so far as their maintenance of that principle was concerned; that I still uphold that principle and would feel bound on any future occasion of its being challenged to give it my support; that I cannot consent to be construed as a sort of embodied compromise measure with neutral aspect toward opposite and conflicting principles; that it is my opinion that the utterance of the Church in her supreme court ought to have been definitely given in favor of the great principle of obedience to law and legitimate authority. Whatever view may have been expressed as to the expediency or inexpediency in the first instance of a particular measure which gave rise to the issue between that principle and the will of the students; that to the brethren who have retired from the Seminary ought to have been saved from that position of apparent humiliation in which they have been placed, but in which they must be consoled by the reflection that they are

vindicated by truth, and that the injustice which I conceive they have suffered ought to be removed by some explicit utterance of the General Assembly.

“At the same time I beg to say that should I go, it would not be in any belligerent or disputatious spirit, but with the purpose to refrain from agitating the facts or rekindling the passions of the past, and to endeavor, so far as in me lies, to act kindly, cautiously and fraternally toward all my colleagues, and with the hope that it may please the Lord Jesus to use me as an instrument for healing divisions, and so far contributing to the advancement of the Seminary and the interest of our beloved Zion.

“I lay before you, brethren of the board, this plain declaration of my views, and very respectfully crave your judgment in the case. If in the light of this statement you deem it inexpedient that I should go into the Seminary, an intimation from you to that effect will be all that is necessary. I will, in that event, allow my letter of declination to remain in the hands of the Moderator of the Assembly. If, on the other hand, with this statement before you, it still be your judgment, given unanimously, that I ought to go into the institution, I will withdraw that letter. In that case, as the Seminary has been in session for some time, I will submit to your will as to the question when I should enter upon the duties of the chair, whether during the present term or at the commencement of the next.

“I deem it required, by the allusions which have been made in this letter to Dr. Wilson and Dr. Adger, and by justice to them, to say that the former emphatically expressed his wish that I should go to the Seminary by the motion which he offered as to the form of the vote at my election, and that the latter has requested me to throw out of the account my personal relations to himself, and has expressed a strong desire that I should accept the professorship.

“I should be greatly pained if the impression should in the least degree be made upon your minds that I have written in any spirit of arrogance. Very far from it. I am too deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon me and the confidence reposed in me by my brethren, as well as my unworthiness and weakness; have been too profoundly exercised in regard to a

question at once so critical to me, and so closely related to the interests of the Church, to have been governed by any other feeling than one of humility.

"I come to you with the humble and earnest prayer that the Lord may reveal his will through the action which your wisdom may suggest.

"Permit me in conclusion to ask that you will do me the favor, when you shall have acted upon this communication, to give it publicity.

"I am, dear brethren, with high esteem,

"Very truly yours,

"JOHN L. GIRARDEAU."

On this communication the Board took the following action:

"1. That it sees nothing in the views expressed in the letter inconsistent with Dr. Girardeau's accepting the position in the Seminary to which he has been called.

"2. That this Board unanimously and most heartily repeats the call of the Assembly and the Synods of South Carolina and Georgia and the Board to Dr. Girardeau to accept the chair thus proffered to him."

Dr. Girardeau's notes show the spirit with which he entered his work, and the methods used by him.

"I entered upon the discharge of my duties here January 18th, 1876. I was, previously to my first lecture, anxious almost to sickness. I could not endure the thought of undertaking an office for which my furniture was consciously so inadequate. But the Lord helped me. I was enabled to speak with freedom in my first attempt, with the senior class, on the Dispositions proper to the study of Theology. And I have been helped since. I commit myself and this work to which I did *not* call myself, to the Almighty, faithful

hands of the Lord Jesus. Glorious Saviour! I adore, I admire, I love Thee! Use me to show forth Thy matchless beauty, loveliness and glory! Enrich me with all knowledge and utterance, for Thy name's sake, Amen.

J. L. G."

"FIRST MEETING WITH SENIOR CLASS.

"I. The Text Book to be used.

"Choice lies between Calvin and Hodge.

"Reasons for electing the latter.

"II. Get Calvin, and get him as well in the original as in the translation.

"Read him daily, in the original—if only a brief passage.

"On the topic for study the translation may be used, parallel with Hodge.

"Get Hill also. Lectures in Divinity. Comparative Theology.

"Read Thornwell's Second Volume. Masterly discussion. Turretin.

"III. Methods.

"1. Recitation upon text-book.

"2. Interrogation.

"3. Lectures—unwritten and written.

"4. Written analyses of each day's exercise."

"PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

"1. Relation between the instructor and the students.

"2. Free interrogation by the class. Free discussion under limitations. (1) Must not be captious. (2) Must not be to cover want of preparation, or to consume time. (3) Must be respectful.

"3. My advice to you is, that, ordinarily, you do not pursue the plan of taking notes of the remarks made by the professor; except in the case of definitions, leading divisions, and statements written on the blackboard.

"1. The practice will prove injurious to your training as extemporaneous preachers. The opposite practice beneficial.

"2. Injurious, also to your training as debaters and speakers.

"3. Hurtful to the memory. The bearing upon attention.

"4. Less stimulating to the teacher, especially when lecturing.

"5. You are not training to be expert reporters.

"6. Illustration derived from my listening to Thornwell and Palmer.

"7. This counsel is given only in regard to my own chair. Each professor must determine for himself concerning this matter. So, likewise, must, to some extent, each student.

"8. After each *recitation* write out scheme as far as possible. The difficulties may be great, but success will be all the greater.

"9. Analyses in writing, after every recitation, in alphabetical order."

"THE DISPOSITIONS PROPER TO THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY.

"I. In the general, those which spring from conversion.

"II. The love of Truth.

"This will induce zeal and industry in its pursuit.

"III. Neutrality of mind.

"What?

"1. Indifference as to what shall prove to be the truth as between conflicting views.

"Not indifference to the truth itself.

"2. Great law: Evidence is the measure of assent.

"3. The holding of previous judgments, however derived, except from thorough-going, independent investigation, as tentative. The weight to be attached to early instructions. Venerable presumptions, which are to be held until rebutted by competent evidence.

"IV. Humble dependence upon the Holy Spirit.

"V. Implicit submission to the dogmatic authority of God's Word."

"THE METHODS OF STUDY.

"I. Analysis and synthesis.

"II. Regard for the drift of a particular context.

"III. Regard for the analogy of the whole—"the proportion of faith."

History teaches that several conditions must meet in order to the production of a great theologian. Chief among these are extraordinary endowments, both nat-

ural and gracious; prolonged occupation as a professional instructor, and the stimulus of some absorbing religious crisis. This statement might be illustrated by referring to Calvin and Chalmers, or to Hodge, Dabney and Thornwell in our own country. The first and third of these conditions met in the case of Dr. Girardeau, but the second was, in a measure, absent. He entered the Seminary, as a teacher, in January, 1876, and retired voluntarily, as he began to feel the burden of years, in May, 1895. Time enough was allowed to form an acquaintance with the broad field of theology and its kindred sciences, but not for formulating the result in a systematic treatise. His pen was not idle, as we shall see further on, but his published works are critical rather than constructive. In adopting this policy he was wise. Dr. Charles Hodge began to teach in Princeton Seminary in the year 1822, but his "Systematic Theology" was not written until about 1870. Dr. Dabney and Dr. Thornwell both began their labors as instructors a few years after they were ordained as ministers. Dr. Dabney lived to a good old age and preserved his vigor to the last. Consequently we have a sense of completeness when we read his works. Dr. Thornwell was cut off in his fiftieth year, when his work was but half finished. There is perhaps some advantage in having in the chair of Theology a man who has had considerable experience in the pastoral office, but it is a question worth considering whether the gain would not be greater if the incumbent was allowed to give his whole life to the work of teaching. But, to return to the subject of this sketch, nor are we left in doubt as to the type of theology he taught, by the absence of a systematic treatise on the subject. The text-books he

used, his "Discussions of Theological Questions," and the statements of those who studied under him furnish ample evidence that he emphasized the Federal theology. By this we mean the Reformed Theology cast in the mould of the covenants. This will indicate with sufficient distinctness his devotion to the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, as they contain the only Creed that teaches the doctrines of the Covenants. But the question remains as to the extent of the influence the federal principle is to be allowed to exercise in the interpretation of these standards. Fortunately for us, he has spoken his mind on this question deliberately and freely. At the semi-centennial of Columbia Seminary he delivered a carefully prepared address on "The Federal Theology: Its Import and Its Regulative Influence." He had been teaching theology in the Seminary about six years, and he probably made use of the occasion to indicate his position as a theologian. As our purpose in this sketch is to allow Dr. Girardeau to state his own views, we will quote freely from this address. It opens with the following brief history of the origin of the federal theology: "It has become almost an adage, that the Church has developed her theology mainly through conflict with error. This must be so from the nature of the case. Attention is not apt to be specially directed to what is undisputed, and our clearest judgments are delivered from comparison. The contrast of truth and error, induced by the assertion of the latter, enhances our comprehension of both. The doctrine of the covenants constitutes no exception to this law. It was not brought distinctly under investigation and formally developed until the period succeeding the Reformation. Luther grandly elucidated the cardinal doctrine of

justification by faith alone. Justification he saw clearly. Imputation he perceived less distinctly: and he stopped short of the controlling principle of federal representation. Even Calvin, magnificently endowed as he was by his abilities and learning for a systematic treatment of revealed truth, although he produced a theological work distinguished for its comprehensive grasp of the doctrines of religion in their relation to each other, did not seem to have had his mind definitely tuned to the federal scheme.

“It was when Placæus broached his theory of the mediate imputation of Adam’s sin that the attention of the Reformed Church was thoroughly aroused to the importance and scope of the federal theology. The theologians of the Dutch School, in their massive works, subjected it to a full, if not exhaustive, consideration; and their example was followed by some of the most illustrious divines of England and Scotland.”

He next considers the import of the Federal Theology. In this inquiry he begins with the Covenant of Grace, “for the reason that its existence and the operation of the representative principle in connexion with it are more clearly and explicitly set forth in the Scriptures than are the fact of the Covenant of Works and the way in which its results are entailed.” Much of the discussion must be omitted, but the following extracts will show the drift:

“In this covenant the principle of representation was involved as an essential element. Christ, by the appointment of the Father, and by His own spontaneous election, became the legal representative of the elect seed who were given to Him to be redeemed. He undertook all their legal responsibilities, as well as those which related them to the preceptive require-

ments of the moral law, as those which barred them as transgressors to endure the penalty. Whatever the law exacted of them, in order to their justification, he as their representative obliged himself to render. The life of obedience due from them He engaged to live; the death demanded of them He bound Himself to die.

“There is a distinction which is now strangely neglected, but to which the Calvinistic theology ought to be recalled, as vital to its consistency and completeness. . . . The import of it is that, on the one hand, the elect were, *in mass*, justified *in foro Dei*, in the justification of Christ as their federal head and representative; and, on the other hand, they are severally justified *in foro conscientiae*, when, in the period of their earthly history they actually exercise faith in Christ. In the first instance, they are conceived as justified constructively, federally, representatively; in the second, subjectively and consciously. In the first, they were justified independently of their voluntary conscience; in the second, they are justified through their conscious exercise of faith.

“If the doctrine of the Covenants be scriptural, it is too plain to need proof that there is a federal oneness of Christ and His seed. When, as their representative, He yielded obedience to the law in order to justification, they yielded that obedience in Him. His representative acts and experiences, in relation to that end, were theirs. Otherwise the principle of representation is a figment and the term *representative* a sham. . . . What hinders, then, that we should hold that when He was justified, they were justified with Him? The consequence must follow if He was justified as their head and representative. Not subjectively

and consciously, but federally and representatively, they obeyed, died, and rose again, and were, in God's heavenly court, justified, in Christ.

“Now, inasmuch as no justification at God's ban is conceivable except upon the ground of a perfect righteousness, it is obvious that the elect seed of Christ must have been, in some sense, adjudged to be righteous in order to their virtual justification. That sense is, that they were righteous by imputation. . . . Christ's righteous was, in God's court, imputed to them in order to their justification in Him. Here, then, it deserved to be noticed, we have a case of ‘antecedent and immediate imputation’ of righteousness—antecedent, since the imputation preceded the spiritual birth of the elect; immediate, since it was not conditioned by or mediated through inherent and conscious holiness.

“The elect seed of Christ having been thus, in the court of heaven, virtually justified in Him, their representative, were invested with a right and title to eternal life. Then, when their earthly history emerges, their righteous Advocate and priestly Intercessor, at God's appointed time, sent out for them the gift of the Holy Spirit, who, imparted to them by the Mediatorial King, enters into them, convinces them of their sin and misery, illuminates them in a knowledge of Christ as a Saviour, regenerates them, and enables them to exercise that which conditions their conscious and actual union with Jesus. Not now are they, for the first time, federally and representatively, but subjectively and consciously justified. This is their actual, in contradistinction from their virtual, justification. In the order of production it succeeds regeneration, as, in that order, virtual precedes it.”

The author now turns to the parallel case of the operation of the great principle of federal representation in the covenant of works.

“Now had Adam fulfilled the condition of the covenant, that is, perfect obedience to the law, during the specified time of his trial, his posterity would have fulfilled the condition, would have rendered the obedience in him. So was it, we have seen, in the case of Christ and his seed. The obedience of the representative is the obedience of the represented—yielded not subjectively and consciously, but federally, legally, representatively. Nor does this destroy the reality of the constituent’s obedience. A representative’s obedience is as real as a conscious. They are differently conditioned, but they are both real.

“It follows, also, that had Adam been justified his posterity would in him have been justified in *foro Dei*. They would have had previously to their conscious existence, a virtual justification in him as their head and representative. The analogy holds between the virtual justification of Christ’s seed in his justification and the virtual justification of Adam’s descendants in him, on the supposition that he had fulfilled his probation. As no justification can take place except upon the ground of a perfect righteousness, the race, according to the supposition sharing his justification, would have been, in the court of heaven, justified on the ground of Adam’s righteousness imputed to them. These would, then, it is clear, have been an ‘antecedent and immediate imputation’ to them of the righteousness of their federal representative—antecedent, as anticipating their personal existence and inherent holiness; immediate, as directly terminating on them without being mediated through their conscious virtue.

And when they emerged into individual existence, they would—I am bold enough, pursuing the analogy, to think—have been actually justified upon their conscious acceptance of God's appointed method of justification; they would, in a word, have been both virtually and actually justified on the ground of imputed righteousness. It would have been nature's plan, as it is that of recovering grace.

“But Adam fell. Following the lead of the representative principle, we cannot err in affirming that his act of disobedience was the race's act of disobedience. ‘They sinned in him, and fell with him in his first transgression.’ They sinned in him, they performed his fatal act, not subjectively and consciously, but federally, legally, representatively. It is equally evident that his condemnation was theirs. He was condemned not merely on his own account, but as their legal representative; consequently, they were condemned in him. The sentence, passed in God's heavenly court, terminated at the same time upon him and upon his federal constituents. It was pronounced not in *foro conscientiae*, but in *foro Dei*. But as no sentence of condemnation can be justly pronounced except upon the ground of guilt, and as Adam's posterity was not in conscious existence when they were thus condemned, his guilt—the guilt of his first sin as representatively their sin—was imputed to them as the ground of their condemnation. It was not their guilt as contracted subjectively and consciously, but as incurred federally, legally, representatively. In the former sense the guilt was that which attached to another's sin—*peccatum alimun*; in the later, it was a guilt which resulted from their own sin. The distinction is scriptural and obvious, and it is the only one which even approximately

relieves the difficulties which the speculative reason encounters in its attempt to construe the facts of the case. But whether the thinking faculty is satisfied or not, faith accepts the exposition which it recognizes as furnished by inspiration itself.

“Here, then, we have again an ‘antecedent and immediate imputation’—the imputation of Adam’s guilt to his posterity, which was antecedent to their personal existence and subjective depravity, and which was immediate, as not conditioned by or mediated through their conscious corruption. The paralellism between the two Adams and their respective seeds is in the points indicated, without a joining element, condemnation being substituted for justification in the instance of the first Adam and his race.”

Having thus explained the import of the federal theology the author passes to consider its regulative influence—first upon the doctrines of natural religion, the religion of law; secondly, upon those of supernatural religion, the religion of redeeming grace.

In the realm of natural religion, it leaves no room for Pelagianism with its monstrous dream that men are born destitute of any character; for Arminianism with its theory of a family covenant and parental representative; for the various metaphysical theories that seek to explain the responsibility of the race for the sin of Adam on other grounds than those of legal representation; or for the theory that federal guilt and subjective depravity so concur in the same concrete and inseparable experience that neither is in order to the other.

But it has in natural religion more than a negative value. As to this positive influence we quote the author, instead of giving the substance in condensed form. “The regulative influence of the federal the-

ology is in nothing more signally manifested than in the fact that it affords the only tolerable solution of the profound and awful mysteries which hang over the moral history of the race. We are born in sin; we begin our earthly career in spiritual death, disabled for the performance of any holy act, and bound apart from God's redeeming grace by a fatal necessity of sinning; I say not of committing this or that particular sin, but of sinning. We are required to render a perfect obedience to the divine law which we have no ability to yield; failing that, we are commanded to exercise faith in Christ which we have in ourselves no power to put forth; we cannot deliver ourselves from this mournful captivity to the law of sin and death, we are bound in affliction and iron: and still we are justly held responsible for this condition, are righteously condemnable for its existence and are liable, on account of it, to the eternal pains of hell. Is it any wonder that reason reels and staggers under the apparent contradictions of the case? that she fumbles like the blind and feels after some guiding hand? Now if this were our original state, if thus we were at first created, if our history had no other beginning than one thus conditioned, the blackness of darkness would settle down upon the problem. But reason cannot be satisfied by such a supposition. She craves and demands another. Kant's hypothesis of an extra-temporal condition, and Julius Müller's and Edward Beecher's, of an ante-mundane existence, in which each individual determined his destiny by a free self-decision, attest at once her anxiety and her inability to escape from the gigantic difficulty. Scripture, philosophy and consciousness being her guides, she is estopped from taking that road for deliverance. Here

the Word of God comes to our help, and darts a morning beam into the deep midnight of the case. It informs us that our history began not at our birth but at the creation of Adam, not in the place of our nativity, but in Paradise. In our first parent appointed of God our head and representative, we had our legal probation under a covenant, which conditioned upon obedience for a limited time the attainment of justification and adoption—of indefectible holiness and bliss. In him we had freedom of will to elect the path of rectitude and to stand in integrity, in him we were endowed with amply sufficient grace to meet all the requirements of the trial. But he sinned and we sinned in him. He fell and we fell with him. We wilfully threw away our ability to render obedience to God, and, passing under the curse of a broken law, sunk into our present condition of helpless inability as the punishment of our foul and inexcusable revolt. This is the solution which the federal theology affords of the mysteries which enshrouded our moral state. Our inability is not original, it is penal. Discard this solution furnished by the Oracles of God, and we shall find that every other oracle is as dumb as the Theban Sphinx.”

In regard to the regulative influence of the federal theology upon the doctrines of supernatural religion attention is called to the fact that no Calvinist can state the successive steps in the application of the benefits of redemption apart from the federal scheme without plunging into inextricable perplexity; that this scheme is the bulwark of unconditional election, partial atonement, effectual calling, and the final perseverance of the saints.

Here we bring to a close what we consider should be said in a single chapter about the theology taught by Dr. Girardeau in the class room. As intimated in the beginning, it was thought advisable to state, as far as possible in his own language, the distinctive feature of his work in this department; and not to attempt to cull from his many discussions of special topics in theology a summary of his views. We will add to this judgment the further consideration that under Dr. Girardeau's distribution, or division, of theology the federal principle becomes pervasive. He divides theology into but two parts—the theology of natural religion and the theology of evangelical religion. The first division is concerned with all that is popularly called natural theology and also includes the covenants of works. The second division is concerned more particularly with what is embraced in the covenant of grace. Under such a distribution the scope of the federal principle is almost without limit. And we will add, also, as a further reason for such extensive quotations from the address on "The Federal Theology", that the volume in which it was published is accessible to very few readers of the present day.

The connection between certain branches of philosophy and theology is very intimate. It must be so, for the reason that they occupy common ground. Both assume to teach what is true concerning God and man. Philosophy seeks to attain truth on these vast subjects by speculation, while theology relies upon the testimony of God in His Word. Both methods are legitimate, but different conclusions are liable to be reached unless, on the one hand, the student is possessed of a sound philosophy, and, on the other, of a proper view of the office of review in regard to revela-

tion. Church history is full of instances where philosophy has been substituted for theology, and also of the baleful influence false principles in philosophy have exerted in the building of systems of theology. It has become common in our theological seminaries to meet this difficulty by requiring a course of lectures to be given in the junior year on the subject of philosophy, mental and moral. Dr. Girardeau's book, "Discussions of Philosophical Questions," grew out of this requirement. It grew out of the lectures on these subjects he delivered to his classes. And we must follow him into this branch of his work.

In the introduction we have the following explicit statement of the author's purpose: "Should the question be asked, What ends are sought to be accomplished by these discussions? the answer is, in the general, that the writer desired clearly to explicate and enounce the views derived from his own reflections, and that this desire was enhanced by the duty, bound upon him professionally, to deliver a brief course of lectures, during each session, in the institution to which he is attached. More particularly—and the answer is given in all modesty—the end contemplated by the writer has been to contribute something, so far as his abilities would allow, toward a fuller development of the destructive principles of the Scottish philosophy."

The characteristics of this school of philosophy are concisely given by Dr. James McCosh as follows: "I. It proceeds on the method of observation, professedly and really. In this respect it differs from nearly all the philosophies which went before, from many of those which were contemporary, and from some of those which still linger among us. The method pur-

sued in Eastern countries, in ancient Greece and Rome, in the scholastic times, and in the earlier ages of modern European speculation, had not been that of induction, either avowedly or truly. . . . To the Scottish school belongs the merit of being the first, avowedly and knowingly, to follow the inductive method, and to employ it systematically in psychological investigation. As the masters of the school were the first to adopt it, so they, and those who have borrowed from them, are almost the only persons who have studiously adhered to it. II. It employs self-consciousness as the instrument of observation. It may thus be distinguished from some other schools with which it has been confounded. . . . III. By the observation of consciousness, principles are reached which are prior to and independent of experience. This is another grand characteristic of the school, distinguishing it, on the one hand, from empiricism and sensationalism; and, on the other hand, from the dogmatism and a prior speculation of all ages and countries. It agrees with the former in holding that we can construct a science of mind only by observation, and out of the facts of experience; but, then, it separates from them, inasmuch as it resolutely maintains that we can discover principles which are not the product of observation and experience, and which are in the very constitution of the mind, and have these the sanction of the Author of our nature. These are somewhat differently apprehended and described by the masters of the school, some taking a deeper and others a more superficial view of them. Hutchison calls them senses, and finds them in the very constitution of the mind. Reid designates them principles of common sense, and represents them as being natural, original and necessary.

Stewart characterizes them as fundamental laws of human thought and belief. Brown makes them intuitions simple and original. Hamilton views them under a great many aspects, but seems to contemplate them most frequently and fondly after the manner of Kant, as *a priori* forms or conditions. But whatever minor or major differences there may be in the fulness of their exposition, or in the favorite views which they individually prefer, all who are truly of the Scottish school agree in maintaining that there are laws, principles or powers in the mind anterior to any reflex observation of them, and acting independently of the philosophers' classification or explanation of them."

Allow another quotation from McCosh's "The Scottish Philosophy." "It has been the main aim of the Scottish school, as modified and developed by Reid, to throw back the scepticism of Hume. Reid tells us that he once believed the received doctrine of ideas so firmly as to embrace the whole of Berkeley's system along with it, till, on discovering the consequences to which it had been driven by Hume, he was led to review the whole theory and abandon it. Kant declares that he was roused from his dogmatic slumbers by the assaults of the Scottish sceptic, and was thus impelled to the task of repelling the attack. . . . It is interesting to observe the respective ways in which the Scottish and the German metaphysicians sought to meet the great skeptic. It is evident that the assaults might be repelled at one or other of two places; either when the foe has entered, or after he has made certain advances. That the mind begins with impressions and goes on to ideas, which are mere reproductions of impressions—this is the fundamental principle of Hume. . . . It is interesting to observe that

Reid met him at both these points. . . . Kant exercised his best power in meeting Hume at the other (second) point; that is, in showing that there is an *a priori* furniture in the mind, independent of all experience. But what he built with one hand he took down with the other. For these *a priori* forms could not, in his theory, guarantee any objective reality. . . . Sir W. Hamilton sought to unite Reid and Kant, but was never able to weld thoroughly together the principles which he took from two such different sources. His doctrine of the relativity of knowledge, and of causation as a mere importency of the mind, has prepared the way for a doctrine of mere experience now largely espoused."

These extracts from McCosh enable us the more fully to appreciate the end and aim of Dr. Girardeau in his "Discussions." Of the distinctive principles of the Scottish philosophy and the errors of Hamilton he says: "Those principles constrained his adherence by their agreements, in his judgment, with the data of consciousness and their necessary consequences, with the common convictions of mankind, and with the doctrines of divine revelation. But although considered for the most part sound and superior to any other system, the Scottish philosophy did not appear to be free from certain grave defects, or to have reached the point of consummate development. This seemed to be true, notwithstanding the fact that the extraordinary learning and acumen of Sir William Hamilton were employed in the effort to bring it to maturity. Indeed, it must be confessed that the attempt of the great philosopher to expand, systematise and perfect it was attended with certain inconsistencies of statement and questionable doctrinal utterances, together with some

ambiguity in his positions, which resulted unhappily. They exposed him to the unfriendly criticism of his associationalist opponent, John Stuart Mill, gave some plausibility to the claim of Herbert Spencer that his agnosticism is justified by Hamilton's doctrine touching the knowledge of the Infinite, and —'most unkindest cut of all'—induced some of the supporters of the Scottish philosophy to impute to him the maintenance of the utter incognoscibility of God, and the atheistic tendencies of that view." Taking this view of the situation, it was the noble aim of the author to "bring the system into harmony with itself"—and to assist in advancing the Scottish philosophy towards a completer and more definite development." It is probable that these discussions ranged above the average capacity of the students who heard them. There can be no question, however, as to the ability with which they are conducted or of their value to maturer minds among the ministers and intelligent laymen of the Church. All that can be attempted here is a glance at a few of the points in which the author differs from Hamilton. And this not so much for the psychological value of the changes, as for their influence on theology.

First, the author differs in some important particulars from Hamilton's classification of the cognitive powers. We wish to notice briefly one of these variations. Under the head of "Faculties of Mediate Knowledge" he puts down three—Representative Faculty; Thinking Faculty; Believing Faculty. These give, respectively, Representative Knowledge; Thought-Knowledge; Faith-Knowledge. In other words, the Representative Faculty yields knowledge, and so do the Thinking and the Believing Faculties. Faith is

as truly a source of knowledge as reason. There is a valid distinction between mediate and immediate knowledge, but none whatever between faith and knowledge. Knowledge is the genuine result of all the cognitive faculties. The contrast to faith is not knowledge, but cognition. We know, it is true, only what stands in relation to the mind, but there are several ways in which this relation may be established. Sense-perception or memory or reflection may bring an object before the mind; but so also may the report or testimony of other persons. The old distinction that we know what is present while we believe the unseen may mislead us. The Bible makes faith a source of knowledge. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews says: "Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the Word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." Our Saviour says: "This is eternal life to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."

Faith being a source of knowledge, our author proceeds to discuss the question, "Have we a valid knowledge of the Infinite Being?" This he tests both in the sphere of natural and supernatural revelation. The conclusion reached is that in neither sphere is a knowledge of God as Infinite attained by the cognitive reason. Must we, therefore, abandon hope of reaching such knowledge? By no means. In all our knowledge there are two elements, one of which addresses itself to the cognitive powers, the other to the believing faculty. It is the joint operation of these two classes of faculties that gives the full result. We know substance; only, however, as it is manifested through its properties. When the phenomena are apprehended by the faculties of cognition, the existence of the sub-

stance becomes known by an immediate and necessary act of faith. In like manner, when the world is apprehended as contingent, the believing faculty, under the law of the causal judgment, infers a self-existent Creator. And the process is the same in the sphere of Supernatural Revelation, the necessary conditions being furnished by the life-giving energy of the Holy Ghost. Man was made to know God. There is in every soul of man a fundamental faith which adapts it to the knowledge of the Infinite Being. This proposition will bear the test of all the criteria by which fundamental beliefs are discriminated. And when this native faith is developed by a cognitive experience, it gives valid knowledge of the Infinite God.

Still another question in this connection is raised by the author. Granting that we have a valid knowledge of the Infinite God, he goes on to inquire, "Is it possible for the reason to employ it as an element in the processes of science?" The significance of this question will be recognized at once by all who have reflected upon the difficulty of finding a satisfactory definition of theology, or of allowing to it, in strictness of speech, the character of a science. In grappling with this problem, the author notices first that we may define without limiting. For instance, unless we are Pantheists, we must distinguish the divine substance from all created substance. And yet we do not limit it. Again, we distinguish one divine attribute from another, but do not limit any of them. Again it is admitted that, while we know the fact of God's existence, we do not know *how* he exists. It is the fact that God is Infinite that we know. It is revealed to faith. "It is susceptible to affirmation and negation—may be made a term of human judgments. In like manner, a

divine attribute cannot be perfectly comprehended by us, but it may be known as an infinite perfection by faith; and as known may be made the subject or the predicate of a proposition. Cognition may furnish one term and faith the other, and the proposition be valid. For example, we are entitled to make the affirmation: the justice of God is infinite. Cognition gives justice a particular kind of perfection, as the subject, and faith gives the term *infinite* as predicable of justice. Here, then, we have an infinite element as a valid constituent of a premise, and as other premises may be construed in the same way, legitimate conclusions may be drawn. But if we may reason about the Infinite and from the infinite, it is manifest that it may constitute a valid element in human science under the limitations, however, which have been pointed out."

We pass now to notice his criticism of Hamilton's doctrine of Causation. The importance of correct views on the nature of cause and of the origin of the causal judgment cannot be exaggerated. The mind is constructed with reference to knowledge as distinctly as the eye is to sight. Take away such notions as those of unity, of plurality, of differences, of identity, of cause, and you make it impossible to compare our impressions or to attain the conception of general laws. Knowledge is just the application of primitive concepts of the understanding to the material furnished by sense or consciousness. In this way we know the sensible realities. But in order to rise above the sensible the mind must be furnished with primitive beliefs, as well as original concepts. It is generally recognized that without the native belief that every effect must have an adequate cause there could be no speculative knowledge of God. But the play of this principle in

the sphere of revealed religion should not be overlooked. What is the Bible but an effect of a supernatural influence of the Holy Ghost exerted on certain men who were of God to be his organs in communicating his mind and will to men? And what is redemption but a work which manifests the deity of its author? Hume recognized the importance of the doctrine of causation. He seized upon the prevalent philosophy of his time to eliminate from the idea of cause the element of efficiency. All that the senses can perceive is antecedence and sequence, and that is all we can know. That the antecedent produces what follows is no part of the idea of cause. Our knowledge in the case goes no further than our experience. The causal judgment is a fancy. Kant came to the rescue, but unfortunately, while he vindicated the intuition of the mind, he made the particular law of causation entirely subjective. It regulates the order of our thoughts, but does not certify that things exist as we think them. Hamilton applied his doctrine of the conditional to the case and reached the conclusion that the causal judgment is not the result of a positive but of a negative necessity of thought—that it is not the native product of a faculty of the soul, but springs from a native impotency. We wish we had space to introduce to the readers Dr. Girardeau's criticism of Hamilton's errors both as to the nature of the idea of cause and as to the origin of the causal judgment. It is both unfair and unsatisfactory to cite a single paragraph from a long and labored discussion. But to this we are compelled for want of space. Hamilton's position is that the causal judgment lies between the two inconceivable and contradictory extremes of an absolute commencement or an infinite series of relative commencements.

Neither is conceivable, and hence mental impotency. But as contradictory, one or the other must be true. Consciousness decides through its testimony to free acts of the will that an absolute commencement is the true extreme. A negative judgment of the mind cannot counterbalance the express affirmative of consciousness. We know that we are the responsible authors of our actions. The following quotation will intimate the course of the argument in refuting Hamilton's doctrine: "If these things be so, Hamilton's argument against the view that the law of causality is original and underived breaks down. The argument is that nothing is to be assumed as an original, special principle of the mind, operating by a positive necessity, which can be shown to result from a mere mental powerlessness. The causal judgment, he contends, is in this category: it is enforced by a negative necessity occasioned by an inability of the mind to conceive the contrary. Hence there is no original, fundamental law, no special positive principle of causality in the mind. His minor—namely, that the causal judgment is derived from a mental impotence—has been shown to be inconclusive. . . . The other argument of Hamilton against such a positive, fundamental law of belief also gives way—to wit, that, as consciousness affirms the fact of an absolute commencement, it contradicts the hypothesis of an original law which demands a cause for everything which begins to be; and that our nature would be self-contradictory and mendacious on the supposition of the existence of such a law and of the testimony of consciousness in opposition to it; but we have seen that consciousness makes no such affirmation."

The last contribution to philosophy made by Dr. Girardeau, which we will notice, is his treatise on "The Will in Its Theological Relation." As his views on this subject have been exposed to not a little criticism, attention should be called to the fact that they were not hastily adopted by him. He tells us in the preface to the volume something of its history. In the year 1849, while a licensed probationer for the gospel ministry, a sentence in a sermon in pamphlet form, by Dr. Thornwell, suggested to his mind some serious questions. Not feeling satisfied with the solution given by Dr. Thornwell in a subsequent interview, he worked out his own answers, but did not obtrude them upon the minds of others. During the war Jonathan Edwards' "On the Will" was one of his companions in the army and was carefully studied. In 1871 the first two volumes of "Dr. Thornwell's Collected Writings" were issued, and about the same time the "Systematic Theology" of Dr. Charles Hodge. His surprise was great to find himself relieved from the necessity of being cautious in the expression of his views as they seemed after all to be taught substantially by both of these masters in Israel. "In 1877, a controversy involving the theological relations of the will occurred between two distinguished combatants, conducted on the one side in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* and on the other in *The Southern Presbyterian Review*. In the progress and results, so far as reached, of this debate I became intensely interested, and published two articles in *The Southern Presbyterian Review* on the subject of the Freedom of the Will in Its Theological Relations. These articles were challenged and criticised by an able writer in the pages of the same *Review*. This led to the addition of four articles,

making six in all, which were published in *The Review*. The remaining part of the work was subsequently written."

The work treats of the will in man's four different estates of innocency, hereditary sin, grace and glory. It is not necessary, however, to follow him over this broad field. What our purpose requires is simply to collect from the volume what is peculiar to Dr. Girardeau's teaching. And the task is still further shortened by the fact that the whole treatise grew out of a painful conviction of the author that the doctrine of the will taught by Jonathan Edwards fails either to ground the sense of human guilt or to acquit God of the charge of being the author of sin. For this reason he regarded it as an insufficient account of the freedom of the will. The case, as Dr. Girardeau saw it, is set forth in the following extracts: "We pass on to show that the theory of Edwards, either as held by himself or as modified by those who essentially agree with it, fails to ground the sense of guilt and to acquit God of the charge of being the author of sin, and is therefore an insufficient account of the freedom of the will. The point in which they all concur is the denial to the will of any self-determining power, that is, of any power to originate its determination—of any real, causal efficiency in itself, and the affirmation that its volitions are efficiently caused by the sum of motives existing in the soul. . . . They agree in affirming moral necessity of all the acts of the will, that is, they hold that the acts of the will, whatever they may be, are unavoidable. They could not be otherwise than they are in any given case. The man wills freely, but he cannot will otherwise than he does. He acts in accordance with a force operating invincibly and inevitably through the

will itself. The force is the spontaneity and *habitus* of the man himself. He always acts in accordance with, never against it. The law which the adherents of the principle of determinism coincide in announcing is: As is the moral spontaneity of the man, so must be his volitions—the spontaneity determines the will; the will never determines the spontaneity. This is Edwards' moral necessity, a necessity not imposed in the way of physical constraint, but springing from the dispositions of the man himself. Now, every Calvinist must admit the possible co-existence of such a necessity with the highest form of freedom. They concur in God, in the elect angels, and in glorified men. The only question is—and it is of the utmost consequence—Does this concurrence take place in every supposable case? Did it obtain in the instance of the non-elect angels and of Adam in innocence? We do not object to the possible concurrence of this necessity and freedom of will. We admit it as a fact in some actual instances. We deny that it must always exist—that it is the result of a universal and invariable law. . . . Let us settle our view of this concurrence theory. Its essence is that the will, morally considered, has, under no conceivable circumstances or relations, any power to act otherwise than in conformity to the moral spontaneity of the soul. Its freedom consists in its following the law of the spontaneity. It must be what the spontaneity is. Now, the question starts up: What determines the moral spontaneity which thus determines the will? What is its origin? What is the cause which produces it? For we are agreed in demanding a cause for every effect. It will not do to say, it is sufficient to know that the spontaneity belongs to the man himself, and in acting in accordance with

it, he is only expressing himself. That may be true, but that accounts only for self-expression, as Dr. Thornwell well remarks, and not for self-determination. How comes the man to be conditioned thus and so? Did he have any voluntary agency in inducing that moral type of being which now characterises him beyond his power to change it, or did he not? If he did not, he only develops his natural constitution when he sins. Not to sin would be to violate the original laws of his being. It can not be conceived that he would be more to blame than is a poisonous plant in producing poisonous fruits in accordance with the law of its nature. If he did, then he must have done so by a self-determination of the will, that is, a determination uncaused by a preceding moral spontaneity; for, upon the supposition, he determined the spontaneity and was not determined by it. . . . And the question resolves itself into this: Did Adam, by a free self-decision which might have been avoided, determine himself in the direction of sin? Here the issue is to be joined. This is the real place at which the discussion of the self-determining power of the will must be had. It is idle to transfer the question to the will in its present sinful condition. It is the case of Adam which is critical, typical, controlling. . . . The question before us, then, is did Adam, in the commission of the first sin, act from necessity—that is, was his first sin unavoidable? or did he commit it by an un-necessitated and avoidable decision of his will? Now, either he was in some sense necessitated to the commission of the sin, or he was not. If he was, then God must have been the author of the necessity.”

In a word, Dr. Girardeau demands for the will, in the case of an innocent creature on probation, the

power of contrary choice. He thinks the angels that kept not their first estate must have possessed it; and that Adam, when he was on trial for himself and his natural posterity, must have been endowed with such a power. He would not say that the sin of Adam and his fall were uncertain events, but he would say that they might have been avoided. Still further Dr. Girardeau holds that we are bound to conform our view of the constitution and working of Adam's soul in innocence to the requirements of the revealed facts of imputed guilt and the impossibility of God's causal agency in the fall. A psychology built on the testimony of the consciousness of fallen man cannot be transferred to him while undergoing probation. "The undoubted principles of a correct theology must be held to be regulative of the conclusions which flow from a merely philosophical process, so far as common ground has been occupied."

It is not to be supposed that a strong and earnest mind, thoroughly imbued with the principles of the Federal theology, would have reached conclusions so different from those of contemporary Calvinistic writers if there had been entire agreement as to the question under discussion and in the use of terms. Justice requires that Dr. Girardeau be allowed to make his own statement of the question, and to define his use of terms. We refer the reader to his treatise for the larger portion of the statement, having room only for two of the more important particulars covered by it.

In stating the question at issue Dr. Girardeau uses the following words: "An illegitimate distinction is made between the man and the will. What is the will, but a power of the man? If, therefore, the man is

free, his will is free; else the unity of the soul is destroyed. And this becomes the more glaringly inadmissible when, in consequence of this unnatural schism, freedom is denied to the faculty which is by eminence that of action, and restricted to those which are only active in a limited degree. . . . The question which it is proposed now to consider is not, whether the soul may be free, while the will is not, but whether the soul is free in willing—that is, whether the will is free.” Let us now introduce the statement of another author, and we will see how wide apart they are at the beginning of the discussion. He says: “Another ambiguity still more mischievous is found in the current phrase, ‘the freedom of the will.’ Locke has very clearly raised the question of the propriety of the phrase, by asking whether freedom or liberty is not always thought as the attribute of a personal agent, and not of a faculty or power. This question discloses the confusion of the statement. It is the human spirit which is free in all its responsible volitions, and not the faculty of the will. Were freedom ascribed to any other faculty or power of the spirit, the absurdity would be at once apparent.”

Dr. Girardeau raises the question, “What is the relation which the Will sustains to the other powers?” To this perhaps most followers of the general theory of Edwards would say: The human spirit is subject to laws of action regulative of its faculties in their freest processes. In order to the rise of a volition there must be an object presented to the intelligence of the spirit which chooses. The object must be seen by the mind not only as attainable but also as good. And whether the object will appear desirable or good will depend upon the disposition of the man. Dr. Girar-

deau would answer as follows: "We would express it (the relation) as that of elective obedience. It furnishes no laws or regulative standards of action. These are given by the other faculties, and it is its province, by its choice, to comply with them. . . . It is its peculiar office—and it has a mysterious power to perform it—to choose the suggestions of the other faculties, to assimilate them into its own nature and to make them the proximate inducements to personal action. . . . In discharging this office, the will establishes a spontaneous *habitus* of its own, an inclination, appetency, *nisus* toward the doing of those things, the attainment of those ends, to which it had received direction from the other faculties."

We have now said all that seems to us necessary in order to enable the reader to fix Dr. Girardeau's relative position as a teacher of theology and of philosophy. The work was undertaken at the earnest request of the family, and it has been to me a labor of love. I greatly preferred that it should be entrusted to some one of Dr. Girardeau's own students, who would be better qualified to do it creditably. But I am not sorry to have an opportunity to give some slight manifestation of regard for one who was so kind and so helpful to me at the beginning of my work as his successor in office.

Two estimates of Dr. Girardeau as a teacher and as a member of the Thursday Afternoon Conferences, furnished at my request, will close this sketch. The first is by Rev. Thomas P. Hay, D. D.:

"I entered the junior class in the Seminary about a month before Dr. Girardeau entered the institution as Professor of Theology. And it was my privilege

to be his scholar during the period of his transition from the eloquent pulpit orator to the professor and teacher. He impressed and greatly helped me by his gift of analysis and of clarifying things by making distinctions, and of logical development of thought; and by the happy faculty of fixing thought and truth, thus elucidated by the illustrations of his imagination and the charms of his eloquence.

“Dr. Girardeau required his students to write out from memory an analysis of his lectures, or a recapitulation of the portion of a text-book gone over in a recitation, embodying any criticism he made on the author’s statements. One of these analyses would be read and criticized by the professor at the beginning of the next class-hour. By this exercise I learned to preach without any notes in six months’ time; and the professor’s system of theology took full hold on my understanding and memory. I could recall his arguments and reasonings on all theological questions raised, and even his personal opinions on matters on which Calvinists differed. I have often said that, next to my revered father, I owed more to Dr. Girardeau than any other man; and this was due to the above characteristics. He certainly *taught* me theology, established my convictions in the truth of the Calvinistic system and trained my mind.

“Let me add to this my impression of his kindness to his students and his sympathy and readiness to come down to the student’s ground and point of view. He reasoned and argued as an equal; so that a young man was not afraid to raise his questions and difficulties, and felt free to differ with him and argue out his own contention.

“He impressed me in the Conferences very much, as doubtless he did the congregations whom he served as pastor. He was spiritual, edifying, earnest, eloquent and loving.”

The second is from Rev. B. P. Reid :

“Students under Dr. Girardeau got a great deal more from him than a mere knowledge of the truths he taught. This is useful enough as far as it goes, and is about all that is to be gathered from many teachers reputed to be great. But there ought to be more in every teacher than his mere mental machinery. Wonderful as was Dr. Girardeau’s mental power, there was something in him far beyond this, because, under him, we got an impression of a man which lingers with us as an inspiration in life.

“Who could fail to be impressed with his devotion to truth which amounted to an absorbing passion with his soul? The very intensity of his love of it made him so quick and positive in the expressions of his conviction of it, as to cause some to suspect him of a lack of charity to those opposed to his view, which was far from being true. When he discussed the great doctrines of theology who could fail to be touched by his evident feeling of awe in the presence of these great facts about God, and who could escape the conviction that his soul saw reaches not perceived by the ordinary mind?

“Eloquence and wit, both natural to him, enlivened all his class-room lectures and talk. Never have we heard anywhere his equal in the power of apt and original illustration drawn from Scripture incident, and of clothing great thoughts easily and rapidly in their appropriate garments of words.

“We admired, necessarily, Dr. Girardeau’s great power as class-room lecturer and preacher, and we loved him for his sympathy. This was so deep and so pure as to lead him to be absolutely forgetful of himself in the use of all that he had. His evident joy in the opportunity to help, whether with instruction, advice, or money, is something long to be remembered by those under him. The way in which he followed us out into life with a kindly interest which grew with the years, showed that his sympathy was no passing emotion, but belonged to the very composition of his being. To this hour I can not recall, without emotion, the last time I remember seeing him when he called me to him across the crowded street of the city with all the joy of youth in his voice over the sight of a friend. He oftentimes refreshed and encouraged us with his sympathy in life, and this, made it especially hard when we had to be told that the hour of his departure was at hand.”

Upon his resignation the following paper was unanimously adopted:

“In accepting the resignation of Dr. John L. Girardeau, L.L. D., as Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology, the Board of Directors of Columbia Theological Seminary would note the fact that this action on our part has been taken most reluctantly, and not until we had used every effort to induce him to continue his connection with us, and had been assured by him that this action on his part was final, and that his connection with the faculty must close with the present term.

“The Board takes this occasion to express its grateful appreciation of the valuable services he has, through these many years, rendered to this institution. He has given to us the best of his life, and has favored our students with his splendid abilities. As an active worker he goes out from our halls, but

his memory, a precious legacy, shall remain in our minds, and our affection for him shall never go out of our hearts.

"As for his work, it has been wrought out of and upon material that is immortal, and will forever abide a splendid monument to the honor and glory of Him he so faithfully followed and so devotedly served."

The following resolutions were adopted by the faculty of the Seminary:

"In view of the retirement of Rev. J. L. Girardeau, D. D., LL. D., the faculty wish to place on record their sincere regret at the dissolution of his relation to the Seminary, in which he has so long been an honored professor.

"1. *Resolved*, That we hereby express our appreciation of his talents, scholarship, eloquence, piety and loyalty to the truth, which have made him the peer of the great theologians and preachers of the country and century.

"2. *Resolved*, That as a member of the faculty, he was wise in counsel, courtly in his bearing, kind and considerate towards his co-professors, while firm and decided in his convictions.

"3. *Resolved, further*, That the prayers of the faculty shall follow him while we indulge the hope that he may yet be spared for many years of usefulness in the Church.

"4. *Resolved*, That these resolutions be published in the papers of our Church and in those of the city, and that the clerk is directed to furnish Dr. Girardeau a copy of the same."

NOTE.

The editor has added Dr. Girardeau's inaugural address to Dr. Hall's article as an appendix. It should have appeared in the "Discussion of Theological Questions," but was omitted by a mistake. The editor is especially anxious to preserve it, as Dr. Girardeau was accustomed to say of it, "This is about the length of my tether."

CHAPTER VII

THE PRESBYTER

By R. A. WEBB, D. D., LL. D.

Dr. Girardeau was first of all a *Christian*. His piety was intellectual, bottoming itself upon the profound and steady convictions of his great mind. It was fervent, drawing upon all the strong emotions of his sensitive heart. It was ethical, involving his conscience in the deepest sense of sin, and making duty stand above him as an imperial master. It laid its hand upon his will, carrying him fearlessly to his tasks, and into controversies which were painful to his spirit. He was above all a devout man.

Next to his piety he was a *preacher*. Among others, he stood *par excellence*. Reasoning and rhetoric, physique and presence, voice and vocalization, gesture and grace, all waited upon his command. His pulpit eloquence was not like the gradual ascent of the Rocky Mountains, by one long, splendid, continuous climb; there were a succession of climatic flights in each sermon, like the undulating beauty of the picturesque Blue Ridge.

The story of his sermon on "The Last Judgment" illustrates his reputation and popularity as a preacher. He prepared this sermon while a student in the Theological Seminary. It became very popular, and congregations frequently called for it. Once, after he had become a professor in the Seminary, the Legislature of South Carolina requested him to preach it. He did so in the First Presbyterian Church of Columbia. A

great congregation was present, crowding both the floor and galleries, which were then on three sides of the building. The preacher was fully up to himself, in voice, gesture and spirit. Contrary to his general custom, he delivered it from the manuscript. It was an hour and a half long. Attention was tense from the first. But when the flute-like voice rose to its best, reinforced by the silent language of gesture and face, many of the hearers stretched themselves forward as far as they could reach. Tears poured down cheeks and spittle fell from relaxed mouths. When the preacher's voice hushed the multitude fell back into position with an audible heave, which sounded as if it had come simultaneously from every breast.

Then he was a *philosopher*, whose mind roamed, with intoxicating delight, the raised fields of loftiest speculation, but always settled down at the footstool of Conscience and Common Sense.

He was next a *theologian*, interpreting the facts of the Bible into the doctrines of the Christian Faith, then organizing them into a system which satisfied his loyalty to both Revelation and Reason.

But, in his many-sidedness, he was also a *presbyter* of the first rank. He loved the Christian Life, the Christian Faith, and the Christian Philosophy, and the Christian Order also. In his estimation, Church Polity took not an unimportant, but only a lesser, rank than Doctrine. He thought much upon this topic, and read widely in this department. He was an ecclesiastical statesman, and a skilful practitioner in the courts of his Church.

He believed that *the Church was a divine institution* and not a human organization. Its constitution and powers, its officers and agencies, were all indicated in

the Scriptures. He held tenaciously to the principle, "Whatsoever is not commanded is forbidden." He applied it in the realm of doctrine, discipline and worship. It was the only one which would safely protect the conscience, and insure religious liberty for the members of the Church. He always resisted any proposition, policy, or custom which he thought logically infringed this fundamental tenet. With him it was regulative, and all-controlling. He denied that voluntarism which phrased itself, "Whatsoever is not forbidden is permitted." The Church was a divine organization, with a divine constitution, and all ecclesiastical action must be remorselessly ruled by the proposition that whatsoever is not commanded, either explicitly or implicitly, in Scripture is unlawful and forbidden. The Church has no discretionary power. None in its didactic, in its diacritic, nor in its diatactic spheres. Both its ecclesiology and its practice must be wholly biblical. He had not the least bit of sympathy with voluntarism in any of its forms or applications.

Yet, while holding this high doctrine of the nature, organization and authority of the Church, Dr. Girardeau was not a High Churchman. He believed in the fallibility of all synods and councils. Their decrees were of force only when consonant with the Word of God. Then they were binding, not because they were ecclesiastical, but because they were biblical. As ecclesiastical, they were venerable presumptions, but they must be sanctioned by Scripture to bind the conscience and conduct. The Church was not a source of authority. It was but an organ for expressing the authority of God to the world. Hence all its decisions must be biblical to be binding.

He passionately believed in the *spirituality* of the Church. He thought its sphere was defined by the Scriptures, even as were its powers. Church and State were separated by the ordinance of God. Each was a trespasser when it obtruded into the realm of the other. Synods and councils could handle nothing but biblical matters. Political, social, economic topics lay entirely outside its charter. The Church must protect, as well as sanction, the human conscience. He was hostile to Romanism and all prelatical tendencies to put the Church over the State. He was just as stoutly opposed to all forms of an Erastianism, which would subordinate the Church to the State. They were not intersecting circles. The Church was limited to the religion of the Bible, and all its powers, when acting upon purely biblical subjects, were only ministerial and declarative. She has no right to inflict any physical penalties of any kind whatsoever. Hence, when the General Assembly of his Church in 1861 laid down a political policy and prescribed a political programme, he joined the party of Southern resisters and found himself one of the founders and fathers of his denomination. To the day of his death he held this doctrine of the spirituality of the Church, and in its interest resisted all efforts at organic union with the Northern body, which he felt had offended against it, and had never adequately repented of doing so.

Dr. Girardeau was a *jure divino* Presbyterian. He was no opportunist. He did not believe that the Scriptures were non-committal on the form of church government, leaving the whole matter to the discretion of each body of believers. He believed a pattern had been shown in the Mount, and that that pattern was Presbyterianism.

His Presbyterianism was not a mere inheritance. It was not the expediential product of his environment. He was born in a community where both prelacy and independency were influential. His ecclesiology was the product of wide reading and much reflection. He earnestly investigated Popery and Prelacy, Congregationalism and Independency. I have not infrequently heard him say that it was easy for him to see the unscripturalness of Popery and Prelacy, and also Congregationalism in its pure and unmodified forms; but that it was not so clear to him, in his early ministry, that the Independent Presbyterian Church was not the New Testament ideal. There was the Church at Jerusalem, and the Church at Antioch, and the Church at Corinth, and at other places. Each was Presbyterian in its form, but was there a Presbytery binding them into an organic union with each other? This was not so obvious. By and by he came to see that there were not only "churches," but a "Church," of which they were units. Then as each of the "churches" were Presbyterian, by good and necessary inference the "Church" over all must be Presbyterian. It was then easy for him to see the logicalness of applying the presbyterial idea to the formation of "sessions," "presbyteries," "synods," and "assemblies." And sometimes he talked fascinatingly and enthusiastically about Thornwell's dream of a "Presbyterian Parliament of the World." Yet he opposed the formation of "The Pan-Presbyterian Alliance" on expediential grounds.

While Dr. Girardeau was thus soundly convinced that the biblical form of church government was Presbyterian, he was not bigoted and exclusive. His evangelical spirit made him fraternize, with all big-heartedness, with all evangelical denominations. He used to

tell the story that once his beloved brother and friend, Dr. Gadsden, an Episcopal clergyman, said to him, "Girardeau, the older I get the less denominational I become." Dr. Girardeau replied, "Gadsden, the older I get the more denominational I become." Dr. Gadsden answered, "Your statement is surprising; I thought you were growing in grace." Dr. Girardeau replied, "My denominational creed teaches me that there are other sheep not of the Presbyterian fold; and the older I get the more heartily do I believe it; hence, as I grow in grace I am growing in denominationalism."

The story illustrates that he was a convinced Presbyterian, a loyal and devoted lover of his denomination, but unbigoted and catholic in his spirit towards all the evangelical denominations. At the same time he was unfraternal and uncompromising towards those who denied essential doctrines of the Christian Faith. For example, he was intolerant of Papists and Unitarians.

He was faithful in his attendance upon the church courts. He almost invariably participated in their deliberations. In his discussions he would illuminate principles, draw distinctions, extricate the proposition from confusion, set it out clearly, and then advocate it or oppose it, with a logic that was generally convincing, and with an eloquence that was always charming. He kept a watchful eye upon all policies that were proposed, and when their subject-matter was serious, he took a hand in their consideration. When he offered a report he generally sustained it with a speech that appealed to the reason and the heart of the members. Many of his finest arguments and most thrilling declamations were on questions where opinion was not divided. It was always an object with him to clear the minds and stimulate the interest and arouse the zeal

of his fellow-presbyters. When an issue was joined with him he was always a courteous debater, never indulging in flings, almost never personal, argumentative and fair. He never dignified trivialities. He never wrangled for victory. Meetings rarely broke with a sting which he had caused. It was his habit to forecast, as far as he could, the matter which would come before the body, and then carefully prepare himself for its discussion. He made a rule early in his ministry to go to the meetings of the judicatories of his Church with at least one topic carefully considered, and laid out in an orderly manner in his mind. Many of the brethren went to the Presbytery in the hope of hearing a speech from him. It was always a treat and an edification when he took the floor on any matter.

He despised every species of politicating in the church courts. He never sought his ends by indirection, arts, or tricks. Open in all his views, transparent in all his methods, he scorned to take "the under hold." Brave and honest, he relied upon truth and fact. Generous, he confessed when defeated, and acknowledged when a point was made against him. He was a leader, not by seeking the pre-eminence, but by his commanding intellect, suffused with his lovable qualities of heart.

He was not litigious and captious and quarrelsome. To him the flings of the sanctuary were worth all the gold of Egypt, all the gold of the world, and he unshrinkingly contended for "the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." It was this spirit which carried him into the controversy over evolution. He felt then that the Bible's statement of fact was challenged, and that his loyalty to the faith called upon him to resist its introduction into the teachings of his Church.

While he did not relish defeat, he had little ambition for mere personal triumph.

His brethren often sent him as a commissioner to the General Assembly, the supreme court of his Church. Especially when they foresaw some important matter looming upon the horizon. He was made the Moderator of that body in 1874, when it met at Columbus, Miss. The next year it met at St. Louis, and, according to custom, Dr. Girardeau preached the opening sermon, which was an argument to show that the Church had no discretionary power, but must restrict itself, in all its teachings and actings, to the Word of God. All his life he was a member of the Charleston Presbytery and the Synod of South Carolina.

The views on many Church questions which Dr. Girardeau espoused, and advocated with tongue and pen, are interesting.

Having been a missionary to the negroes when they were slaves and after they were freed, he had a deep and abiding concern in the religious and ecclesiastical life of these inferior people. Both on his own account, and at the instruction of Presbytery, Synod, and Assembly, he gave much attention to the best solution of this problem. He knew that these people were, by nature, almost destitute of executive and managerial qualities. He consequently opposed the organization of an Independent Colored Presbyterian Church. He also knew the irreconcilable antipathies of the two races to being mixed in a common organization, and felt that such a course would be against the religious welfare of both. He consequently favored their organization under the tuition and patronage of their white brethren until such time as they might be prepared for a separate and independent Church life.

He opposed the introduction of instruments of music into the public worship of God's house. In this he stood with Thornwell, Breckinridge, Dabney, Peck and Adger. He defended this position on the ground that it was violative of the great Protestant principle that whatsoever is not commanded is forbidden. He held that the instruments of music, which were used in the Temple, belonged to its typical and symbolical service, and passed away with all the ceremonial system of Israel. He consistently never had an organ in a church of which he was pastor.

He was opposed to all ritual and liturgy, for the reason that they did not belong to a spiritual dispensation of religion, and logically lead to a dead formalism. Throughout his life he resisted any proposition which looked in the direction of giving any forms of worship. The shroudings of the middle ages made his heart sick, and the unheartiness of present-day ritualists filled him with fears. Worship must be free and untrammelled, the uncrutched coming of the soul into the presence of its God.

Dr. Girardeau held a high doctrine of the ministry. It was a sacred office. No man might take it upon himself. He must be called of God. A conviction of the Spirit in the soul of the applicant was an essential element in this call. He must be well educated in the original languages of the Bible, in church history and theology, and in all the subjects specified in the Book of Church Order. Ordination put the applicant into possession of the office, and installation put him into the exercise of that office in a particular charge or work. When thus set apart, he must devote himself supremely to its duties. As a presbyter, he ever sought to hold up

the standards of preparation, and insisted upon regularity and fidelity.

He drew a distinction between "preaching" and "exhorting." One was official and authorized, the other was unofficial, and motived by the general Christian spirit. Hence he thought "candidates" and "lay evangelists" ought, in the interest of good order, to keep before the public that they were not the official expositors of the gospel, but were commending it on their personal responsibility. He thought a good way to make such an advertisement was for the "preacher" to occupy the pulpit, and for the "exhorter" to stand on the floor when addressing public assemblies. He was eager for every lover of the Lord Jesus to do his level best to lead people to the Saviour, but he was a strict constructionist. He loved order. He feared disorder. "Let him that heareth say come," but let him always respect the ways prescribed in Scripture. Contempt of "red tape" would lead to confusion. Confusion would ultimate in injury. A door was wide open to every disciple of Christ, ordained and unordained, male and female, young and old. But each must observe the rules of Christ's house. As a presbyter he always respected the constitution of his Church, and resisted all efforts to run over it, or to go around it.

Women were not eligible to the sacred office. Not because they were intellectually inferior. Not because they were deficient in piety. He often poured forth streams of matchless eloquence in praise of "those women which labored with us in the gospel." But Scripture had not laid this burden upon them. In mothering the race they were carrying their full share of the tasks and responsibilities of life. It would be inequitable to impose upon them the work of the minis-

try. To suffer them to assume it, in their zeal for the cause, would be ungallant. It was a man's task. It was a man's duty. The apostle, in forbidding women to speak in mixed assemblies, was not arbitrary, nor cynical towards the sex, but chivalrously protecting them.

Having himself been a missionary to the negroes, Dr. Girardeau had an abiding and enthusiastic concern in all the foreign and domestic missionary enterprises of the Church. He and his session and congregation of the Glebe Street Church in Charleston did a wonderful work in saving the churches of the seaboard of South Carolina after the desolations of the Civil War. On the floor of ecclesiastical bodies he often lifted up his voice in rousing speeches and proposed policies in behalf of all the extension work of the Redeemer's kingdom. In this connection he gave much time and thought to the powers of the evangelist, which was mooted in Church circles. He held that the evangelist was a minister extraordinary, especially commissioned in view of unorganized conditions. He was not a bare preacher, or revivalist. He had in his single person the authority of a presbytery. There were limits, however. As soon as he had organized a session, the most elementary court in the Presbyterian system, he could not be a bishop over it, but must be subordinate to it. In a foreign country such a session must be regarded as the nucleus of a Presbyterian Church—an embryonic presbytery, synod and assembly. He was watchful against the slightest movements in the direction of an episcopacy. Power could be put into the hands of a single individual only for extraordinary purposes, and as soon as the circumstances changed the power must lapse back to the principal.

He held to the official parity of elders and preachers. During his day this was a topic of live debate. Some thought that the preacher held an official rank above the ruling elder—making a kind of house of lords in the Church. He participated in this discussion, and did yeoman's service in making triumphant the official equality of teaching elder, or preacher, and the ruling elder. They were officers of the same rank. They had the same functions. Each was a teacher. Each was a ruler. It was the stated business of the preacher to expound and instruct in the gospel. The elder was to preach as occasion called for it, but it was not his set employment. Each was to rule, but conjointly in the session and in other courts. No power of government vested in the preacher as preacher. He was entitled to "double honor" only because he was supposed to exercise the twin functions of his office, preaching and ruling, in a manner especially praiseworthy. He denied that the office of preacher included the office of elder as the higher includes the lower. The office is one, the functions are two, preaching and ruling; each holder of the office may exercise both its functions.

A controversy began in the undivided Church prior to the Civil War over boards and committees. Boards were commissions; their actions, within their spheres, were as final as if they had been taken by the original bodies. Committees were held to be agents of the body appointing them; their actions were always subject to review, and were never final until they had been approved or disapproved by the appointing body. Thornwell led the opposition to boards. He argued that Christ had given power to his Church, laid upon it a duty and responsibility, and that it could never delegate this power and responsibility to any other agency.

As against boards he favored executive committees. Dr. Girardeau stood with Thornwell, and held that no body could create another body that would be independent of the original. As a presbyter, he helped to set up the scheme of executive committees in the Southern Church, none of whose actions are final without the imprint of the General Assembly.

During the life-time of Dr. Girardeau, the Church undertook the complete revision of its Book of Church Order—that part of its general Constitution which prescribes the principles of its government and discipline. While this project began in the undivided Church, and, as completed, was the product of many hands, Dr. John B. Adger, more than any one person, was the father of the New Book of Order. Dr. Girardeau was his close friend, and fellow-laborer upon its preparation. He discussed many of its propositions upon the floor of Presbytery, Synod, and Assembly. The clearness of his expositions, and the ability of his advocacy, contributed to the final triumph. It was not, however, as satisfactory as he desired. He thought some of its matters and prescriptions ought to be plainer. And the frequent overtures for changes in it, which have marked the subsequent history of the Church under it, confirm the correctness of his judgment. Nevertheless, he thought it a vast improvement upon the old ante-bellum statement of ecclesiastical law and order.

He felt that the theory of the Church, of the ministry, and of the elder had been made sufficiently clear, but he did not think that the status of the evangelist and the deacon had been made as obvious as it ought to be. He became especially interested in the deacon's case. The Synod of South Carolina in 1877 appointed

him on a committee to digest the subject, and submit to it a report of the biblical doctrine of the deacon, with a view to a better statement on this officer. He did an immense amount of reading and thinking. There were those who thought the office of preacher included that of elder and deacon. There were others who thought the office of elder took up within itself the office of deacon. The general opinion minimized this office and officer. He was being treated as a kind of subordinate servant of the preacher and the elder—scarcely more than a mere financial clerk.

The result of his labors was an elaborate report, in three sections. The first was presented to the Synod in 1878, the second in 1879, and the third in 1880. They were printed as articles, successively, in the *Southern Presbyterian Review* for the years 1879, 1880, and 1881.

The office of deacon was magnified. It was a distinct office in the Christian organization, instituted by Christ. It is not included in the presbyterate, as the lower is included in the higher. The minister is not, *ex officio*, moderator of the board of deacons. The elder is not, *ex officio*, a collector and distributor of church money. The deacon is the minister of finance in the kingdom of Christ. He ought to be the collector of all funds, the treasurer of all monies, the trustee of all property. He must look after all the temporal affairs of the Church, while the elders look after its spiritual concerns. There are, however, no "deacons' courts." They possess no *potestas jurisdictionis*. That is vested in the session, whose government is over the entire organization. The board of deacons is a "ways and means committee." It may advise, but it cannot veto the session. It can recommend financial meas-

ures, but it cannot execute them, without authority from the session. Two independent authorities in the same organization must end in collision and confusion.

Dr. J. A. Lefever of Baltimore combatted the views of Dr. Girardeau. He held that the higher office of elder included the lower office of deacon. And here the matter rests to this day—uncleared and unsettled. The deacon is still wondering what are his powers, and what his duties. Does the Church need a financial officer, and a financial system? And has Christ instituted the office of deacon for this very purpose—to provide the ways and means of his kingdom in the earth? Are we to go on in reliance upon all manner of human inventions? Must we hold out our cap to any hand, and resort to any method which will yield us pennies? Shall we put in the Seminary curriculum a course in Church finance, and try to make expert financiers, and expert preachers, and expert rulers, out of the same young men? Or shall we make the deacons finance the Lord's work in the world?

Upon the subject of the diaconate, Dr. Girardeau laid down these propositions:

"1. The functions of the deacon are important as freeing the ministry and eldership from engrossment in the temporal business of the Church, and enabling them to concentrate their energies upon their own spiritual duties.

"2. The deacon's office is important in its bearing upon the support of the ministry.

"3. The deacon's office is important to the prosecution of the benevolent enterprises and the support of the institutions of the Church.

"4. The full employment of the deacon's office is important in its bearing upon the perfect conformity of our whole system of church order practically, as well as theoretically, to the pattern shown us in the Mount."

Suppose the whole body of our ministers and elders were devoted to converting and edifying sinners, and the magnificent body of deacons were devoted to financing the enterprise! It at least sounds thrilling.

Dr. Girardeau's great report on the Diaconate was, by the direction of that body, submitted to the General Assembly. After some years of postponing, and incidental consideration of it, it was finally printed in the appendix of its minutes.

In 1880 the General Assembly met in Charleston. I was a student of the Theological Seminary in Columbia, and went down to the old city by the sea, to gaze upon this great gathering of the distinguished fathers of the Church. The meeting was in the Second Presbyterian Church. Dr. T. A. Hoyt was the Moderator. I heard a great debate, the greatest I have heard, except the one in the Synod of South Carolina at Greenville, when evolution was the bone of controversy. The issue at Charleston was over the nature of the *in thesi* deliverances of church courts. The previous Assembly at Louisville in 1879 had said that all such deliverances were "only didactic, advisory, and monitory." The Synod of South Carolina asked the Charleston Assembly to "repeal, or at least seriously modify," this pronouncement.

Dr. Girardeau championed the overture. For over two hours he was heard with transfixed attention and admiration. His reasoning was ablaze, and his flights of eloquence were sublime. The historian of the occasion (Dr. Adger), who was present, wrote, "It is not often such logic set on fire is heard in any Church Assembly." Dr. Girardeau's powers at the time and for the occasion were full-orbed. He was on his native heath, and in a building which reeked with boyhood-

memories, and was clustered about by a thousand hallowed associations. He was before the Assembly of the Church of his love, and the spokesman for the Synod to which he had been devoted all his life. The issue was serious in his judgment, and bulked large in his concern. The very power of the Church to declare truth and maintain order had been eviscerated. The authority which had been unwittingly taken away must be recovered. Every thing challenged him to his mightiest and his best. He rose to the occasion in all the grandeur of discourse. Impersonal in all his utterances, his speech marred by no ungenerous flings, and tainted by no biting invectives, he held to the issue, and pleaded his cause like a statesman standing on a mountain top. He analyzed and expounded, argued and reasoned, clothed his thought in lofty diction and gorgeous rhetoric, and uttered it with the elocution of a natural artist.

He held that the *in thesi* deliverances of the Assembly were not mere advice, to be treated by its constituency as it pleased. He denied that they were the mere opinions of a Congregational Association. Such pronouncements were to be respected as the decisions of the supreme court of the Church of Christ on earth. They were to be submitted to, when consonant with the Word of God. They were not private interpretations, but official expositions. True, the Church had its standards, its Confession of Faith, but when contrary interpretations were put upon the statements of this formulary, who has the final decision as to the real meaning? All synods and councils might err; nothing was infallible but Scripture itself; but the Church, in its highest Assembly, had the authority and must take the responsibility of interpreting the

meaning of its own fundamental law. He did not hold that the Assembly had the right to make law, to formulate a constitution, but that it did have the right to give a final interpretation of its own constitution. Such interpretations were to be respected and submitted to, unless one, in the exercise of his right of private judgment, should take upon himself the responsibility of declaring them to be contrary to the Word of God. In that case, he could seek a repeal or modification of the deliverance, or, in the last resort, he could secede from the organization. He was struggling to maintain the force and respect of the Assembly as the highest court of the Church.

Dr. James Woodrow, his colleague in the Columbia Seminary, and Dr. H. M. Smith, an editor of New Orleans, replied to the speech in arguments that were acute and able. Each spoke as long. They did not display the entrancing eloquence of Dr. Girardeau, but there was a simplicity and clearness in their discussions, which made them very charming and illuminating. Dr. Woodrow's main point was that *in these* deliverances could not be made the premises of judicial prosecutions; offences must be charged under the text of the constitutional law, and not under any Assembly's interpretation of that text; consequently whatever else might be said about such deliverances, in their praise or condemnation, they were at bottom "only didactic, advisory, and monitory." The burden of Dr. Smith's argument was, that Dr. Girardeau's doctrine of *in these* deliverances would cause to grow up, beside the constitution and outside the constitution, a body of laws made by the Assemblies; authoritative interpretations of law would themselves have the force of law; we would presently have the consti-

tution loaded down with commentaries and expositions of it, as binding as the text itself; hence the only safety was in treating *in thesi* deliverances as "only didactic, advisory, and monitory."

On the ninth day of the session Dr. Girardeau made a rejoinder to both the preceding speakers. In reply to Dr. Woodrow, he admitted that judicial proceedings could initiate only against such offenses as were charged under the text of the constitution, but contended that the very text of the constitution provided that some matters could be settled in some other mode than by judicial process. Our lower courts are empowered to overture Assemblies, and Assemblies are authorized "to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience." Judicial decisions are but applications of the Word of God to a particular case; why should not such decisions be just as forceful, if impersonally applied to precisely the same matter? In reply to Dr. Smith, he contended that, if judicial decisions are concrete precedents, why should not *in thesi* deliverances be general precedents? The question was not as to the power of the Assembly to make law, but to interpret the law already made. In both speeches he contended that the Assembly had no power to make law, but affirmed that it had the power to interpret law already made, particularly by judicial decisions and generally by *in thesi* decisions.

At the conclusion of this rejoinder, Dr. Woodrow arose and offered the following paper, which was prepared by Dr. Adger, promptly seconded by Dr. Girardeau, and adopted by the Assembly:

"1. Nothing is law to be enforced by judicial prosecution but that which is contained in the Word as interpreted in our standards.

“2. The judicial decisions of our courts differ from their *in thesi* deliverances in that the former *determine*, and, when proceeding from our highest court, *conclude* a particular case. But both these kinds of decisions are alike interpretations of the Word by a church court, and both not only deserve high consideration, but both must be submitted to, unless contrary to the Constitution and the Word; of which there is a right of private judgment belonging to every church court, and also every individual church member.”

By the adjournment of the Assembly the discussion was rife as to the interpretation of this very paper. Some said it meant one thing, some said it meant another. The Synod of South Carolina asked the next Assembly, meeting at Staunton, Virginia, to define its meaning. After consideration, Dr. B. M. Palmer offered the following, which was adopted almost unanimously:

“To the overture of the Synod of South Carolina the Assembly returns answer that all just and necessary consequences from the law of the Church are part of the same in the logical sense of being implicitly contained therein. The authority of this law is, however, twofold. It binds all those who profess to live under it as a covenant by which they are united in one communion, so there is no escape from its control, except by renouncing its jurisdiction; and it binds because it has been accepted as a true expression of what is revealed in the Holy Scriptures as infallible truth. The consequences deduced from it cannot, therefore, be equal in authority with the law itself, unless they be necessarily contained within it, as shown by their agreement also with the Divine Word.”

Commenting upon this vexed question, and upon this last ambiguous decision of the Assembly, Dr. R. L. Dabney wrote, “a church government at once free and Presbyterian (as opposed to the mere advisory action of congregational associations) cannot be excogitated, without admitting the principle claimed

by the South Carolina Synod." The illustrious Virginian was right. Suppose a member charged with an offence under the very text of the standards. But that text itself is of doubtful interpretation. Who, but the supreme court of the Church can resolve that doubt? Some such decision is necessary to make possible the settlement of the litigation.

This whole question had originated in precisely this manner. A judicial case had started in Atlanta. A member had been disciplined for participating in what is called "worldly amusement." The case had made its way to the General Assembly. The whole hinge of this matter was whether the standards did, or did not, inhibit the thing alleged in the indictment. *Quoad hoc*, what was the meaning of the law? It needed to be interpreted, before it could be applied for acquittal or conviction. The facts were admitted by both parties. The dispute was over the scope and meaning of the law. Under one interpretation, no offence had been committed; under the other interpretation, a serious offence had been committed. Who is to decide the matter of meaning? When the judicial case was out of the way, the General Assembly was asked the question, Who has authority to decide between disputes as to the meaning of the standards? The Louisville Assembly answered, that "all *in thesi* deliverances are only didactic, advisory, and monitory." This was tantamount to saying that there is no way in the Presbyterian Church to decide the meaning of a disputed law, whereas its Constitution gives the final power to the General Assembly, "to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience." Towards such a "determination," the first step is the making of a law; and this has been done by the entire Church,

and written as its Constitution. The next step is the interpretation of this written law; and this is left to the courts of the Church, the final decision in the series being with the General Assembly.

If the General Assembly, in exercising its right of construing the law, being fallible, wrongs a member, he must submit to injury, or exercise his primal right of withdrawing from its jurisdiction. This would be the case, whether the decision was judicial or *in thesi*. Without the power to interpret, no business could be transacted.

Dr. Girardeau reflected much upon the subject of the Church and Education. It was not easy for him to see a perfectly clear and self-consistent position and policy. Had it any lawful right in the school-house? Had it a biblical commission to teach Latin and Greek, mathematics and science, or any departments of mere culture? Was not its sole topic the Christian religion, its one text-book the Bible? It seemed so.

Hence, for the greater part of his life, he stood with Thornwell, and held that education was a function of the State and not of the Church. During this period his sympathies with church-schools were weak. But on the floor of the Synod of South Carolina, meeting in Yorkville in 1890, he announced his conversion from State-schools to Church-schools, he made a speech forcefully developing the following four controlling reasons, taken from his manuscript notes:

"1. Our children belong to Christ, and must be educated for His service and glory.

"2. We are Presbyterian Christians, and must educate our children in Presbyterian Christianity.

"3. The State is tending to exclude Bible-religion from her institutions, and necessarily excludes Presbyterianism. We are

bound, therefore, to create and patronize our own institutions.

"4. If religion is to be taught, its teachers must be held responsible to Boards, which are themselves responsible to bodies above them and capable of controlling them. The only such bodies available are Church-courts."

He never had any misgivings about the Scriptural right of the Church to found and operate Theological Seminaries. An educated ministry was a first desideratum, and a plain biblical duty. Such training could best be given in theological schools, founded and operated for this specific purpose. But he was clear that the curriculum of such schools ought to embrace only such subjects as were directly germane to a preparation for the gospel ministry. He never saw his way clear to expanding the seminary into a religious university.

These things show us how intensely interested in the subject of ecclesiology Dr. Girardeau was. He labored for a clear and consistent system of order, even as he did for a harmonious doctrine of faith. He sought for the principles that were at the bottom. He was always willing for their logical application everywhere. He took a large part in the discussion of ecclesiastical questions. He had an abiding interest in the affairs of his Church. He gave liberally of his time and abilities and counsels, in all the efforts of his associates to see clearly and act wisely. He was passionately loyal to his denomination, yet catholic and evangelical in his spirit. He was opposed to the reunion of the Southern and Northern Churches, because he felt that they were divided by principles and policies, sympathies and sentiments, and could best cooperate, peaceably and effectively, in promoting the common cause of Christ, in separate organizations.

He was an eminent and arduous, a faithful and painstaking Presbyterian.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVOLUTION CONTROVERSY

By R. A. WEBB, D. D., LL. D.

In 1883 a controversy over the doctrine of Evolution began in the Southern Presbyterian Church, which lasted for eight distressing years. Dr. Girardeau took a prominent part in this controversy.

This denomination had at Columbia, South Carolina, a Theological Seminary for the training of young men for the Gospel ministry. This school was under the control of the four Synods of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Florida, themselves subordinate bodies under the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. These Synods administered the affairs of this institution through a Board of Directors, chosen by themselves, and which made annual reports to the controlling Synods.

This Theological Seminary was unique in that it was the only institution of its kind which had a chair specially endowed, and devoted to the exposition of the relations between Natural Science and Revelation. This chair had been occupied, since its foundation in 1861, by Dr. James Woodrow, a distinguished scholar and eminent ecclesiastic.

There first began to be irresponsible whisperings about Dr. Woodrow's soundness in the faith; specifically about his attitude toward the hypothesis of Evolution. It was being hinted that he had changed from an opponent to a friend of this hypothesis.

At its annual meeting in May, 1883, the Board of Directors adopted the following paper:

“WHEREAS this Seminary is the only one in our Southern Church that has the chair of ‘Natural Science in Connexion with Revelation’, and

“WHEREAS ‘during the senior year the question of the Unity and Antiquity of the Human Race and Evolution are fully examined’, and

“WHEREAS skepticism in the world is using alleged discoveries in science to impugn the word of God;

“Therefore be it Resolved, That this Board request Professor Dr. James Woodrow to give fully his views, as taught in this institution, upon Evolution, as it respects the world, the lower animals, and man, in the October number of the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, or as soon thereafter as possible.”

Dr. Woodrow prepared the statement of his views requested by the Board, and delivered it as an address before the Alumni Association in May, 1884, and published it in the *Southern Presbyterian Review* in July of the same year.

In this address the Professor guardedly committed himself to the evolutionary origin of the world, the lower animals, and man as to his body only.

A sensation was created. The address was the subject of private comment and of public remark in the secular and ecclesiastical press. Some thought his views were permissible in a theological seminary; others thought them improper and to be forbidden. Lines at once began to be drawn. The Board of Directors adopted (a minority protesting) a minute permitting in the Seminary the views expressed in the address.

The report of the Board and the address came up regularly before the Synod of South Carolina, which met at Greenville in that State in the fall of 1884. The matter was referred by this Synod to a special committee to report at that session as speedily as pos-

sible. This committee divided and brought in two reports, majority and minority.

The majority report :

"1. That the hypothesis of evolution respecting the earth, the lower animals, and man's body, being a purely scientific and extra scriptural theory, the church, as such, is not called upon to make any deliverance concerning its truth or falsity.

"2. That the church being set for the defence of the gospel and the promulgation of scriptural doctrines, can never, without transcending her proper sphere, incorporate into her *Confession of Faith* any of the hypotheses, theories or systems of human science.

"3. That while the presentation of the hypothesis of evolution in its relations to Scripture falls necessarily within the scope of the duties pertaining to the Perkins Professorship, nevertheless, neither this nor any other scientific hypothesis is, or can be, taught in our Theological Seminary as an article of church faith.

"4. That, in view of the above considerations, the Synod sees no sufficient reason to interfere with the present order of our Theological Seminary as determined by the Board of Directors."

The minority report :

"1. That the question, whether Dr. Woodrow's views involve heresy, is not before the Synod.

"2. That the Synod was not called on to decide the question whether the views of Dr. Woodrow contradict the Bible in its highest and most absolute sense, but whether they contradict the interpretations of the Bible by the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

"3. That the declaration of the Board of Directors, that 'the relations subsisting between the teachings of Scripture and the teachings of natural science are plainly, correctly, and satisfactorily set forth' in Dr. Woodrow's address on evolution, was inexpedient and injudicious.

"4. That the action of the Board of Directors virtually approving the inculcation and defence of the said hypothesis, even as a probable one, in the Theological Seminary, as being

contrary to the interpretation of the Scriptures by our church and to her prevailing and recognized view, is, a majority of the associated Synods concurring, hereby prohibited."

A great debate ensued. It lasted for five days. A member of Congress, who heard it, told me at its close, that, for ability, dignity and force, he had never heard its equal in the Senate of the United States. On one side were Dr. J. S. Cozby, Dr. J. B. Adger, Dr. C. R. Hemphill, Dr. J. L. Martin, Dr. G. R. Brackett, Dr. W. J. McKay, Hon. W. A. Clark, and Dr. James Woodrow. On the other were Dr. J. B. Mack, Dr. W. F. Junkin, Dr. W. T. Thompson, Dr. C. S. Vedder, Dr. H. E. Shepherd, Dr. H. B. Pratt, R. A. Webb, and Dr. J. L. Girardeau. The last named had been a devoted and illustrious member of this Synod all his life, and was an alumnus of, and a professor in, the Columbia Seminary, and cherished a passionate love for his State and his Church, for his Synod and his Seminary. He made two speeches on the occasion, the substance of which was subsequently printed in a pamphlet, which is here reproduced, because it shows the position which he held, and the object for which he contended to the very end of the long and weary controversy which followed.

THE SUBSTANCE OF TWO SPEECHES ON THE
TEACHING OF EVOLUTION IN COLUMBIA
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Delivered in the Synod of South Carolina, at Greenville, S. C.,
October, 1884, by John L. Girardeau, D. D.

PREFATORY NOTE.—At a meeting of the Board of Directors of Columbia Theological Seminary, held in September, the Address of Dr. James Woodrow on Evolution was submitted to them by him for their consideration. By a majority of 8 to 3, the Board took the following action :

The Board having carefully considered the address of Dr. Woodrow, published in pursuance of the request of this Board, adopts the following:

1st. *Resolved*, That the Board does hereby tender to Dr. Woodrow its thanks for the ability and faithfulness with which he has complied with its request.

2d. That in the judgment of this Board the relations subsisting between the teachings of Scripture and the teachings of natural science are plainly, correctly and satisfactorily set forth in said address.

3d. That the Board is not prepared to concur in the view expressed by Dr. Woodrow as to the probable method of the creation of Adam's body—yet, in the judgment of the Board, there is nothing in the doctrine of evolution, as defined and limited by him, which appears inconsistent with perfect soundness in the faith.

4th. That the Board takes this occasion to record its deep and ever growing sense of the wisdom of our Synods in the establishment of the chair of "the Perkins Professorship of Natural Science in Connexion with Revelation," and of the importance of such instruction as is thereby afforded, that our ministry may be the better prepared to resist the objections of infidel scientists and defend the Scriptures, against their insidious charges.

Against this action the minority entered the following protest:

1. Evolution is an unproved hypothesis, and the Seminary is not the place for such teaching.

2. Belief in evolution changes the interpretation of many passages of Scripture from that now received by the Church.

3. The view that the body of Adam was evolved from lower animals, and not formed by a supernatural act of God, is dangerous and hurtful.

4. The theory that Adam's body was formed by the natural law of evolution, while Eve's was created by a supernatural act of God, is contrary to our confession of faith as that confession of faith has been and is interpreted by our Church.

5. The advocacy of views which have received neither the endorsement of the Board nor that of the Synods having control of the Seminary, which have not been established by science, which have no authority from the Word of God, which tend to

unsettle the received interpretation of many passages of Scripture and to destroy the confidence of the Church in her doctrinal standards, which have already produced so much evil, and which will injure the Seminary and may rend our Church, *ought not to be allowed.*

The report of the Board having been submitted to the Synod of South Carolina, was referred to a Standing Committee on the Theological Seminary. That committee presented a majority and minority report.

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The question was on the adoption of the majority report. The greater part of the ensuing remarks is a reproduction *verbatim* of what was spoken from full notes on the floor of the Synod. The same verbal accuracy is not vouched for in regard to the whole of them. It is not the writer's intention to invite controversy. He has consented to the publication of the speech, partly because it was very inadequately reported, and partly because it enounces principles which, it is humbly conceived, may prove of some benefit to the Church.

After some introductory remarks, in which he expressed his reluctance to oppose a colleague with whom he had for eight years been associated, his appreciation of Dr. Woodrow's transcendent abilities as a teacher, and the obligation imposed upon him by his position as a presbyter and a member of the Synod to utter his convictions upon the subject under consideration, the speaker proceeded to say:

Mr. Moderator:—The question is not before this Synod whether Dr. Woodrow is liable to the charge of heresy.

In the first place, the Synod is directly dealing with the action of the Board of Directors, which in due order comes before it for consideration. But there is no evidence furnished by the report of the Board, that any charge or allegation of heretical teaching on the part of Dr. Woodrow was laid before them. Consequently they did not consider such an accusation. The question of heresy was not properly before them, and as we have to do with the proceedings of the Board that question is not properly before us. Allegations to the effect that Dr. Woodrow teaches heretical doctrine have been made by certain newspapers and individuals; and were it proper for this Synod to notice such statements, I would, as one of its members, favor

its vindication of him against them. We are, however, not directly concerned about outside and irresponsible allegations, but about the official action of the Board of Directors and the matters with which it specifically dealt.

In the second place, I believe—although others may differ with me on this point—that there is no ground in fact upon which a charge of heresy in this case could be based, and therefore no ground for the raising of the question by this body.

We have been referred by one of the speakers for a definition of heresy to our Book of Discipline, Chapter III. That chapter defines offenses, which are objects of judicial process, and declares that “general offenses are heresies or immoralities.” But as no specific difference of heresy is here indicated, no definition is furnished. It is evident that we must look elsewhere for a definition of heresy.

Nor will it do to say that heresy is that which is contrary to the Scriptures and our Doctrinal Standards. No doubt all heresy is contrary to the Scriptures and our Standards, but all that is so characterized is not necessarily heresy. There are degrees of opposition to the Scriptures and the Standards, and of some of them we are not warranted in affirming that they are heretical. Take as an example a single case. Our Standards, professing to found their doctrine on the subject upon the teachings of the Scriptures, deliver the post-millennial view of the second advent of Christ. Would we stigmatise as heretics the brethren among us who hold the pre-millennial view, because that tenet is contrary to the Confession of Faith interpreting the Scriptures?

What, then, is heresy, according to our conception? It involves a serious departure either from the fundamental elements of the gospel, or what is the same thing the scheme of redemption, or from the vital doctrines of the Calvinistic Theology.* This is the definition of heresy accepted by our theologians, and tried by this standard I fail to see how Dr. Woodrow's views can be pronounced heretical. He denies no fundamental element of the gospel scheme; but, on the contrary, professes cordially to hold every one of them. And it would be a difficult task to show how his views, in themselves con-

*These terms were used in a wide sense as including what is common to Calvinism and orthodoxy as well as what is peculiar to it.

sidered apart from his professions, logically contravene any essential part of the scheme of redemption. He denies no vital doctrine of the Calvinistic Theology; but, on the other hand, professes to maintain every one of them. He avows himself a theist, holds that God originally created matter out of nothing, and that he immediately created the human soul in the first instance. He expressly asserts the doctrine of a *concursus* of Divine Providence with all the forces and processes of nature. He affirms his belief in the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures and in all the miracles which they record, including the miraculous production of the human nature of our incarnate Lord; and, in fine, in all the facts, whether miraculous or otherwise, of the gospel history and of the scheme of redemption. He also professes his acceptance of the federal headship of Adam, in answer to those who have charged his views with involving a rejection of that doctrine. I am not able to perceive, therefore, how his teaching can be adjudged to be heretical. Whether it contradicts the Scriptures, and, if so, in what sense, are questions which will be considered in the progress of this argument.

The question which is before the Synod is, whether it will approve or disapprove the action of the Board of Directors, and, by implication, the inculcation of Dr. Woodrow's hypothesis of evolution in the Theological Seminary.

The action of the Board, so far as it fairly comes before us for consideration, consists of two parts: first, the endorsement of Dr. Woodrow's exposition of the relations between the Bible and Natural Science as plain, correct and satisfactory; secondly, the judgment that Dr. Woodrow's hypothesis of evolution is consistent with perfect soundness in the faith, and, by necessary inference, the Board's consent to its being inculcated in the Theological Seminary.

I.—I proceed to assign some reasons why this Synod should not give its formal approval to the first element of the action of the Board, to which attention has been cited.

1. The question of the relations between the Bible and science is one which has long been discussed, and one which demands the most mature and careful treatment. There was no urgent reason requiring the Board to pass their official judgment upon that difficult subject. They might have left Dr. Woodrow's exposition to speak for itself upon its own merits. Nor is there any evidence that in the joint deliberations of the Board this

particular question received a consideration proportionate to its importance. For aught that appears, their decision in regard to it was of the nature of a snap judgment. The difficulties inherent in the subject, and the high position of the Board of Directors as the custodians, and in some measure the exponents, of a correct theology, rendered unwise so dogmatic and sweeping a judgment as was embodied in their action. I trust, therefore, that the Synod will either express its sense of the injudiciousness of that decision, or at least refrain from giving it its solemn approval.

2. There are, in my humble judgment, certain defects in the exposition of the relations between the Bible and science, which should have induced the Board to hesitate before pronouncing so absolute a judgment as that it is plain, correct and satisfactory.

(1.) The proposition that "the Bible does not teach science," although in an important sense true, is yet in some degree vague and ambiguous, and needed further qualification than is imposed upon it in the exposition. It is not my intention to criticise its author in regard to this matter. It may be admitted that it was impracticable, within the limits of a single discourse so wide in its range, to give this particular proposition any fuller elucidation than was actually furnished. I make this statement in order to evince the inexpediency of the Board's unrestricted declaration that the exposition was satisfactory. But this point is not of great consequence in the present discussion. We may concede the truth of the proposition in the sense intended by its maintainers, and nothing material will be gained or lost on one side or the other.

(2.) Another difficulty is occasioned by the assertion in the exposition of a marked difference between non-contradiction and harmony. The position is definitely taken that we are not to expect harmony, but merely non-contradiction, between the statements of the Bible and those of science. Now a distinction is obvious and necessary—namely, between the cases in which the respective statements do, and those in which they do not, relate to the same thing. But the illustrative cases mentioned in the exposition are those in which different classes of statements do not relate, or are not apt to relate, to the same thing. "We do not speak," says the author, "of the harmony of mathematics and chemistry, or of zoology and astronomy, or the

reconciliation of physics and metaphysics." Here the object-matter of the sciences specified is so different that there is but little chance of conflict. The statements do not terminate upon the same things, and, therefore, no harmony of positive statement is to be expected.

Our question is a different one. It arises in regard to those cases in which the Bible and science speak about the same thing—in which the object-matter is, in some sense, the same. Here there is a chance of conflict; and the question of harmony or disharmony becomes pertinent. The distinction which has been emphasized is one that cannot be overlooked.

But even in those cases in which the object-matter of the statements differs, the inquiry occurs, is all harmony excluded? Every truth is, in some sense, harmonious with every other truth. It constitutes a part of a system the constituent elements of which are consistent with each other. All truth tends to unity. There is a common relation which it sustains to God as at once its author and its end. The word and the works of God concur in illustrating His perfections and subserving His glory. "The heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handy-work," and the Bible echoes these sublime lessons and gives them an articulate utterance. Nature and Redemption combine to swell the volume of praise which ascends to their common author; and science, unless it could establish a claim to be Godless, should harmonize with religion in laying its offerings of worship upon a common altar. Further than this, I make bold to say, the Bible and science sustain a common relation to Christ the Mediator. However they may now differ in consequence of the disturbing influence of sin, they are destined ultimately to come into harmony at his cross and to kiss each other there. Their absolute divorce is illegitimate. What God has, in a certain sense, joined together, let not man put asunder. I fear this doctrine of a total separation of the Bible and science. But if, as has been briefly intimated, there is, or ought to be, some harmony between them, all harmony cannot be excluded.

Let us, however, come to the question more immediately before us: Are we to expect only non-contradiction and not harmony, where the Bible and science make statements about the same thing—for example, the origin of Adam's body? The exposition lays down this as a principle; and this has been

regarded as a great discovery. Would that it were! It would be an honor to the author, to our Seminary and to our Church. No more conflict would be possible between the Bible and science. A permanent peace would be established between them—"a consummation devoutly to be wished." But I fear more is promised than can be performed.

The hope that a principle has been discovered which will hereafter render impossible a conflict between scientific men and the Bible, namely, the potent principle of non-contradiction, will prove to be a charming but delusive dream. As well might we hope to discover a principle, the formulation of which would arrest the conflict between the Bible and the Devil. Sir, ever since the fall of man, there have been two parties in this poor, sinful world that are in irreconcilable conflict with each other; the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent; the one headed by a Divine-human Redeemer, the other by the arch-conspirator against God and His elect church. Nor will that conflict cease until the final apostasy has been developed, and the hosts of Gog and Magog led by Satan shall hurl themselves in one last, desperate assault against the camp of the saints. Then shall that final blow of mediatorial power be struck which will deliver the church from more than Egyptian tyranny, introduce her into an everlasting rest, and put into her mouth the triumphant song of Moses and the Lamb.

The exigencies of the discussion necessitate the examination of the distinction, so broadly drawn, between non-contradiction and harmony. Is it true that two statements may be non-contradictory without being in some degree harmonious? There are certain fundamental laws of thought which bear upon and regulate all the processes of the thinking faculty. They are the laws of Identity, Contradiction, or—as some prefer to call it—Non-contradiction, and Excluded Middle or Third. These laws are universally applicable. They do not, it is true, furnish the matter of thought; but, that being given, wherever the relations of affirmation and negation obtain between statements, there they assert their control. And as the question before us is one which is concerned about the relations between the statements of science and those of the Bible, the appeal to their authority becomes perfectly legitimate.

Now these laws are but specific explications of one ultimate and generic principle, upon which they are reducible to unity.

That principle is: All thought, to be valid, must be consistent, or what is the same thing harmonious, with itself. Here is the radical and underlying law of all valid thinking upon any subject—the Harmony of Thought with itself.

Let us apply the relation of this generic law to the specific laws which have been indicated. Under the operation of the law of Identity, the highest form is realised in which harmony of thought can be manifested. A thing is equal to itself: a thing is the same as itself: in these respective statements no inconsistency is possible—complete harmony obtains. If two statements upon any given subject are identical with each other, absolute harmony is the result. The Bible, for example, says, the sun shines: science says, the sun shines: These statements being identical, perfect harmony exists. The Bible says, the body of Adam was made of the dust of the ground: should science say, the body of Adam was made of the dust of the ground, there would be between these statements the harmony of identity.

Under the operation of the second law, that of Contradiction, two statements may be conceived as contradicting each other. Here there is no harmony—there is the perfect absence of harmony. The consequence is that thought is estopped from proceeding further, until that impediment to harmony is removed. Hence, some say—Sir William Hamilton, for instance—that the law is really that of non-contradiction. For, where two statements sustain simply the relation of non-contradiction, there is, although not the highest, yet some, harmony between them—the harmony, not of identity, but of non-contradiction. The Bible says, the body of Adam was made of dust. Now, if science should say, the body of Adam was not made of dust, the two statements would be flatly contradictory, and there would be the perfect absence of harmony between them. Or, if the Bible be interpreted to mean that Adam's body was made of inorganic dust, and science should affirm that Adam's body was not made of inorganic but organic dust, there would be a contradiction between the two statements, and all harmony would be excluded. But if the Bible says, Adam's body was made of dust, without specifying the sort of dust, and science should say, Adam's body was made of organic dust, it might be held, as by some in this debate, that the two statements are not contradictory—that there is between them simply the relation of

non-contradiction. In that case, the hindrance to harmony, it might be contended, is, in a measure, removed. It might be claimed, that there would exist between them the harmony which consists with the absence of contradiction.

The third law—that of Excluded Middle or Third, requires that where two statements contradict each other, one must be held as true and the other as false. No middle or third supposition is possible. While this state of the case lasts, no harmony of thought is possible. We must elect between the contradictory alternatives. If, then, we reject one of the contradictories as false and choose the other as true, we harmonize our thinking with our previous thinking. The obstacle to the progress of thought is taken away, and we move on harmoniously with ourselves. For example again, if the Bible is interpreted as saying, Adam's body was made of inorganic dust, and science should say, Adam's body was made of organic dust, we are confronted with contradictory statements. All harmony is excluded, and while that contradiction remains in force all progress of thought on the subject is blocked. We must, in order to move on, elect between the contradictory statements. This, of course, may be done in either of two ways. We may reject the interpretation of the Bible, namely, that Adam's body was made of inorganic dust, as the false alternative; and then we would be shut up to accept as true the contradictory scientific alternative, namely, that Adam's body was made of organic dust. Or, on the other hand, we may reject the scientific affirmation as false, and then we would be necessitated to accept as true the biblical interpretation. In either case, we remove the barrier to the progress of thought erected by the contradiction, and advance consistently with ourselves; we reach that harmony of thinking which is secured by the application of the law of Excluded Middle.

From this analysis of the fundamental laws which regulate all our thinking in regard to the relation of statements to each other, it follows that where two affirmations referring to the same subject are simply non-contradictory, there is not the complete absence of harmony. The relation, it is true, does not involve the harmony of identity, but still some harmony is implied. What the author of the exposition of the relations between the Bible and Science ought, in my judgment, to have said is, Expect not the harmony of identity between them. That

principle needed clear explication, and he has done good service in calling attention to its importance. With that I have no quarrel. But if he insist on meaning, Expect not harmony between the statements of the Bible and those of Science, he would throw himself in revolt against the fundamental laws of all thinking. That principle would exclude what he labors to establish, namely, the relation of non-contradiction between the statements of the Bible and those of Science. He would defeat his own intentions.

The author says: "We are not to look for harmony, but for non-contradiction." The true view is: We are to look for the harmony of non-contradiction. The principle which ought to have been enounced and the enouncement of which—I say it with all respect—must have been really intended, is, that where the Bible and science speak about the same thing we are not to look for the harmony of identical statement, but for the harmony of non-contradictory statements. This is a difficulty in the exposition of the relations between the Bible and science which should have deterred the Board of Directors from declaring it to be plain, correct and satisfactory.

(3.) Another defect is, that when the exposition provided for the case in which the church's interpretation of the Bible is contradicted by a "proved truth of science," it ought, for completeness' sake, to have noticed the complementary case in which the church's interpretation of the Bible is contradicted by a disproved assumption of science. The law, that of two contradictories one is true and the other false, applies equally to both cases. Does an interpretation of the Bible contradict a proved truth of science? The interpretation is, of course, false, and the Christian man should say: Let the interpretation go, and admit the scientific truth. Does an interpretation of the Bible contradict a disproved assumption of science? The assumption is, of course, false, and the scientific man should say: Let the assumption go, and admit the truth of the interpretation. One of these things is as important as the other. The exposition omits one, and favors the scientific side. It does not make the demand upon it which it makes upon the other side.

(4.) A fourth defect is, that the exposition makes no provision for cases in which the Bible and unproved scientific hypotheses contradict one another. Will it be said, that the

principle of non-contradiction is the only one which should be considered as holding in those cases? Why, there not only may be, but there are such contradictions. What is the reason of the present agitation? Do not many in our church believe and urge the existence of a contradiction between the Bible and Dr. Woodrow's hypothesis of evolution? This is sufficient to show that the principle of non-contradiction, although true under limitations, is not broad enough to cover all cases of conflict. The Board, for this reason also, acted unwisely in pronouncing an authoritative judgment as to the satisfactoriness of the principles set forth in the Address.

(5.) The last defect which I point out is, that the exposition fails to define with accuracy the most important terms in the discussion; and to indicate the most common mode in which conflicts occur between the Bible and science, and the way in which they should be adjusted.

The term *science*, whatever may be said of the legitimacy of the practice, is actually and ordinarily employed in different senses. It is used to signify that which is true science; that which is a true interpretation of the facts of nature. Considered in this, its highest and absolute sense, it is an accurate registrar of those facts, derives from them good and necessary inferences, and makes no mistake in its inductions and generalizations. But we also apply the term to unverified hypotheses in regard to the facts of nature and their relations. And still further, men are accustomed to speak of hypotheses of science which have been exploded; as when they speak of the scientific hypothesis of Ptolemy. It may be said that in the two last named instances the term is abusively employed. That is true, but still it is employed, and will continue to be.

The same thing is true of the term *theology*, which may be cited as an illustration. There is a true theology, a theology in the highest and absolute sense; and it has been urged that to use the term in any other sense is to employ it abusively. But notwithstanding this, it is employed in senses in which those who use it believe it to be false. So Calvinists are accustomed to speak of the Armenian theology and Arminian theologians, and Protestants have no hesitation in talking of the Romanist theology and Romanist theologians.

The term *Bible* is also employed in widely different senses. There is an absolute sense in which it is infallibly and un-

changeably true. When we use the term in this sense, we designate the meaning of the Scriptures which God Himself, their author, intended them to convey. In emphasising this signification, I am supported by Dr. Woodrow, in the Address delivered at his inauguration as Perkins Professor in the Seminary. "Believing firmly and cordially," he said, "that every part of the Bible is the very word of God, and that, therefore, every part of it is absolutely true, in the sense in which it was the design of its real Author, the Holy Spirit, that it should be understood," etc.

There is also a relative sense in which the word Bible is obliged to be accepted—the sense in which it is the Bible relatively to our apprehension of its meaning. The interpretations which we honestly place upon it constitute it the Bible for us—our ultimate standard of judgment in matters of faith and practice. Now these interpretations *may or may not coincide with the absolute meaning of the Bible. If they do, they are as unchanging as that meaning itself. If they do not, they are a fluctuating quantity, and are liable to be modified or even abandoned.* But whether or not the Church's interpretation of the Bible be identical with its absolute and infallible meaning, so long as she sincerely believes it so to be, it is the Bible to her.

Let me illustrate this distinction by a reference to conscience as the law of God impressed upon our moral constitution. Had not man sinned his intellectual interpretation of the law given in consequence would have coincided with the law itself. But as he is a sinner, his intellectual judgments colored by the feelings are liable to impose incorrect interpretations upon the law. Here there is an absolute and a relative sense of the law of conscience. Still although the relative and interpretative sense may not coincide with the absolute, it becomes the regulative standard of action. In such a case, if one comply with its requirements he does what is materially, if he does not, what is formally, wrong. The application is easy to the analogous distinction in hand.

Another illustration is furnished by the principle of the relativity of knowledge. Of existence not related to our cognitive faculties we can know nothing. But the measure of our knowledge is not the measure of existence. Because the mind of man cannot compass the universe, we cannot say there is no

universe. There may be, there must be, a vast body of truth in the realm of nature which lies beyond the scope of our faculties; and there are mysterious principles and forces connected with the phenomena which are in relation to our faculty of observation—recondite laws, with which our interpretations of the obtrusive facts of nature may or may not coincide. There is an absolute and a relative sense of nature. Who is there bold enough to say that his knowledge of nature exhausts its meaning? Even so, there are heights and depths in the word of God which we are unable to reach with our limited faculties. Of that illimitable system of truth revealed to us in the Scriptures, we certainly possess a part under the illumination of the Holy Ghost; but it would be the climax of arrogance to claim that we know the whole. Hence the possibility of growth in our subjective apprehension of doctrines which in themselves are unchangeable. Hence the duty of conforming our knowledge more and more to the highest and absolute meaning of the Bible. Hence, too, the differing interpretations of the Scriptures by the people of God. The Baptists and their opponents, for example, differ in regard to the mode and significance of baptism. It is perfectly clear that both cannot have the absolute sense of the Bible in relation to that ordinance.

It is evident that any discussion of the relations between the Bible and science which fails to note these distinctions must lead to confusion of thought. Between the Bible in its absolute sense as the very word of God, and science in its absolute sense as a true interpretation of the facts of nature, it is unnecessary to say there can be no contradiction. They are both revelations of God's truth. Between the Bible, as interpreted by the church composed of uninspired and fallible men, and science in its absolute sense, contradiction is possible; and it is also possible between false science or even hypothetical science and the Bible in its absolute sense. Here again we find a reason why the Board should have paused before emitting the unqualified judgment of approval which is now under consideration.

In the next place, neither is the mode indicated in which conflicts between the Bible and science most commonly occur, nor the way in which they may be adjusted. I have admitted that no contradiction is possible between the Bible, as it is what God its author intended it to mean, and science as the true interpretation of the facts of nature. As no contradiction is

possible, no contradiction can take place. There is no difference of view between us here. But of what practical value with reference to conflicts would be this old principle were it universally accepted? Admit here the principle of non-contradiction, and what conflict will be settled? None; for, according to the supposition, there is no conflict to be settled. What conflict will be prevented? None; for, according to the supposition, no conflict is possible. We have a principle for preventing an impossible event; a rule of action for avoiding impossible actions! We need a principle to help us, a rule of action to guide us, when conflicts actually occur, as occur they inevitably will.

If all men held the Bible in the sense which was intended by its Author, accepted its real and absolute meaning, and all men knew the real facts and processes of nature; ah, then our principle of non-contradiction would be mighty. We would be in Paradise. But men will put, must put, their interpretations upon the Bible and nature alike, and it is ordinarily between these interpretations that contradiction, in an imperfect and sinful world, occurs. You may cry, non-contradiction! as much as you please, and the shouts of conflict will be your answer.

I admit, also, that Dr. Woodrow's principle that our interpretations of the Bible must square with the proved truths of science is perfectly true. And here, I must say, he has been incorrectly represented by some of his critics. But, in such cases, the conflict is ended. The church must yield, has ever yielded, an interpretation of the Bible contradictory to a settled conclusion of science. We still want a principle, a rule of action, which will help us when the actual conflict is upon us. The mode in which contradiction and conflict emerge is the opposition between the church's interpretation of the Bible and scientific hypotheses. It is really not a conflict between the Bible itself and science itself, but between the church's Bible and the scientific man's science. The contradiction is between theology and scientific hypotheses.

What ought the church to do in such cases? Shall she give up her Bible—the Bible as she interprets it—for unverified scientific hypotheses which contradict it? That is the great and practical question, the decision of which is big with momentous consequences. It is a defect in the exposition of the relations between the Bible and science, that it does not undertake the

settlement of that question. Of this we are now witnesses. This Synod has just such a conflict upon it. Could it adjust the issue by consulting the principles of the address?

3. It may be added that the action of the Board involves them in inconsistency with themselves.

They endorse Dr. Woodrow's exposition of the relations between the Bible and science as plain, correct and satisfactory. It follows, that they endorse his exposition of the relation between the Bible and his science. But they declare that they are not prepared to endorse his hypothesis of evolution as to Adam's body. Why? Manifestly because they could not see how it is consistently related to the Bible. The exposition of the relations between the Bible and science *is* plain, correct and satisfactory!

Here is an inconsistency in the action of the Board which should restrain the Synod from approving that action. For, unless the Synod is prepared to say that it believes Dr. Woodrow's hypothesis of evolution to be consistent with Scripture, it would, by concurring in the action of the Board, implicate itself in the same inconsistency with them.

[Other strictures were passed upon the action of the Board, but they are here omitted, as they had a passing value during the progress of the discussion, and I have no motive to give them further utterance.]

Let me now briefly recapitulate the reasons which have been urged, why this Synod should not, by its solemn judgment, approve the action of the Board of Directors formally pronouncing the exposition of the relations between the Bible and science plain, correct and satisfactory.

First, The assertion that the Bible does not teach science needed further qualifications than were actually expressed.

Secondly. The affirmation that we are not to look for harmony, but merely non-contradiction, between the statements of the Bible and those of science, is a departure from the fundamental laws of all thinking.

Thirdly, The exposition, while it provides for cases in which the church's interpretation of the Bible and a proved truth of science contradict each other, makes no provision for cases in which the church's interpretation of the Bible and a disproved assumption of science contradict each other. It gives the advantage to science.

Fourthly, The exposition has nothing to say about the contradiction between the church's interpretation of the Bible and an unproved scientific hypothesis. This is a signal omission.

Fifthly, The exposition furnishes no accurate definitions of the vitally important terms *science* and *the Bible*; fails to indicate the mode in which conflicts generally occur between the Bible and science; and offers no rule of action to guide us when conflicts actually arise.

Sixthly, The Board of Directors were, in the action in question, inconsistent with themselves.

II.—The second question, which I propose to discuss, is in regard to the action of the Board of Directors concerning the teaching of Dr. Woodrow's hypothesis of evolution in our Theological Seminary.

The Board virtually, but formally and authoritatively, approved its teaching.* The minority of the Board protested, and affirmed the position that it should not be permitted. I oppose the Board's action and maintain the view of the minority. I contend that this Synod ought to reverse the action of the Board, and prohibit the teaching of Dr. Woodrow's hypothesis in the Theological Seminary. By teaching it I mean, not the exposition of it as an unproved hypothesis, but the inculcation and defence of it as either a proved or a probable hypothesis.

The question, I conceive, is not, Is the Synod called upon to say whether Dr. Woodrow's view contradicts the Bible in its absolute sense? As the distinction has already been signalized between the absolute meaning of the Bible as that which God, its author, intended it to bear, and its relative meaning as that which exists to the church interpreting it, that distinction need not now be explained. It would seem to be clear that contradiction to the Bible in one of these senses is not necessarily the same as contradiction to it in the other.

I trust that the Synod will not undertake to decide, and pronounce upon, the question whether Dr. Woodrow's view contradicts the Bible in its absolute, infallible sense, for reasons which I will briefly state.

In the first place, our knowledge is not sufficient to warrant us in dogmatizing upon that question. In order to its dogmatic

*The Board did not approve the view, but by permitting it to be taught, they approved the teaching.

decision, we would require to possess perfect certainty as to the correctness of our interpretation of the Scriptures upon this point, and perfect certainty as to our interpretation of nature in regard to it. But as we are not gifted with infallibility in either respect, our liability to err should check the utterance of an authoritative judgment in the premises.

In the second place, it becomes us to heed the cautions furnished by the history of the church. It cannot be denied that she has sometimes grievously blundered in pronouncing determinative judgments upon questions of science, with reference to which her policy was to be silent. There is always the danger of such mistakes, the consequences of which must needs be deplorable. Should the church commit them, she is subjected to the humiliation of recanting her error, and there follows a disastrous reaction upon the trustworthiness of her whole teaching. Confidence in her authority as a spiritual guide is, at least to some extent, impaired.

In the third place, should we decide that Dr. Woodrow's view contradicts the Bible in its absolute sense, we would not only declare that it ought not to be taught in a Presbyterian school, but that no Christian man has a right to hold it. Are we prepared to do that?

The question which, in my judgment, is really before the Synod is in regard to the relation between Dr. Woodrow's hypothesis and the Bible as our church interprets it: between this scientific view and our Bible—the Bible as it is to us. This is our court of last resort, our ultimate standard of judgment; and, from the nature of the case, must be. This being, as I apprehend it, the state of the question, the first proposition which I shall lay down for the Synod's consideration is:

A scientific hypothesis which has not been proved, so as to have become an established theory of law, and which is contrary to our church's interpretation of the Bible, and to her prevailing and recognized views, ought not to be inculcated and maintained in our Theological Seminaries.

I argue this from the nature and design of a theological school. It is contradistinguished to secular schools. It is established and supported by the church. Its nature and end are, therefore, ecclesiastical. It is designed to teach what the church holds and believes. For it to teach the contrary is to violate its very nature and end. The church has the right to

require, is solemnly bound to require, that her doctrines be taught, and that what is contrary to her doctrines be *not* taught. Otherwise, the results must be flagrant inconsistency, unfaithfulness to her convictions of truth, recreancy to sacred trusts and deliberate suicide. And in the event of a view, opposed to her own, being supported by great talents and acquirements, and, as in the case of scientific hypotheses, beyond effective resistance by the other chairs, she actually makes arrangements for the overthrow of her own views. She arranges for her own sacrifice.

A theological seminary is peculiarly, distinctively, entirely, a church school; and so is different from institutions which, although they may have some connection with the church, are partly maintained by other influences than her own.

The great end of a theological seminary, I have urged, is to teach the church's interpretation of the word of God. For this it exists; this is the law of its being. All other things are incidental and subordinate to this, its chief end. The teaching of Hebrew and Greek is not for their own sake. The Seminary is not a classic school. The end is the correct interpretation of God's word in the original text. But this interpretation must accord with the church's Standards, or the teacher, breaking with the church, ought to be silent on the points of difference, or else retire. The teaching of Rhetoric is not for its own sake. It is a means, the end of which is the powerful preaching of the Gospel. The Seminary is not a school of Rhetoric. The teaching of science is not for its own sake. The end is the defence of the Scriptures from infidel assaults. The church-school is not a scientific school. The same principle holds in regard to the teaching of Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy. The fact is, that our church does not formally provide for the teaching of those branches, as she does for that of others mentioned. But if she did, the same principle would apply. They would not be taught for their own sake, but to facilitate the mastery of theology and vindicate the Scriptures against the attacks of an infidel philosophy. The Seminary is not a school of philosophy—of Plato or Aristotle or Zeno, of Locke or Kant or Hamilton—it is a school of Christ. These teachings may all be used to illustrate, to elucidate, to defend the church's interpretation of the Bible; never to gainsay, to weaken, to disprove it.

Further, our own Seminary was not designed simply to teach the Scriptures. Every theological seminary of every evangelical denomination is designed to teach the Scriptures. There must be something distinctive to mark off ours from others—some specific difference. What is it? This: ours was designed to teach the Scriptures as interpreted by the Presbyterian Church; and is now maintained for the purpose of teaching them as interpreted by the Southern Presbyterian Church. This is too plain to need argument. The teachings of our sacred school must conform to this end, or they become self-contradictory, injurious, fatal.

The conclusion is obvious. Such being the nature and design of a theological seminary, that which contravenes them ought not to be taught in its halls.

Even a proved truth of science ought not to be inculcated in a theological seminary when it contradicts our Standards as the church's interpretation of the Scriptures. The only true course, in this case, is for the church authoritatively to expunge the untrue interpretation and substitute for it that which has been proved to be true. But, until that is done, the Standards unchanged are the law by which all official teaching must be regulated. That law cannot be legitimately resisted and violated. The teacher is not the judge; the church alone is judge, in the premises.

We hear much, in connection with the proceedings before us, of strict compliance with the law, the constitutional law, the written law. Down with all interpretations, opinions, views, but that law! Well, with what grace could an official teacher, who inculcates views contrary to that law, appeal to the same law for his vindication? In the Seminary the law is of no force, but in the Board or in the Synods it is supreme!

If there be a principle of great practical consequence which we are now called upon to establish, it is that until our Standards, as our interpretation of the Scriptures, be, as to points objected to, changed in a constitutional way, no professor in a Theological Seminary has the right to oppose what they teach and to shake the confidence of his pupils and of the church in them. Not even when he is conscientiously convinced that certain elements contained in them are untrue, has he the right, as professor, to teach the contrary. His duty as to those chal-

lenged elements is to be silent or else to withdraw. But of this further on.

An unproved scientific hypothesis ought not to be inculcated in a Theological Seminary, when that hypothesis is contrary to the church's interpretation of the Bible, not only because of the reasons already presented, but because such an hypothesis may never be verified. In that event the church would be convicted of having taught scientific error. She would be obliged to retreat from her position and confess her sin.

This makes it perfectly evident, that the church is bound to adhere to her interpretations of the Scriptures until they are proved to be incorrect. Only then ought she to abandon or modify them. But it is clear that she has not reached that point when she is only confronted with unproved hypotheses. What a wretched course it would be for the church to surrender her views at the demand of unverified hypotheses! Who would confide in her stability? Who would not pronounce her fickle? Fallible she is, but she is in some degree guided by the Holy Spirit in her interpretations of His word. She has the promise of that guidance; and she would be untrue to her dependence on this illumination, were she to give up her views at the challenge of hypotheses not yet established upon competent evidence.

These considerations are immensely enhanced by the fact which should not in this discussion be lost sight of but noticed and marked, that there have been instances in the church's history in which she maintained her hold upon her old interpretations of Scripture in the face of opposing scientific hypotheses, and in which she was subsequently proved to have been right by the weight of scientific evidence itself. In such conflicts had she yielded to the pressure upon her and let go her grasp upon her old views, what lamentable consequences would have resulted! The hypothesis of the Specific Diversity of the Human Races as opposed to the church's doctrine of the Unity of the Race, within the memory of some here present, was almost as freely discussed as is now the hypothesis of Evolution. The church was agitated, but she adhered to her received interpretation of the Bible upon that point, and subsequent developments have served to justify the conservative position she then maintained. The same thing has been true, in part, of the hypothesis of the extreme Antiquity of Man as

being at variance with the church's view of the biblical chronology, and ever and anon coming to the front. So, also, the hypothesis of Spontaneous Generation at one time bade fair to receive the suffrages of the scientific world as an ascertained truth; but Huxley himself has declared that Pasteur gave it its finishing stroke. The church, too, has held her ground against formidable objections, derived from the hypothesis of the Original Diversity of Languages, to her doctrine of their Original Unity.

The inference from these facts scarcely needs to be pressed before a body like this, which has been distinguished by its conservatism, and its tenacious adherence to the traditional faith of the Presbyterian Church. Suppose that in the instances cited, in which the Church's old, recognized interpretations of the Bible came, to a greater or less extent, into conflict with unproved scientific hypotheses, she had with a fatal readiness yielded, and squared her views with their demands, who could estimate the damaging results which would have ensued?

The application is plain to the hypothesis now under consideration. If it can be shown to be a mere hypothesis not yet verified and established as a settled conclusion of science, like the Copernican theory or the law of gravitation, can we resist the obligation, enforced as well by the history of past conflicts as by the requirements of conservatism and self-consistency, to cling to our old view until it shall have been proved to be untrue and therefore untenable? And if that course be the dictate of policy and duty alike, are we not bound as a Synod to prohibit the inculcation and defence of this hypothesis in the sacred school, of whose purity of doctrine we are one of the responsible guardians?

It cannot be left to scientific men to determine what is or is not to be taught in our Theological Seminaries; nor can it be left to any professor, whatever may be his department of instruction, to determine that question. It is unnecessary to describe the injurious effects of such liberty. They are patent to the least reflection. Who are to determine this all-important question? Proximately, the Board of Directors; but only proximately: ultimately the Associated Synods. They have the power to make the Constitution of the Seminary, and therefore the power to say what is or is not to be taught in its chairs. They have the ultimate authority to control the *matter* of the

views which are inculcated. It is not, I repeat it, the Professors, or even the Board of Directors, but these Synods, who are ultimately to determine what is or is not to be taught in the Seminary. And for the discharge of this most important and solemn function, the Synods are responsible before the church at large and to their divine Lord and Judge.

Another thing vital to this discussion must not be overlooked: I mean the manifest distinction between a Christian man and an official teacher. The terms of admission into the church must not be confounded with the terms of admission into the teaching office. This is true of all official teachers of every grade in the church—ruling elders and preaching elders; and is eminently true of the teachers of teachers, the Professors in our Theological Seminaries, the Normal Institutes of the church. We cannot dictate to a Professor what, as a man, he is to believe and hold. "God alone is Lord of the conscience." We are not sovereigns—no, sir, we are not even co-ordinates, in the domain of private judgment. Into that inner sanctuary none may enter but the soul and its God. But it is our right, it is our duty, to dictate what, as a teacher in his official capacity, a Professor can or can not teach in a Theological Seminary. It is our right, and it is *now* our duty, to say whether the Perkins Professor, as an official teacher and a servant of the church, can or can not inculcate his hypothesis of evolution in our Theological Seminary.

It is urged that all the Professors in the Seminary do what the Perkins Professor is alleged to do; and that therefore a judgment adverse to his teaching would be also opposed to theirs. The principle to be here observed is, that if a view taught by any Professor is contrary to the general judgment of the church he must be sure, he must be able to show, that it is positively supported by the Standards. This alone would justify him in throwing himself against the general views of the church. But if the church's views and the Standards coincide, he must refrain from inculcating the objectionable tenet.

Now, is the ground taken that all the Professors in the Seminary teach views which are opposed to the general judgment of the church? And is it asserted that there has been a public expression of opinion to that effect? If not, where is the likeness between the Perkins Professor's teachings and those of the other Professors? It is clear that there is none. And have

the other Professors been led by public opinion to point out the relation of the views they teach to the Bible? If not, then I ask again, where is the likeness between the cases? There is none. For it is perfectly certain that Dr. Woodrow's views have been challenged, and that he has been led to indicate the relations of science in general to the Bible and the relation to it of his hypothesis of evolution in particular. Were the other Professors similarly situated with himself, their cases as well as his ought to have been before the Board of Directors, and so may have been before the Synod for consideration.

But it will be said that this is not the whole of the argument, nor its chief point. No; but it is a part of the argument, and that, I submit, has been answered. And now for the chief point: it is that every other Professor than the Perkins Professor teaches, as well as he, certain things between which and the Bible there is no harmony. The object-matter of them is such that the Bible has nothing to say about them; there is simply the relation of non-contradiction. Ah, here is the mighty principle of non-contradiction. It is applied to all the chairs. If all the others teach certain things between which and the Bible there is simply the relation of non-contradiction, why may not the Perkins chair do the same thing? And if it is to be condemned for doing that thing, why should not the others share the condemnation, seeing they do the same?

Let us specify. The Professor of Biblical Literature teaches Hebrew, Greek and Philology. Between these and the Bible there is simply the relation of non-contradiction. Granted. The Professor of Church History teaches the canons of Historical Criticism. Between them and the Bible there is simply the relation of non-contradiction. Granted. A Professor teaches Rhetoric. Between that and the Bible there is the same relation. Granted. The Professor of Systematic Theology teaches Metaphysics. Between it and the Bible there is simply the relation of non-contradiction. Hold! Not granted. There may be the relation of contradiction. Should he inculcate even the probable truth of Idealism, or Materialism, or Pantheism, or Agnosticism, would not the church say that his teachings contradict the Bible as she interprets it? And would she not arrest such teachings?

The Perkins Professor teaches Natural Science. Between it and the Bible there is simply the relation of non-contradiction.

Hold, again! Not granted! It might be that there would obtain simply the harmony of non-contradiction. But it might be, also, that there would exist the dis-harmony of contradiction. While Dr. Woodrow taught evolution expositoryly, without expressing any opinion in its favor, he taught, as I conceive, nothing contradictory to the Bible. But now when he announces himself as holding it as probable, under limitations, the church says: Your view contradicts my interpretation of the Bible; and as my interpretation of the Bible is the Bible to me, your view contradicts the Bible. The relation, then, between his hypothesis and the Bible is, in the church's judgment, not that simply of non-contradiction. The analogy, which is alleged to exist between Dr. Woodrow's hypothesis of evolution and the matters specified as taught by the Professor of Biblical Literature, Church History and Rhetoric utterly breaks down.

But it may be contended that the Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology positively inculcates metaphysical hypotheses which are extra-scriptural, and that therefore the analogy does hold between his case and that of the Perkins Professor. Speaking for the chair of Didactic and Polemic Theology, I would say: It does inculcate hypotheses which are not to be found stated in scientific form in the Scriptures. Between them and the statements of the Bible there is not the harmony of identity. But it is believed by the instructor that between them and the Bible there is the harmony of non-contradiction. Further than this, it is believed that between them and the church's interpretation of the Bible there is harmony—the harmony of non-contradictory statements. To speak in plain language, it is believed that they are perfectly consistent and harmonious with the Bible as the church understands and teaches it. And further still, I would say that they are inculcated with the end in view, at least partly and chiefly, of evincing the harmony between them and our church's interpretation of the Bible. The connection between Metaphysical Science and Revelation is so taught as to make the former a defender of the latter, its vindicator against the assaults of a sceptical philosophy. In a word, metaphysical teachings are so used as not to make it necessary to adjust the church's interpretation of the Bible to them, but by them to elucidate and strengthen that interpretation.

Now, Natural Science may be employed in the same way, and the analogy would then hold between the two chairs. But if an hypothesis of Natural Science be maintained in contradiction to the church's interpretation of the Bible, even on probable grounds, the analogy, in point of fact, ceases. The true question is, whether the actual attitude of the two chairs is alike; whether the real, existing posture of the Perkins chair towards the Bible as interpreted by our church is the real, existing posture of the metaphysical chair towards the same standard. That being the true state of the question, no unprejudiced mind can hesitate as to the decision. In the respects mentioned, they are not alike—the analogy *practically* fails.

While I am speaking upon this subject, let me add, that, as teaching in Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy is not necessitated by the Constitution of the Seminary, the Synods may at any time through the Board of Directors order its exclusion. But if it be deemed expedient to retain it, should it appear that the teachings of the present incumbent of the chair are opposed to the general views of the church he would hold himself obligated to suppress them, or else retire.

The *chief* point of the argument in question, namely, all the Professors do what the Perkins Professor is alleged to do, has now been considered, and it has been shown that it is *no* point at all.

Another special argument which is urged is, that there are differences upon important points between the Professors in our Seminaries, and between parties in the church, as serious as the difference between the Perkins Professor and others, and yet these differences are tolerated. The very teaching of them is permitted. Why, then, should the teachings of the Perkins Professor be subjected to peculiar censure? Particular instances have been furnished of these differences: Upon Predestination and the Will; upon the Imputation of Adam's guilt; upon the Call to the Ministry, etc. It is argued that all are agreed upon the question of substantial *fact*, but upon the question of *mode* discrepancies occur. So, in this particular case before us, all are agreed in regard to the fact of creation, but the difference arises with reference to the mode, and that is permissible. This argument has not even the air of plausibility. One or two plain considerations will effectually destroy the analogy upon which it is based, and so subvert it along with its foundation.

First, the parties who differ upon the questions instanced—Predestination, the Will, Imputation, the Call to the Ministry, etc.—profess to derive the proofs of their respective positions *from the Scriptures*. Both sides appeal to them for support. Those who maintain this hypothesis of evolution profess to derive the reasons in its favor *from science*; and further, the opponents of this particular hypothesis profess to get their argument from the Bible as well as from science. The difference between the cases is a mighty one. There is no analogy between them.

Secondly, both parties to the questions alleged appeal to our Standards for proof of their views. For proof of this scientific hypothesis no appeal to the Standards is possible. Here is another mighty difference.

Thirdly, none of the parties to the questions specified would maintain views which are plainly contrary to the Standards. If this scientific hypothesis can be proved to be plainly contrary to the Standards, it would not stand upon the same foot with the subjects upon which difference of teaching is allowable. It would be in another and peculiar category.

As the teaching of the Professor of Systematic Theology in our Seminary, upon the subject of the Will, is involved in this allegation, the Synod will, I trust, indulge me in a few special remarks about that matter. The principles of difference, which have been signalized between the cases affirmed to be common, will receive a special illustration in this instance. The view taught by that Professor is neither extra-scriptural nor extra-confessional. It professes to be both scriptural and confessional. It claims to derive its proofs from the Bible, from the doctrine of Calvin, from the symbols of the Reformed Church, and especially from the Standards of our own Church. Whether or not these claims have been made good, they have been made. Such is the method of proof, as any one may satisfy himself who will consult the Professor's published exposition of his views in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*. Now to say that the teaching of that view is on the same foot with the teaching of the Perkins Professor's view of evolution, as he now holds it, is simply to throw facts out of account.

So much for the argument that as differences of views upon important subjects are tolerated in our church, and different teachings in regard to them are permitted even in our Theo-

logical Seminaries, the same liberty should be accorded to the inculcation of the hypothesis of evolution which is in question.

Are, then, Theological Professors debarred from inculcating, within the Seminaries, views which although opposed to the Standards they sincerely and conscientiously believe to be true? Without hesitation I answer, and I hope and believe this Synod will answer: They *are debarred*, as Professors, from inculcating such views: In the first place, because they are appointed to teach the Standards, not to gainsay and oppose them; in the second place, because they are bound by their solemn subscription to the Standards not to teach what is contrary to them; in the third place, because this principle is the only safeguard of the church against the teaching in our Theological Seminaries of contra-confessional doctrines and views. The Standards are our impregnable rampart against error. Let that go down, and truth as we hold it will go down with it. In the fourth place, to be allowed to teach one view opposed to the Standards is to be allowed to teach other views opposed to them. No limit can be assigned to this fatal liberty. The reduction to absurdity is obvious.

Are, then, Theological Professors bound to inculcate in the Seminaries views which they conscientiously believe to be erroneous, because they are taught in our Standards? I answer, no. Two courses are open to them: either to be silent in regard to those views, or to withdraw from the institutions. And if the views excepted against are of fundamental or even of high importance, the only alternative is to withdraw; for silent in regard to such views they have no right to be. Let us take a specimen case: the law in our Standards touching the marriage of a man with his deceased wife's sister. I speak not now of the question whether it be scriptural or unscriptural, whether it ought to be retained in the Standards or expunged. But I take the ground that as long as it was or is a part of our Standards and therefore of our Constitutional Law, no Professor in our Theological Seminaries had or has the right, as Professor and within the institutions, to oppose it or to teach the contrary. This has been done. The fact shows that the liberty which belongs to the individual man is transferred to the official teacher and the distinction between them over-slaughed. But, what is this but insubordination to law in high

places, and the encouragement of the temper of insubordination to law in those who are to be its expounders and defenders?

I maintain that a Theological Seminary is not the place, and instruction in its halls not the means, to create sentiments adverse to any objectionable features of our Doctrinal Standards, or to attempt the inauguration of measures looking to their elimination from them. There are other relations sustained by Theological Professors, and other means accessible to them, through which they may legitimately exert their influence for the attainment of that end. Chiefly, there are the church courts, which alone have the power to alter the Standards, and the Professors are members of those courts. There they may put forth their energies to secure emendations of the Constitutional Law. Theological Professors, as such, are absolutely debarred from opposing by their teachings the Standards of the Church. This discussion is exceedingly important, contemplated in the light of such a question as this. If, as it would appear, we have not already settled our rule of action in regard to this weighty business, it would be well for us to avail ourselves of this great opportunity to accomplish so desirable, so necessary an end.

I have thus endeavored to sustain the leading proposition of this argument—namely, that a scientific hypothesis which has not been proved, so as to have become an established theory or law, and which is contrary to our church's interpretation of the Bible and to her prevailing and recognized views, ought not to be inculcated and maintained in our Theological Seminaries. And I cannot leave the point without holding up to especial notice some of the principles which have been brought out, and which, if not determined before, deserve now, in connection with this case, to be definitely settled by us as rules of action for the future:

1. The church is bound to cleave to her interpretation in her Standards of God's word, and to her traditional views, until they have been proved to be untrue and therefore untenable.

2. No unverified hypothesis can afford such proof.

3. No Professor in a Theological Seminary, as Professor, is at liberty in the classroom or in the chapel to inculcate views contrary to the Standards of the church, or to oppose any element of those Standards. If he conscientiously hold views which are

inconsistent with them, he ought to refrain from inculcating those views, or else retire from the institution.

4. I add, that should he persist in claiming and exercising such liberty, it is the duty of the church through her constituted organs of control to arrest him.

The second proposition which I submit is, That the Perkins Professor's view of evolution is a scientific hypothesis, which has not been proved so as to have become an established theory or law, and which is contrary to our church's interpretation of the Bible, and to her prevailing and recognized views.

Is this view of evolution a scientific hypothesis which has not been proved so as to have become an established theory or law? There are several modes in which it may be shown that a scientific hypothesis is not proved: by the fact that it lacks the common consent of scientific men as proved; by the fact that it is opposed by formidable difficulties which have not been removed; by the fact that it is absolutely contradicted by the statements of supernatural revelation. It is not my purpose to resort to any of these methods of proof in respect to the hypothesis before us: others may do so if they please. I think it sufficient to appeal to an authority which ought to be conclusive—the authority of Dr. Woodrow himself. What he claims for his view is that it is "probably true." That is an admission that, in his own judgment, it is not a proved truth of science. For that which is only probable is not proved. If in this I have misstated Dr. Woodrow's position, I am open to correction.

If this be admitted, I pass on to the next allegation, to wit, that this hypothesis is contrary to our church's interpretation of the Bible, and to her prevailing and recognized views.

First, It is contrary to the Standards as the formal and authoritative interpretation of the Scriptures by our church. The relevant statement of the Confession of Faith is: "It pleased God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, for the manifestation of the glory of His eternal power, wisdom and goodness, in the beginning, to create or make of nothing the world and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six days, and all very good." The statement of the Larger Catechism is: "The work of creation is that wherein God did in the beginning, by the word of His power, make of nothing the world and all things therein for Himself, within the space of six days,

and all very good." The statement of the Shorter Catechism is: "The work of creation is God's making all things of nothing, by the word of His power, in the space of six days, and all very good."

The hypothesis of evolution is inconsistent with the face-meaning of these statements. The connection between the words "of nothing" and the words "in the space of six days," "within the space of six days," justifies this view. If the Standards had meant to teach creation out of nothing in the first instance only, they would have so connected the words "of nothing" with the words "in the beginning" as definitely to have conveyed that meaning. But they also connect the words "of nothing" with the words "in the space of six days," so that the impression is irresistibly made that they intended to teach that creation out of nothing went along with the six days.* It does not much matter here whether or not the Standards mean by six days six literal days of twenty-four hours each. If they could be diverted from their face-meaning and construed to mean six periods, still the doctrine that creation out of nothing proceeded concurrently with those periods, at least in connection with the beginning of each, is contrary to Dr. Woodrow's view that creation out of nothing occurred in absolutely the first instance only, and that the evolution of the earth, of the lower animals, and probably of Adam's body, was by the process of mediate creation. But it is not necessary to insist upon this point. I believe that Dr. Woodrow himself candidly admits the inconsistency of his views with the obvious, intended meaning of the statements of the Standards in regard to creation.

It will in reply to this be said, that when Dr. Woodrow was inaugurated as Professor he expressly stated, in his inaugural address before the Board of Directors, his conviction of the truth of the geological hypothesis touching the antiquity of the earth with its strata and fossil remains; that inasmuch as that statement was unchallenged he virtually, if not formally, had authority from the Board and the Synods controlling the Seminary to inculcate that view; and that as he now believes that

*It is noteworthy that the Shorter Catechism omits the words "in the beginning."

a certain kind of evolution is proved by geology, he is entitled to teach his evolutionist view by the same authority.

But, first, He ought to have made his statement, virtually excepting against the doctrine of the Standards, before he formally subscribed them, and before he delivered his Inaugural Address, which came after the solemnity of his subscription. It was almost too late to file the exception in the Address. It would have been exceedingly awkward to arrest the process of induction at that point.

Secondly, Dr. Woodrow, however, cannot be charged with a breach of trust in teaching his geological views, for the inculcation of which he had received a special dispensation. And as to his subscription to the Standards we would have to allow the force of his exception, on the supposition that he had previously acquainted the Board with it and they had raised no objection.

But, thirdly, The question before this Synod is one which is not determined by the Board of Directors and the controlling Synods in the exception filed by Dr. Woodrow before them. The question now is, What will this Synod and the Associated Synods do as to the future? And here I must call attention to the principle already maintained as indispensable, to wit, that no Professor in a Theological Seminary ought to be permitted to inculcate any view which is contrary to the Standards. The Board of Directors, and by implication the Synods which installed Dr. Woodrow, committed a mistake. They were fallible, and it does not become us to censure them. A similar question has been before our Presbyteries in many instances. One I remember in connection with my own, in which exception was taken to the law prohibiting marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Reflection has convinced me that the solution of the difficulty presented by such case is this: That we must allow these conscientious exceptions, *in points not involving heresy*, so far as the *holding* of them is concerned, but that we cannot allow them so far as the *official, authoritative teaching* of them is concerned.

The developments in this case exhibit the danger resulting from a failure to abide by this rule of action. One thing leads on to another. If one exception to the Standards be allowed in an official teacher, another and another may be. Where shall the line be drawn—the limit fixed? Manifestly, there ought to

be a limitation; and it is what has been mentioned: no official teacher ought, as such, to have liberty to inculcate views contrary to the Standards. If those formularies are wrong in the features objected to, let them be altered by the constitutional action of the church. It is, then, the duty of the Synods to avoid the mistake made in the past, and without reflecting on Dr. Woodrow for the teaching of views for which he had the sanction of authority, to take order against the inculcation of anti-confessional views *in the future*.

Fourthly, It has in these remarks been conceded that allowance must be made for Dr. Woodrow's past teaching upon certain points notwithstanding the fact that it was not consistent with the Standards,* for the reason that he explicitly enounced his opinions as to those points at the time of his inauguration as Professor. But in his late address and his expositions of it, he also teaches as very probable the evolution of the earth and of the lower animals, and as probable the evolution of Adam's body. At the same time, I understand him as admitting that the Standards teach that the earth and all its contents were created out of nothing in the space of six days. And if he should also admit that the days of the Standards are literal days, the case is strengthened. He must, upon either supposition, admit the teaching of the Standards to be, that the earth and its contents were *not evolved*. For the evolution of the earth and the creatures upon it out of nothing in six days, especially in six literal days, is out of the question.† Here,

*Here I meant the face-meaning of the Standards, as intended by their framers. I cannot concur in Dr. Mitchell's attempt, in his Lectures on the Westminster Assembly, to show that the words "six days" were purposely made indefinite so as to be susceptible of the meaning, six long periods. Nor have I any idea that the Board of Directors which installed Dr. Woodrow, put that construction upon the intention of the Westminster Assembly. Whether the words may *by us* be made to bear another than the obvious, literal interpretation is another question. If they may, the church ought in some authoritative way to say so, in order that relief may be afforded to a conscientious teacher.

†Here Dr. Woodrow made an objection, the precise point of which I regret my inability to recall. What I intended was, that an hypothesis of evolution professedly theistic requires an indefinite period, with creation out of nothing as its initial point; and that is inconsistent with any construction of the statements of the Standards.

then, is a new view not covered by the exception entered at his inauguration—a new view confessedly contrary to the Standards.

Should the ground be taken that, granted the liberty to maintain in his teaching the great antiquity of the globe for geological reasons, the Professor's liberty also to maintain his view of evolution is a good and necessary consequence, I reply, that the liberty to inculcate his view of evolution is not a good and necessary consequence. For, it has been held by distinguished scientific men, like Louis Agassiz, that the fossil remains in the strata of the earth represent extinct species, which were not evolved from other species, but were supernaturally originated by the power of the Creator.

It may further be said, that it is a recognized principle that when an adequate authority commands the performance of a certain office, it gives all the rights necessary to the accomplishment of the contemplated end. This principle is, under limitations, true. But the question is in regard to its application in the present instance. In the first place, the authority commanding the teaching of science in connection with revelation confers the right to teach science in a certain sense—to expound it with a view to show its relations to the Bible. But that it grants the right to inculcate science as opposed to the very charter in which the authority itself is grounded, and the statute-law by which itself is governed,—this is infinitely absurd. In the second place, if the authority gave the right to inculcate a geological theory, notwithstanding its inconsistency with the obvious meaning of the Standards, it was a special dispensation limited to that particular teaching. The teacher could not, without further authorization, inculcate any other view opposed to the Constitution.

Secondly, I proceed to show that the hypothesis in question is contrary to the church's prevailing and recognized views. When I speak of the church's views, I allude not to mere popular opinions or sentiments, but to the statements of representative theologians and the orthodox belief of God's people in the Presbyterian Church. These views of the church with reference to the subject before us—the origin of Adam's body—are in their nature interpretations of the statements of the Bible and of our Standards in regard to it; and it deserves to be remarked that the two classes of statements are so nearly

coincident with each other that the interpretation of one is substantially the interpretation of the other. The Standards do not so much interpret the Scriptures in relation to this subject as reproduce their statements. But were the question, whether interpretations of the Standards as themselves an interpretation of the Scriptures would not involve the absurdity of an interpretation of an interpretation, the answer would be that there is no absurdity in that supposition. The principle of interpretation of the Constitutional Law is not only legitimated by that law itself, but it could easily be shown that it is absolutely necessary. Whenever two parties, both appealing to the law, oppose each other, there is a conflict of interpretation. The judicatory which decides between them, whether acting judicially or deliberatively, either elects one of these conflicting interpretations and sustains it, or frames one of its own differing from both. In either case there is the interpretation of the Standards as themselves an interpretation of the Scriptures; and from the nature of the case the interpreting decision is the joint judgment of the constituent members of the body. The interpretation of each member is a factor in the aggregate of interpretations which is termed the decision. So far for the authoritative action of judicatories.

The same principle, with different applications, however, holds in regard to the views of the church as interpretations of the Standards with reference to questions, like the one before us, of public interest. There is an aggregate of interpretations which constitute the general judgment of God's people in the church—their prevailing and recognized views; and it is proper to consider those interpretative views as entering into the standard of judgment into comparison with which the teachings of a Theological Seminary are brought.* Now,

*In thus speaking of the views of the church, I had no intention to affirm that they constitute standards of judgment in cases in which alleged heresy is tried by church-courts. The opening sentences of this speech show that no such application of them is pleaded for in the present instance. But that the general views of the church do, and ought to, exercise a powerful influence upon the question, what sort of teachings should exist in a Theological Seminary, supported and controlled by the church, is too plain to require argument. To take any other view is to break with common sense. The very lowest consideration in regard to the matter is conclusive; the church cannot be expected to pay for teaching to which she is conscientiously opposed.

the church holds certain views in regard to the statements of the Standards—and they are substantially the statements of the Bible—concerning the formation of man's body in the first instance; and the position now taken is that the hypothesis of evolution under consideration is contrary to those views. Let us compare them.

1. The hypothesis is, that the dust from which Adam's body was formed was organic dust. The church's view is, that it was inorganic dust—the words “of the ground” designating the sort of dust; that the sentence, “unto dust shalt thou return,” and the inspired words in Ecclesiastes, “Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was,” indicate not animal forms, but what is commonly known as dust and so universally called.

2. The hypothesis is, that Adam's body was evolved out of, descended with modification from, a long line of animal ancestry reaching back for a protracted period. The church's view is, that Adam's body was formed of dust by a sudden, supernatural, constructive act of God.

3. The hypothesis is, that Adam as to his body was born of animal parents. The church's view is, that Adam as to his body was not born at all—that he had no animal parents.

4. The hypothesis is, that Adam as to his body was at first in an infantile condition, and grew to the stature of a man. The church's view is, that Adam as to his body never was an infant, that he did not grow, but was suddenly and supernaturally formed in the full possession of mature bodily powers.

5. The hypothesis is, that the existence of Adam's body preceded for years the formation of Eve's body. The church's view is, that Adam's body did not precede for years the formation of Eve's; but that the formation of Eve's body followed closely upon the formation of Adam's.

Thus, in five particulars, it has been shown that the hypothesis before us is contrary to the church's views.

But are the church's views what they have now been assumed to be? and are they her prevailing and recognized views? Of that I will proceed to furnish proof.

It will not be denied that up to the time of the emergence of this controversy, occasioned by the delivery and publication of Dr. Woodrow's address, the church's general views were what I have represented them to be. How has it been since? What are the views of the church which have been developed, brought

out into light and maintained during the discussion which has occurred?

I cite, first, The Faculty of Columbia Seminary. Every member of it has declared his inability to concur in Dr. Woodrow's interpretation of Scripture so far as his hypothesis of the evolution of Adam's body is concerned. The question as to the relations of the Bible and science is not just here alluded to, and therefore I do not undertake to say how far there may be concurrence in his views on that subject. The question is as to the relation of the church's views to this particular scientific hypothesis. Let us keep the state of the question clearly and definitely before us. I repeat it, that upon that question every member of the Faculty holds a view opposed to that of their colleague.

I mention, next, the Board of Directors of Columbia Seminary. Every member of it has declared his inability to concur in Dr. Woodrow's view: the minority, of course, and the majority also in the paper which they adopted and which was reported to the Synod.

I would refer, too, to the religious journals of our church. Of these there are eight. One of them is Dr. Woodrow's own paper and must therefore be thrown out of account. Of the other seven only one has advocated Dr. Woodrow's view. Here, then, are six of the old, established journals of the church, which fail to concur in the hypothesis in question. Is it not to be inferred that they represent the opinion of the great majority of the church?

It may be said that all this is a begging of the question—that the Synods have not yet acted upon the case, and it may prove to be fact that they will by vote sustain the Board and consequently Dr. Woodrow's teaching: it is but an assumption that the church is opposed to his view; that remains to be seen. I have not begged the question, and have made no unwarrantable assumption. Were the question upon which this Synod is called upon to decide, whether it can concur in Dr. Woodrow's view and it should vote that it does concur, I would have made an unjustifiable assumption as to the sentiments of this body. But if the question be, as indeed it is, whether the Synod will allow the teaching of Dr. Woodrow's view in the Seminary, and it should decide to allow it, that decision would not exhibit the opinions of the members as to the view itself. Witness the

action of the Board of Directors. And I undertake to say, that if the question before us now were, whether this Synod can concur in Dr. Woodrow's hypothesis, there are but few who would express such concurrence.

No; it cannot be successfully denied that the overwhelming mass of the views of our church—as also of all evangelical churches—is opposed to the hypothesis of the Perkins Professor.

If, now these propositions have been sustained by competent proofs: first, that a scientific hypothesis which has not been proved, so as to have become an established theory or law, and which is contrary to our church's interpretation of the Bible, and to her prevailing and recognized views, ought not to be inculcated and maintained in our Theological Seminaries; secondly, that the Perkins Professor's view of evolution is a scientific hypothesis which has not been proved so as to have become an established theory or law, and which is contrary to our church's interpretation of the Bible and to her prevailing and recognized views,—the conclusion is irresistible, that the Perkins Professor's view of evolution ought not to be inculcated and maintained in our Theological Seminaries. The practical result ought to be, that the Synod should prohibit its inculcation and maintenance, even as probably true, in our own Theological Seminary.

During this discussion the majority report has by some speakers been sustained in affirming that, as this hypothesis of evolution is extra-scriptural, the church can make no deliverance concerning its truth or falsity. To this I reply, first, that the Board of Directors did make a deliverance concerning it, when, having Dr. Woodrow's Address before them in which the probable truth of the hypothesis is asserted, they declared it to be consistent with perfect soundness in the faith, and thus gave their official consent to its being inculcated in the Seminary. Were not the Board representatives of the church in making that deliverance? This Synod is now asked to do the same thing. If it does it, will it not by its deliverance approve the teaching in the Seminary of the probable truth of this hypothesis? And will not the church utter itself through the Synod's deliverance? Secondly, It has been maintained that the church cannot teach science, because it is extra-scriptural. But it has also been maintained that the duties of the Perkins

chair necessitate the teaching of science in connection with revelation. Some teaching of science by the chair is unavoidable. But the chair is an exponent of the church's teachings. It comes to this then; that in one breath it is denied that the church can teach science, and in another it is affirmed that she does teach it. Thirdly, I take issue with the assertion that this hypothesis of evolution is extra-scriptural. What is the hypothesis? It is that the evolution of Adam's body from animal forms is probably true. But the well-nigh universal interpretation by the church of the biblical statement is, that Adam's body was supernaturally formed out of the literal dust of the ground. Now there is here a conflict of probabilities. To the extent of the probability of the hypothesis we are obliged to admit the improbability of the ordinary interpretation of the Bible account of the origin of Adam's body. It is clear that the hypothesis enters the domain of the Scriptures, and to the extent of its probability claims to modify their interpretation. It cannot, therefore, be simply extra-scriptural.*

It has been said that outside bodies and writers have undertaken to settle this question before us, and have charged the Perkins Professor with heresy and infidelity; and it is implied that this influence from without is operating upon the Synod. In reply I would remark, that the advocates of the minority report propose to shield Dr. Woodrow from the accusation of heretical teaching. That is the very purpose of the first resolu-

*Some notice of a dilemma urged by one of the speakers was intended, but was excluded by the pressure of time. It was this: either the hypothesis is extra-scriptural, or it is intra-scriptural. These are contradictory. If, therefore, the opponents of the majority report deny that it is extra-scriptural, they must admit that it is intra-scriptural. The opponents of the majority report accept the situation. They deny that it is extra-scriptural and affirm that it is intra-scriptural. But it is one thing to affirm that it is intra-scriptural, and quite another to affirm that it is scriptural. They affirm that it is both intra-scriptural and contra-scriptural. It goes within Scripture in order to invade it. Satan sometimes speaks within Scripture, but he is never scriptural. If the dilemma had been: Either the hypothesis is unscriptural or it is scriptural, the opponents of the majority report would have affirmed that it is unscriptural and denied that it is scriptural. The horns of the dilemma, which were considered by some very formidable, were as harmless as those of an Irish bull. The opponents of the majority report took one of them, but it had hay on it. No blood was spilt—there was no gore.

tion of that report. It is, therefore, illegitimate to imply that the Synod is influenced by outside opinions, or that it will not form an independent judgment of its own.

It has been asserted that it is really our church which is now on trial in the face of the civilized world, and that the opponents of the teaching of the hypothesis would cause her to re-enact the blunders of the middle ages. I answer, that on the contrary, we ask the Synod not to decide upon the question, whether this hypothesis contradicts the Bible in its highest and absolute sense—the sense divinely intended, and therefore infallible and immutable. We do not propose to take our church back to the middle ages and make her a suppressor of the free investigations of science. Let science pursue her inquiries in her own field untrammelled; but surely the church has a right to say what may or may not be taught in her own theological schools.

The ground has been taken that Christianity itself is an instance of evolution. To this astonishing statement I reply: there is a manifest distinction to be here observed—a distinction which I have heard Dr. Woodrow himself point out, and in which I agreed with him, between the progressive *development* of a plan by supernatural interventions of an intelligent author and *evolution* by inherrent forces in the things evolved.

[Here Dr. Woodrow objected that he was misrepresented—that he had expressly asserted the contrary. He misunderstood me, as I afterwards learned. I supposed him to object to the statement that he had approved such a distinction, and answered that nevertheless it was a good one. But he excepted against the statement as to the nature of evolution as having come from him. I did not, however, say self-originated or self-subsisting forces. I used the word inherrent; and if evolution does not proceed by forces, however originated or sustained, inherrent in the things evolved, I know not what it is.]

Now Christianity, or more properly the plan of redemption, has been developed through the past by supernatural additions. It did not evolve under Divine superintendence by a force inherrent in itself, and springing from the first promise as a primordial germ. There is, therefore, no analogy between the doctrine of the development of the gospel and the hypothesis of the evolution of nature.

I have heard with surprise the allegation that theological development has always taken place through the discussion of unproved hypotheses, and that consequently it would be a great mistake to prohibit the teaching of this hypothesis because it is unproved. The church has always maintained her doctrines upon scriptural grounds. They are divinely revealed and therefore cannot be hypotheses. In her progress towards a clearer apprehension of them she has discussed, it is true, many unproved hypotheses, but she has done it in order to refute them.

It has been contemptuously charged that the minority report is a piece of patchwork, illogical and unworthy to be submitted to the Synod. On what ground? Because, as it is alleged, it affirms that Dr. Woodrow's hypothesis neither involves heresy nor contradiction to the Scriptures, and yet that its teaching should be prohibited in the Seminary. I reply, that the report does exonerate Dr. Woodrow from the charge of heresy, but it is altogether incorrect to say that it does not represent his teaching as contradictory to the Scriptures. It draws the distinction, already emphasized in these remarks, between the Bible in its highest and absolute sense—the sense which was intended by God, its author—and the Bible as interpreted by our church. It maintains that the Synod ought not to decide upon the question whether this view of evolution is contrary to the Bible in the first of these senses, and that it ought to decide upon the question whether it is contrary to the Bible in the second sense. Further, it asks the Synod to decide that it is contrary to the Bible in the latter of these senses. Until this distinction is overthrown, the charge that the report is illogical and weak is destitute of foundation. If the distinction is ridiculous and unintelligible, upon what ground is it competent to the church to amend her doctrinal Standards? On what ground is she now engaged in amending them? If the Standards as her interpretation of the Bible are in every respect identical with the Bible in its infallible and unchangeable sense, how can she amend the Standards? Can she amend the Bible in its highest and absolute sense? I believe and hold that in many and important particulars, especially the essential elements of the plan of salvation, the Standards are identical with the absolute meaning of the Bible, and that we are entitled to speak upon those points confidently and authoritatively; but to say that such an

identity exists in every particular, even the most unessential, is to say that the church's knowledge absolutely exhausts the meaning of the Scriptures, and that her Standards are as infallible and unchangeable as it. So far from being illogical and unworthy of consideration, the positions of the minority report are grounded in distinctions as impregnable as they are clear.

It has, in the course of this discussion, been contended that the pledge subscribed by the Professors in the Seminary only binds them not to teach any doctrine contrary to their belief that the Standards are "a just *summary* of the doctrines contained in the Bible;" that it does not obligate them not to teach what they may believe to be contrary to some particular statement of the Standards. I am constrained to think this a mistaken construction of the pledge. Evidently by the term *summary* it is meant to affirm, that while the Standards do not give a minute statement of all the details of Scripture they do furnish a comprehensive statement of all its doctrines. Those doctrines are given comprehensively, but still they are given. Consequently to teach what is contrary to any statement of the doctrinal Standards is to teach what is contrary to some statement of doctrine in the Scriptures. To teach, for example, what is contrary to the doctrine of the Standards concerning creation is, our church being judge, to teach what is contrary to the doctrine of the Bible concerning that subject. To adopt any other view would be to take the ground of the New School men in the controversy of 1837 and 1838—that the subscription to the Standards is a subscription to them only "for substance of doctrine." That ground being allowed, the check provided in the pledge to the teaching of error would have scarcely more than a nominal value.

The view has been urged that the proceedings of the Synod in this matter are unconstitutional—that is, inconsistent with the Constitution of the Seminary and also with the rights conferred by the Constitution of our church. By some it has been contended, that "the Synods have no right to remove a Professor;" that by the Constitution of the Seminary the Board alone possess that power; that the Synods can only act in such a case through the Board; that the Constitution is a Bill of Rights guaranteeing protection to the Board and the Professors as well as to the Synods; that Dr. Woodrow's rights as secured

to him by that instrument are not respected in these extra-legal proceedings; and that charges should have been tabled against him and a formal trial had, when a case would have been submitted to the review and control of the Synods. In reply, I would say:

First, The party supporting Dr. Woodrow are inconsistent with themselves in taking this ground. It would have been different, if they had contented themselves with protesting against the unconstitutionality of these proceedings, and confined their argument to that question. This they have not done; but have appeared in Synod as advocates and have argued the whole question as to its merits—as to evolution and the legitimacy of teaching it, as probably true, in the class-exercises of the Seminary. It is therefore not now competent to them to except against the unconstitutionality of the Synod's proceedings.

Secondly, The Bill of Rights, so elequently described by one of the speakers, is not only intended to guard the rights of the Board and of individual teachers, but also to guard the rights of the Seminary, of the Synods, of the church and of the truth. The Constitution does give to the Board the power to remove Professors. But it also declares that all the acts of the Board are subject to the control of the Synods, which alone possess ultimate power. They can veto the election of a Professor by the Board. They can veto the removal of a Professor by that body; and, by necessary implication, they can veto the refusal of the Board to remove a Professor. Let us suppose that a Professor should even teach heresy, and that the Board were so enamored of his gifts and abilities as to refuse to remove him, would the Synods allow justice to be baffled by mere technicalities? No, sir; they would sweep away the Board and the teacher alike.*

*This is obvious, so far as the Board are concerned. Since these remarks were uttered, the Synods have changed the personal composition of the Board, so as to secure one which will execute their will. But if in any case, the Synods should fail to execute their will mediately through a Board, from a lack of nerve on the part of the members or for any other reason, they would have the power and the right to execute their will immediately. And in taking that course they would act constitutionally. Why? Because the Constitution requires that no professor shall teach anything contrary to the Standards of

Thirdly, It is forgotten by those who offer these objections to the constitutionality of the Synod's proceedings that a Professor in a Theological Seminary sustains two relations—one in which he is responsible as a teacher to the Curators of an educational institute, and another in which he is responsible as a minister of the gospel to his Presbytery. There is no question, to my mind, that the Constitution gives the Board of Directors the power in some way to try a Professor; but the question is whether there are no cases in which the Board may arrest certain objectionable teachings, or even take steps looking to the removal of an objectionable teacher, without the formality of a regular trial.† In regard to that question I submit the following considerations:

1. It would violate all analogy to suppose that the Curators of an educational institution could not, upon grounds of expediency, prevent certain teachings, or even request the resignation of a teacher, without instituting formal process against him. If they should be convinced by sufficient evidence that his teaching of certain views, or his continuance in office, would be detrimental to the interests of the institution and to other related interests, what hinders them from taking that course? And is it not almost un-supposable that one, requested to vacate his position by competent authority, should refuse to comply with the request, or demand a formal trial before he will admit the necessity of his retirement?

2. There was in this instance no need for the tabling of charges and for a formal trial. The evidence before the Board and the Associated Synods was sufficient to ground action on the part of either. The Board might have proceeded, upon that evidence, to prohibit the inculcation of the Perkins Professor's peculiar views if they had deemed them prejudicial to the welfare of the Seminary and the interests of the church.

the Church. If, then, the Board will not enforce that requirement, what remains but that the Synods shall themselves enforce it? Shall the creator and ruler be estopped from carrying into execution its own code of rules because its creature and subject will not? Yes; the Synods not only have the power to remove the Board, but in certain supposable cases a professor himself.

†The Seminary Constitution says nothing about the tabling of charges and formal process.

They declined to do so. The same evidence comes before this Synod as one of the bodies controlling the Seminary, and it is competent for it to examine the evidence and decide whether it be sufficient to justify it in prohibiting the teaching in the institution of the views in question. The evidence referred to is the Perkins Professor's Address upon Evolution, which he laid before the Board for their consideration. In that address he exhibits the views he holds upon the subject of evolution—the views which it might be expected that he would inculcate in his classroom. This kind of evidence is universally admitted to be valid. Had the Professor appeared in person and orally expounded his views, could he have more clearly set them forth than he had done in that carefully prepared address? What need was there, what need is there now, to institute a formal trial involving process in order to ascertain his views? The published document is before the Synod, along with the subsequent expositions of it by its author, and he himself is present in this body, with ample opportunity accorded to him of stating, explaining and vindicating his views. Is not the Synod then entitled, with all this evidence before it rendering a formal trial upon charges unnecessary, to proceed with the investigation and come to a decision of the question whether the Professor's peculiar teachings should be continued or prevented in the halls of the Theological Seminary? The Synod would, in pursuing this course, be sustained by the precedents of the Supreme Court of the Presbyterian Church.

In confirmation of this position I refer to the decisions rendered upon the examination of published views in the instances of the Rev. Samuel Harker, of the Rev. Hezekiah Balch, of the Rev. William C. Davis, of the Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, and of the Rev. Albert Barnes.*

Here a distinction must be observed: between the relation of the Perkins Professor personally to the Seminary, and the relation to it of the teaching of his views on the subject in question; between his continuing to teach, and his continuing to teach his special hypothesis of evolution. The Synod is not asked to remove him, but to disapprove the action of the Board consenting to his inculcation of that hypothesis, and also to prohibit the inculcation of the hypothesis, even as probably

*Baird's Digest, Bk. vii., Parts iv, vi, ix, x, xi.

true. That the Synod's pronouncing judgment upon the Professor's published views, and taking order in regard to their being taught in the Seminary, would be, as has been charged, "to persecute him and tyrannize over him," I am unable to see.

It is contended that with the question of the truth or falsity of evolution this body has nothing to do. I answer that Dr. Woodrow affirms it, under limitations, to be probably true; and with the question whether, as Professor, he shall so teach, the Seminary *has* to do, and the Board of Directors has to do with it, and with it this Synod has to do.

It has been said: The minority report asserts that Dr. Woodrow inculcates and defends the hypothesis of evolution. I reply: It does not. It asks the Synod to adopt a resolution prohibiting its inculcation and defence. How prohibiting that sort of teaching can refer to the past, it is impossible to see.

It has been maintained that Dr. Woodrow has not taught the probable truth of his evolution hypothesis. No one has made the statement that he has. I never thought that he did more than expound the hypothesis without expressing an opinion in its favor. But he *now* states his belief of its probable truth, and his intention to teach its probable truth. What we move the Synod to do is to prohibit that teaching. It is vain to say—as has been said—that although, in obedience to his convictions, he will teach the probable truth of his hypothesis, he will not urge its acceptance upon the students. It will not be necessary for so able a teacher, after giving his reasons in favor of its probable truth, to exhort his pupils to receive it.

The point, it is urged again and again, the only point to which Dr. Woodrow directs his instructions, is the connection between this hypothesis and the Bible. That is all. Yes; but what sort of connection? Why, this: the hypothesis being probably true, the ordinary interpretation of the Bible is probably untrue. It is modified by the hypothesis. It is to the teaching in a Seminary of that kind of connection that objection is made and the Synod is asked to oppose their prohibition.

In the course of his speech Dr. Woodrow said that if we hold to an absolute sense of the Scriptures which may be different from the interpreted sense, we must believe that the Standards are not scriptural. No, sir; we believe that the Standards express the absolute sense, but in some respects our belief may not coincide with that sense. We are not infallible. When

Dr. Woodrow has denied the scripturalness of the law in the Standards concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister, did he believe that that part of the Standards expressed the absolute meaning of the Scriptures? If he did, he opposed what he believed to be the absolute sense of the Scriptures. If he did not, he admitted his belief that the Standards do not always express that sense.

The formidable array of testimonies which Dr. Woodrow has exhibited, in order to prove that his hypothesis of evolution is not in so unverified a condition as has been asserted, goes to show that he is satisfied with the evidence which supports it. He frankly confesses before the Synod that he is, under the limitations he states, a pronounced evolutionist. Is the Synod prepared to permit his inculcation of this view in our theological school?

I have never believed heretofore that the foundations of the Seminary were seriously endangered. Even in its darkest days I trusted that the kind Providence which had favored it from its beginning would continue to sustain it. But now I feel that the institution is on the edge of deadly peril. Since coming to this meeting I have heard the witticism that the opponents of evolution are not so much wrong as too late! I must retort that the advocates of its maintenance in the Seminary are too soon—too soon, sir, for the sentiment of the church, by which the institution is upheld! In a certain part of this State there stood what seemed to be a sacred edifice. A stranger passing by inquired what it was, and was told that it was a Universalist church. Oh, said he, that is the no-hell church. The epithet damaged it. Let the hypothesis of evolution be inculcated in the theological school at Columbia, and to the question of the stranger, What institution is this? the answer will be, This is the Evolution Seminary. I do not deny that students may come to it, but the chief attraction will be its scientific teaching, and the majority of the people of God will withdraw from it their sympathy and their support.

This great speech consumed three hours in its delivery. At times the famous orator and debater rose to those dizzy heights of eloquence to which he alone could climb. He was moved by an awful earnestness.

He felt a danger. He contended for a principle and a policy. As to the relation between science and the Bible he could not be satisfied with mere "non-contradiction." It must be the "harmony of non-contradiction." He did not dogmatize: there was an "absolute sense" of Scripture, and it was always possible that fallible men might miss that meaning. But he would hold all professors and teachers in theological schools to the Church's interpretations of the Scriptures as set forth in her standards of faith. Evolution had not been approved by his Church, and no man must inculcate it. He uttered no invective. He said nothing bitter. He respected his colleague. He would consent to no charge of heresy against him. He did not believe in evolution. He did not want his Synod to approve it. He wanted its inculcation in the Seminary forbidden.

When the Synod finally came to a vote, it rejected both the majority and minority reports, each by a vote of fifty-two to forty-four; and then adopted, by a vote of fifty to forty-five, the following resolution, offered by the Rev. W. T. Thompson, D. D.:

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Synod the teaching of evolution in the Theological Seminary at Columbia, except in a purely expository manner, with no intention of inculcating its truth, is hereby disapproved."

The three other controlling Synods, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, in even more emphatic terms, disapproved the teaching of evolution in the Seminary.

But the matter continued to vex the Church throughout all its borders and the Synod of South Carolina most intensely of all. The subject practically monopolized its meetings. The Seminary was grievously suf-

fering in consequence of the controversy. The Synod met in the fall of 1886 at Cheraw, South Carolina, and sent a telegram to Dr. Woodrow requesting him to express a willingness to withdraw from the Seminary. He telegraphed his refusal. Then Dr. Girardeau offered the following resolution, which was adopted by a vote of seventy-eight to forty-two:

“WHEREAS this Synod adopted the following resolution:

“*Resolved*, That this Synod, being deeply sensible of its responsibility for its administration of the high and solemn trust reposed in its hands in connection with the Theological Seminary, and deeming it important to the future welfare and efficiency of that institution that Dr. Woodrow should withdraw from relation to it, hereby requests him to signify to the Synod at once his willingness to tender to the Board of Directors, at an early date, his resignation of the Perkins chair, and that this action be telegraphed, by special committee, at once, to Dr. Woodrow, requesting immediate answer.’

“AND WHEREAS Dr. Woodrow has declined to comply with this request of the Synod, therefore,

“*Resolved*, That the Synod of South Carolina, the other Synods concurring, does hereby instruct the Board of Directors to meet at as early a day as practicable after the meeting of the Synods of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, and renew the request to Dr. Woodrow for his resignation; and, if he shall decline to accede to that request, the Board is hereby ordered to declare the Perkins professorship vacant, and make such provision for the department as may seem best.”

In one phase or another, this painful controversy continued until Dr. Woodrow was removed from his professorship in the Seminary, and his views were judicially condemned by the General Assembly of the Church.

In 1890, on a letter of dismissal from the Presbytery of Augusta, Dr. Woodrow applied to be received

into the Presbytery of Charleston, of which Dr. Girardeau was a conspicuous member. After an examination, this Presbytery declined to receive him into its membership, in the hope that such action would end the agitation. In these Presbyterial proceedings, Dr. Girardeau took no part, other than to cast his vote. The Synod of South Carolina, that fall at Yorkville, sustained this action of the Presbytery, and the turmoil came to an end.

The primary object of Dr. Girardeau, and of those associated with him, was to prevent the Church from committing itself to the doctrine of evolution, and inculcating it as the truth, in one of its Theological Schools. All other consequences came as unforeseen afterthoughts, and as means to the chief end.

Looking backward,—was this painful controversy wanton? The tender-hearted, the saintly, the knightly Girardeau went down to his grave under the displeasure of some of his life-long friends, who always thought he was needlessly alarmed. Has evolution shown itself to be a harmless hypothesis which boded no evil to the Scriptures, a mere romance in science which had no bearings on the cause of Christ? What is the story of its own evolution?

Today it is the regnant philosophy. It has overpassed all the limits affixed by Dr. Woodrow. With a reconstructing and reversing hand, it has swept the whole *gamut* of the Christian Faith. Every theological distress of the hour is traceable to its baleful influence.

It is applied to the Bible, to explain how the Christian Scriptures are but a product of a naturalistic evolution, co-ordinate in kind with other so-called sacred books, and so are neither inerrant nor final.

It is applied to God, to explain how the Yahweh of an oriental people has come to be the God of Christianity.

It is applied to religion, to explain how the religion of a nomadic tribe of Asia has come to be the Christian religion of the most enlightened nations of Europe.

It is applied to the fall, to explain away that moral catastrophe by construing it as a mere miscarriage in the evolution of the race.

One of its apostles (Bousset) in the household of religion has recently said, with jubilation, "The conception of redemption, the dogma of the divinity of Christ, the doctrine of the Trinity, the idea of vicarious sacrifice, the belief in the miraculous, in the old view of revelation—we see how all these are swept away in the stream of development."

These are conclusions which would have been abhorrent to Dr. Woodrow; and he often declared that if he could see that any of them were really the fruits of evolution, he would deny and disown the hypothesis. Dr. Girardeau, on the other hand, felt sure that such would be the wreckage, and so fought for his faith as a man fights for his life. And now, on both sides of the sea, the question that trembles upon the lip of the world and challenges the Christian apologist is, "Can the old faith live by the side of the new science?"

CHAPTER IX

THE PHILOSOPHER*

By THORNTON WHALING, D. D., LL. D.

Dr. Girardeau was a many-sided man, who was *facile princeps* in quite a number of different spheres, and who filled a large place in the eye of the Church as preacher, theologian, teacher, writer and ecclesiastic. But there was one department in which he possessed unsurpassed scholarship and in which he showed remarkable gifts, and yet for various reasons the Church at large has failed for a time to appraise him at his true value in the field of philosophy, and in the future when calm, catholic judgments have been reached by the general mind of the Church he is destined to be rated as a great philosophic thinker, in fact taking high rank in the list of the philosophers of the world in our day.

The reasons for the Church's temporary failure to appraise him at his true value as a philosopher are evident. As a flaming, eloquent, inspiring preacher, possessed of every gift necessary to convince the reason and fire the heart of the populace, he attracted such commanding and general attention as to obscure in the public mind for a season, his possession of those entirely different order of gifts which make the philosopher or metaphysician. And when the great preacher proved to be a theologian and teacher of the first order the conclusion was that his outfit of gifts

*The substance of two articles published in *The Union Seminary Magazine*.

and achievements was exhausted; and when as an ecclesiastic, debating the most difficult questions under the eye of skilful antagonists, he proved one of the most formidable of controversialists, it was scarcely to be suspected that the flaming preacher, the learned theologian, the wise teacher, the powerful debater would have another order of gifts of a still higher kind and in still higher degree, viz.: the patient and penetrating intellect, the protracted induction of many particulars, the masterful synthesis which grouped details in grand generalizations, the analytic power which resolved the most intricate problems into their simplest elements, boldness and restraint, daring and balance, all combined in stretching the tether of human reason to its utmost limit and yet never losing the sanity and poise which overstepped the bounds of just reflection or speculation.

In addition to this, our day is not a metaphysical period. For the time being, philosophy is at a discount. The writings of Plato, Kant, Cousin and Hamilton are not as widely read as a generation or two ago. Science, physical science popularized, the novel, biography, history made easy by dropping the difficult out of sight, the magazine, the newspaper, these make the staple of general reading. And even scholars decry philosophy and taboo metaphysics as if it were dim cloudland beyond the reach of human intelligence. Of course this is a temporary and passing phase. It is a sign of essential shallowness and mental incapacity. The reign of reflection and the right of true science can not be forever disallowed. The time will come when knowledge of the phenomenal will not satisfy, when the voice of right reason and the deliverances of faith will be heard and philosophy will come to the throne.

Meantime the philosopher, if he has "fit audience," has also a small one, and Dr. Girardeau, though doing a great work in this most important field and leaving invaluable philosophic discussions beyond him (which have since been published), has not yet secured the recognition which his merit as a philosopher deserves. The season is at hand, the Church today does not appreciate as she will tomorrow or the next day, that without philosophy there is no theology and without theology there is no religion. And when this passing craze for the shallow and the popular has passed and the old demand of reason and faith for the real and the metaphysical is again respected, the philosopher of the Church will receive his rightful crown.

I venture to add, though treading on delicate ground, and yet I may venture as one who disagreed with him on some of the issues involved, that the ecclesiastical controversies which agitated the Church from 1883 to 1890, for a season prevented some minds from impartially and judicially recognizing the full merits of Dr. Girardeau. No fault is here imputed to any one on this account; it was an inevitable result of the circumstances of the hour. And it has passed or is fast passing away. The time must speedily come when the judicial weighing of the "Philosophic Discussions" and the "Freedom of the Will" must procure for their author a higher distinction, I think, than any of those merited distinctions already his as preacher, theologian, teacher, writer and ecclesiastic, viz.: Our Church will decide that he is her greatest philosopher.

Dr. Girardeau's standpoint is that of the Scotch School of Common Sense, though he had that oecumenical acquaintance with the history of philosophy

which enabled him to ground most of the doctrines of that School in the catholic conclusions to which the great thinkers of all the ages have come as the result of their reflective inquiries. Plato, Aristotle, Philo, Kant, Cousin, Jacobi, Fichte, Schilling, Hegel were at his fingers' ends as truly as Hamilton, Stewart and Reid. The philosophic reflections of Athanasius Origen, Augustine, Calvin, Edwards, scattered through their writings had all been mastered by him. In short, these names are merely samples recalled by an old student's memory, and the whole field of the world's metaphysical thought as far as reduced to writing had passed under his studious and thoughtful gaze. Nor was his philosophic reading confined to dusty tomes or classic productions, but the latest word uttered by any writer of any School had in him an instant and critical hearer. For example, Bain, Spencer, Fiske, Royce, Bowne, Ladd, James, all were subjected to the inspection and review of his searching metaphysical judgment and criticism. He belonged to the Scotch School, not because he knew no other, but he belonged to the Scotch School because he knew all the others and knew that the essential doctrines of that School were confirmed by the catholic conclusions of the philosophers not of a passing day but of the ages and of the world. He was not a slavish or timid adherent of the School of Common Sense, for he brought into still clearer explication, subjected to more searching analysis, and set on still more evident right relationship to each other, some of the fundamental doctrines of this School, and in these respects his chief merit as a philosopher is to be found. While not exhausting the specifications, I will proceed to mention some of the particulars in which Dr. Girardeau has made a dis-

tinct advance in his exposition of the philosophy of Common Sense:—

First. His exposition of consciousness contains distinctly new elements of truth as compared with the doctrine upon this subject advanced by any of his predecessors in this School. Consciousness, perception and immediate knowledge are one and the same with Dr. Girardeau. He differs from Reid's view, that we are conscious of the act of perceiving an external object but not of the object itself, and he differs from the view of Hamilton that we are conscious of the act of perceiving the external object, Dr. Girardeau maintaining that the act of perceiving the external object and the consciousness of that object are identical—it is impossible to distinguish between the perception of an external object and the consciousness of that object. In the clear and irrefragable establishment of this position, our Southern philosopher has rendered an invaluable service to the cause of natural realism as opposed to the theory of representative perception in all of its forms of hypothetical realism, hypothetical dualism or cosmothetic idealism, for Hamilton's view that we perceive the external object as distinct from the consciousness of that object logically involves the doctrine of representative perception though in its most unrecognized and sublimated form, especially when it is coupled with Hamilton's further view that the external object of perception is modified by the mind, in fact, is itself but a mode of the stimulated nervous organism or sensorium. Dr. Girardeau's doctrine is necessary in order to save the day for a philosophic exposition of the *dictum* of common sense, as all men naturally hold it, that in sense perception we are directly conscious of an external object with which

we know ourselves to be immediately in contact. The perceiving act is itself an act of consciousness, for if not, consciousness can only have a mediate knowledge through perception of the external world and the whole doctrine of our immediate consciousness of the reality of the material object is surrendered.

Dr. Girardeau further advances the Scottish philosophy in his proof that consciousness is not a generic but a special faculty with a catholic relation to all the other faculties. Consciousness cannot be the genus under which all the cognitive powers are reduced as species, because by its very nature and definition consciousness is immediate knowledge, but these are faculties of mediate knowledge, as memory, imagination, thought (in the narrow sense of conception), and to force these into unity would be to rub out that necessary and invaluable distinction between immediate and mediate knowledge so vital to philosophy, theology and religion. In inconsistently holding that all forms of cognition are modes of consciousness, and that therefore we really know nothing which we do not immediately know the great Scotch philosopher Hamilton laid himself open to the charge that the human mind cannot know God, the soul, substance, cause, those great realities which can only be mediately known. In unduly elevating the importance of immediate knowledge and depressing the value of mediate knowledge, Hamilton was guilty of a philosophic sin, from which the insight of Dr. Girardeau would save this School, through the doctrine that consciousness or perception, internal and external, is the faculty of immediate knowledge, while there are coördinate faculties of mediate knowledge, the representative, the thinking and the believing faculties. The supreme

import and scientific value of mediate knowledge is a doctrine central to any sound philosophy, and Dr. Girardeau gave it a setting and a defense, validating it in the forum of right reason in higher degree than any of the philosophers of this School, or, for that matter, any of the current philosophers of the past. The key to many of the problems which distress the modern mind and perplexes much of so-called modern theologizing is in this evidently patent but much neglected distinction, whose clear recognition can alone reduce to order our theories as to the powers and operations of the human reason and enable us to see, for example, that though we can not bring God into the field of consciousness and therefore immediately know Him, we can, through the synthesis of faith and thought, have a valid though mediate knowledge of God, which enables us to say that we really know Him.

Second. Dr. Girardeau's exposition of the philosophic nature of faith is one of his chief contributions to this great science. In fact, it is impossible to find in the entire history of philosophic thought so thorough and exhaustive an analysis and discussion of the psychology of faith on the one hand and on the other of its logical and rational relations to the realm of ontology. A much needed service is rendered here which clears up many perplexing questions which have for ages afflicted philosophy and theology. As to its psychology, faith is one of the mediate cognitive powers. In Dr. Girardeau's system, the human reason or intellect is the genus distributed into the two species; first, immediate knowledge or consciousness or internal and external perception, and second, mediate knowledge, still further distributed into the three coördinate faculties, the representative, the thinking,

the believing. The most important point here is to distinguish between the thinking faculty or the power of thought and the believing faculty or the power of faith. All the other cognitive powers of the soul, including thought, are confined within the region of the phenomenal. The knowledge which they furnish begins with consciousness in the form of perception of our own mental modes or perception of external objects; then next the representative faculty in the form either of memory or imagination reproduces this perceptive knowledge or combines it in new relations or shapes. But no new elements can be added, for it is impossible to re-present anything which has not been first presented. Then the thinking faculties works over in its processes the materials which have been furnished by the perceptive or representative faculty, but thought cannot transcend the phenomenal realm to which both perception and representation are confined, for it builds percepts into concepts, it receives the products of the presentative or representative power and adds nothing save thought relations in creating its own thought products; the human reason is still moving in the phenomenal world through the operations of all these faculties. But it is the very nature of the believing faculty, of the power of faith to transcend thought or the phenomenal realm in the apprehension of occult or transcendental realities. This contrast between thought and faith, between the thinking and the believing faculty, while both are modes of reason, received the singular and illumining emphasis it needed in Dr. Girardeau's philosophy. Many philosophers fail to grasp the distinction between the concepts and abstract notions which thought builds and the beliefs and faith-judgments which the believing

faculty delivers, and hence they grope in total darkness before such questions as to the Knowableness or Unknowableness of God. Their philosophy makes no provision for the reply that while thought can not conceive Him, the believing faculty can apprehend and truly know Him. The true distinction is not between faith and knowledge, but between thought-knowledge and thought-judgments and faith-knowledge and faith-judgments.

These beliefs exist, first, in the form of latent aptitudes or fundamental laws of belief at the root of the believing faculty, and while they furnish the conditions of experience they are elicited into formal expression by experience itself. That is, the operations of the perceptive, representative, comparative or thought faculties furnish the occasions upon which as necessary and immediate inferences from the data furnished by these powers the mind or reason affirms these beliefs or faith-judgments, in which new elements of cognition and reality are added to the products of the other cognitive powers. Such, for example, are our convictions as to Space, Duration, Substance, Cause, Personality and the Infinite. None of these are concepts or notions built by thought or the elaborative or comparative faculty, and which therefore can be analyzed into the elements out of which they are constructed. They are inconceivable or incogitable in the sense that the thinking faculty did not make them nor can it resolve them into their constituent parts; but they are not unknowable or incognoscible, because the believing faculty apprehends and knows them. They can not be comprehended by thought, but they are affirmed and known by faith.

If pressed for a definition of faith, Dr. Girardeau would answer, that it is intellectual assent grounded upon testimony. It therefore discharges a double office: first, it is a voucher for the other powers as when, for example, we perceive an external object and therefore immediately know or are conscious of its presence, we say we believe in its existence. We do not mean that our consciousness or immediate knowledge of the object is one with our faith; they are not the same. We know the object through consciousness and this knowledge is buttressed by the faith we have in the testimony of our consciousness. Our faith sustains this catholic relation to all our cognitive powers, presentative, representative, comparative; we know through these powers and we know through the faith we have in these powers. In other words, our faith in the testimony of these faculties is a knowledge that these powers in their normal activities are trustworthy. Secondly, faith discharges another office in originating knowledge which is beyond the reach of the other cognitive powers. "Our believing power forms judgment as to existence beyond the reach of consciousness and thought. They are faith-judgments; and faith-judgments are as valid grounds of knowledge as are thought-judgments." The contribution which Dr. Girardeau has rendered to philosophy and theology in making clear and scoring deep these distinctions, entitles him to the philosophic crown. The antinomies with which philosophers have struggled can all be settled here; the antilogies of Kant, Hamilton and Mansel, all disappear before this ripe and rational philosophy. The conciliation of reason and faith which has been the dream of countless aspiring minds is an accomplished fact, for reason has no higher power

than faith, and the human intellect finds its glory as a wondrous organism made by its divine Author, to know both Him and His World in its believing faculty by which transcendental realities and the Infinite God are brought within the reach of human apprehension and knowledge. The student who had learned these great principles from Dr. Girardeau had a guide which directed him safely through all the mazes and perplexities of modern thought, and was unscathed and unharmed by the fierce conflict which false and opposing philosophies waged upon the truth. Here, evidently, was the key to true philosophy, and he who was ever privileged, as many of us are grateful we were, to hear this master expounder of his own philosophy, explain and enforce his doctrine of faith in the fields of psychology, ontology and theology have found no subsequent reason to doubt that the everlasting rock was solid beneath our feet. The philosophy of religion has therefore had no abler exponent or more convincing expounder in the history of our Church, and the time has come when his reward is sure, for the service he has done for multitudes of students, and which he will continue to do for all who will carefully read the books which he has left behind him. His "Philosophic Discussions" ought to be a text-book in all our Theological Seminaries.

Third. Dr. Girardeau's doctrine as to the Will is a distinct philosophic and theological advance in this vexed field. According to his view, the will is the power in which the causal efficiency of the soul resides and through which the man determines or originates his own acts. The will, therefore, in a derived, dependent and limited sense is a first cause, that is, the will originates not new being in the sense of substance, but

originates phenomenal changes within the soul itself. In the analysis of the will there is found besides this inherent spontaneity or causal efficiency: first, a *nisus* toward action produced by the impulse of the feelings upon the will, described in the terms conation or the *velleitas* of the schoolmen, and second, deliberate election, choice, volition or the *arbitrium* of the scholastics. The distinction between the freedom of the man and the freedom of the will has no rightful place, since the will is the very power of action through which the freedom of the man is expressed, and if the will be enslaved or necessitated, the man is enslaved or necessitated. The distinction between liberty and ability also disappears, for to say a man is able to do holy acts is to affirm that he is free to do these acts, and to deny his ability to do holy acts, is to deny his freedom to do these acts. Of course, liberty and ability may be affirmed in one sense of the man, and then be both denied in another sense to the same man, but ability cannot be affirmed of this man and then in the same reference liberty be denied him. The distinction between natural and moral ability has no real validity, for the only natural ability must of necessity be moral if it have any existence at all. To deny moral is also to deny natural ability. A valid distinction of great value which would be of great service is that between natural—moral ability and spiritual ability. The first may and does exist in multitudes of cases, while the second is not possessed. The terms necessity and liberty with Dr. Girardeau are correlatives. Necessity may mean first, the relation between resistless physical force and the effect it produces, the necessity of co-action or compulsion; or second, it may mean the relation between any influence and the results which certainly

and unavoidably flow from it—what is termed moral necessity. Viewed in reference to the first kind of necessity, liberty is the absence of compulsion or the power to do as one pleases without constraint or restraint. Considered in reference to the second kind of necessity, liberty is the power to act voluntarily but unavoidably, or it is the power to act voluntarily but contingently. Freedom to act voluntarily but unavoidably consists with certainty or moral necessity, since the spontaneity or dispositions or *habitus* of the soul determines the acts; but the power to act voluntarily but contingently is inconsistent with any kind of necessity, since a contingent act is one which may or may not happen. The liberty of contingency, therefore, and the power of contrary choice—*facultas aliter se determinandi*—are one and the same.

This brings up the age-long debate between the advocates of Necessitarianism or Determinism or moral necessity or certainty on the one hand and those who maintain that the Freedom of the Will necessarily and always involves the power of otherwise determining or choosing between alternatives, in other words, the Power of Contrary Choice. Dr. Girardeau's skill and patience and philosophic insight are seen in the successful way in which he threads the mazes of this intricate and perplexing theme. He holds the theory of Determinism in reference to God and the elect angels and glorified saints and the human will of Christ, for it is evident that in these cases the holy dispositions or subjective spontaneity effectively control the volitions and acts. The theory of Determinism also holds in relation to fallen and unregenerate men whose unholy dispositions of necessity control their volitions and acts, since by their sins they

are deprived of communion with God, the only source of holiness, and since the penal sentence of the violated law rests upon them. But Determinism will not explain the strategic case of Adam. His dispositions were all holy, but his volition to sin traversed and dashed down those dispositions. In order to fit Adam for his probation—not to make him free—there was added to his spontaneity the power of contrary choice. He was given Freedom of the will not in the sense of the power to act voluntarily, but in the sense of the power to act contingently, that is, of otherwise determining or choosing between alternatives. And in the exercise of this power of contrary choice he overrode his own holy spontaneity and dispositions, and since his sin severed the bond which united him to God and brought upon him the curse of the law, his holy dispositions were substituted by unholy dispositions and he came under the penal necessity of expressing these sinful dispositions by corresponding volitions and acts—a necessity which his descendants share with him. Nor will Determinism apply fully to the case of regenerate and imperfectly sanctified men, who have two subjective spontaneities, the one holy, the other sinful, and whose choice sometimes approves the one, sometimes the other. And even in the case of unregenerate men, Determinism, while holding in the spiritual realm, does not always hold in the natural, civil or merely moral spheres. The conduct of life, the administration of government, our judgments of self and others, are all grounded on the belief that men have the power within these limits of otherwise determining. This is not a deliverance of consciousness, but it is an inference which men well-nigh universally draw from the data of consciousness.

But the case of Adam is the test which explodes Determinism or moral necessity as a complete theory of the will or an exhaustive interpretation of the Freedom of the Will. If Adam's subjective dispositions must effectively control his will, then Adam would have remained holy until this day; for it is not supposable that God gave him unholy dispositions at creation, for this would make God the real author of Adam's sin and would make it impossible to impute guilt to the sinner who sinned by necessity from the very nature which God created within him. Adam as a non-elect probationer, had the power of otherwise determining, and in the use of this perilous form of freedom or power of contrary choice, he sinned in the very teeth of his own holy inclinations and dispositions. Dr. Girardeau's wonderful powers of analysis, and the combined acuteness and penetration with which he saw into the heart of every problem, robbed of all its accidental or non-essential qualities, is nowhere more evident than in the striking and convincing discussion in which he expounds the first sin of our first parents. Following a clue which had been given by Bishop Butler he shows how the blind impulses or appetencies implanted in Adam's original constitution were the avenues through which the temptation to the first sin came. Hunger or the desire for the beautiful fruit, and curiosity or the desire for greatly increased knowledge, were appetencies which had no moral quality in themselves and which could receive moral quality only as they were directed to forbidden objects. These blind impulses were aroused and inflamed not by the subjective spontaneity but by the art of the tempter in addressing Eve. Nor was the force which they possessed derived from any pre-

vious activity of the understanding; on the contrary, they determined the views of the understanding as to the desirability of the forbidden objects; so that without deriving motivity from subjective dispositions or without precedent acts of the understanding, these blind impulses smote directly upon the will and clamored for gratification. The exact function of the will was to elect between the motives springing from the holy spontaneity and the gratification for which the appetencies begged. The will had the power to approve either in this supremely strategic test case. In the case of Adam, instead of the blind impulses of hunger and curiosity, we must substitute the powerful appetencies and sympathies which bound him to Eve and which he elected to endorse rather than his own holy inclinations or dispositions, though it meant that he must break with his God and ruin his race. Dr. Girardeau has put his finger upon the solution of the puzzle right at this point and his commentary on the first sin is as fine an illustration of philosophy and theology combined as can be found in the history of the American Church.

Our distinguished philosopher has to a certain extent been misunderstood by some, who failed to grasp his whole doctrine of the Will. He was in part a Determinist, that is, in the several cases of God, the elect angels, glorified saints, our Lord's human will, unregenerate men as under a penal necessity of sinning; but according to his view, Determinism is not a completely satisfactory theory for it does not provide for the case of Adam, or partially sanctified regenerate men, or fallen and unregenerate men in the field of the natural and the merely moral. In particular this theory fails to discriminate as it should between

motives as final and efficient causes. The theory asserts that the motives or the intention effectually control the decision of the will, and this is usually interpreted to mean that the motives as efficient cause necessitate in one specific direction the election of the will. This throws the seat of inherent causality in the soul from the will to the motives or desires and revolutionizes the catholic beliefs of the race and the conclusions of sound philosophy; moreover, it misinterprets the function of motives which serve as the final causes in accordance with which the will acts and not necessarily as efficient causes controlling and mastering the will. For example, the glory of God is the final cause of man's salvation, but it is not the efficient cause which secures this result, and the motives or intention show us the end which the will has in view, but they are not the efficient cause of the will's action, for that efficient cause is the will itself. Again, the theory that the last view of the understanding decides and determines the election of the will is contradicted by the instance of the blind impulses or appetencies which without and prior to endorsement by the understanding smote upon the will and ask for indulgence. These impulses are called blind by Butler, precisely because independently of the understanding they seek gratification; of course, they emerge in consciousness or the soul would know nothing of them, but their motivity or impulsive powers is in no wise due to the understanding. In this capital example, both of these aspects of Determinism are negatived and vetoed, and its sufficiency as a complete theory of Free-Agency in all of its possible forms is disproven.

But I cannot pursue this subject further—Dr. Girardeau's "Freedom of the Will in its Theological Rela-

tions" expounds these views with a sun-like clearness and a massive simplicity which are a delight to the earnest student. The human mind has made in this book its farthest advance into this vexed and debated field. And the Signal Service rendered is to show that Calvinism is in the most essential harmony with the only sound and rational philosophy. I wish that this able and convincing discussion were mastered by all our ministers and officers, the inevitable result would be the calm and immovable conviction of the rationality, as well as Scripturalness of that system of doctrine which Paul, Augustine, Calvin, the great Reformed Confessions and a long list of theologians all hold as the sum and substance of the revealed Word and as in perfect harmony with right reason, when the insight of a real philosopher obtains for us the reason's true deliverances.

This is a very inadequate representation of the cogency and convincingness of Dr. Girardeau's views upon these great themes and of the value of his other discussions of the standing problems of the human reason, for scattered through his works one will find a complete philosophy, not formally, but virtually elaborated. Dr. Girardeau largely confined himself to the perennial problems of pure philosophy and his extensive philosophical library showed his mastery of the thinking of all the world's masters in this realm and upon the basis of this œcumenical knowledge he builded the structure of his life-work in the erection of his philosophical system; and when the coming revival of philosophy, which is as sure to come as the human reason remains the same with its inexorable demands for satisfaction in the reduction of all its

knowledge to unity in the valid and philosophic knowledge of the First Cause and the First Substance, shall have arrived, then Dr. Girardeau will receive the crown which is his due as the Philosopher of the Southern Presbyterian Church.

CHAPTER X

THE THEOLOGIAN

By THORNTON WHALING, D. D., LL. D.

Dr. Girardeau was the most philosophic of theologians, but his interest in philosophy was not for its own sake, but for the necessary service which true philosophy renders to a sound theology. The two cannot be divorced and the attempt, as in Ritschlianism and that strange abortion, Pragmatism, only ends in the importation of a radically false and vitiating philosophy under a slender disguise into the theological system. In fact the two are united in the Revealed Word, for there is a biblical philosophy as there is a biblical theology; and we cannot really accept the Revealed theology if we refuse the Revealed philosophy—they are so builded together as to be one and inseparable. The three great departments of philosophy, ethics, psychology, ontology or metaphysics proper, all have adequate representation in the inspired Word. Ethics, which treats of such subjects as the nature, ground, standard of duty and like topics, evidently constitutes a considerable section of Revelation, and Christian Ethics infallibly taught in the Bible is an indispensable part of the divine book, which ought, by the way, to receive more attention than it does in our theological education and pulpit exposition. Psychology, which treats of the mental and psychical powers and activities of the human being, is both presupposed and unfolded in the Word, so that a biblical psychology is an easy and evident science. If the

Bible does not teach that man is a spiritual being with capacities, to perceive, remember, know, believe, feel and will, then nothing can ever be taught in the languages of men. Ontology or metaphysics in the narrow sense which treats of fundamental reality is wrought into the very texture of the revealed Word, in its testimony to the existence of God, Spirit, Matter, Cause, Substance and the relations between these. Christian Theism and Natural Theology in perfect form are not the unaided discoveries of human reason, but are republished and expounded in the Written Word. Philosophy in this sense of the biblical ethics, psychology and ontology underlies the whole structure of the theology of redemption which is thus builded upon these philosophic pre-suppositions. Dr. Girardeau's profound interest in philosophy therefore rested upon the base of the inherently necessary service which as an ally and handmaid philosophy must render to the "queen of all the sciences."

At the same time, Dr. Girardeau was one of the most biblical of theologians. Careful, grammatical and logical exegesis, according to the most approved methods of interpretation so as to teach the real meaning of the Word were applied, and when the deliverances of the divine Revelation were reached they were accepted without a question as final and authoritative. But he regarded it as a legitimate and necessary procedure for the scientific and systematic theologian to take these deliverances into the forum of human reason and to interrogate philosophy whether it had any words to speak in confirmation or elucidation of the inspired teachings. And exactly at this point his chief distinction as a theologian of the very first order appears, that he married philosophy and theology

with consummate skill into a harmonious union where no discordant and contradictory words were spoken by the two parties so happily and fittingly mated in this great expounder's system. He is a master in showing how the divine reason in the Book and human reason in philosophy both speak with consenting voice upon every theme where they make common or joint deliverances, and even in the strictly supernatural realm where the divine testimony alone is heard, he still remains the philosophic master in showing that philosophy has no word of counter or divergent testimony to utter. This is the title by which he holds the future and the evidence that he will surely come to his own in the recognition that he is entitled to the loftiest place as an interpreter of the Calvinistic theology, for he is without any superior in the signal skill and success with which he demonstrates that theology is endorsed and confirmed by philosophy wherever philosophy speaks at all, and that in no case does true philosophy utter a word of protest or dissent from the teachings of a sound and scriptural theology. False systems like Pelagianism, Socinianism, Arminianism, the new theology in all its forms, are ground to powder, not simply by showing that they have no support in God's Word, but that they also have no standing before a rational philosophy. And upon the unsurpassed skill with which he discharges this highest function of the systematic theologian, his renown will finally rest, when the sober judgment of an informed church has come to appraise him at his true value.

It deserves to be added also that Dr. Girardeau was a loyal and consistent *Confessional* theologian. All the Reformed Symbols were much used and quoted by him and the Westminster Standards in particular

were first set in their proper relations to the Scriptures as clearly taught therein; and then second, with no less clearness these Standards were set in their right relations to right thinking and approved truth. He had an extensive acquaintance with the writings of the Westminster divines which illuminated and guided his use of the Westminster Symbols. There was no other theologian with whom he had greater mental and spiritual affinities than with John Calvin himself, and the great Genevan has never had one who more thoroughly and carefully mastered his Institutes and other books than our Columbia professor. He was no slavish follower of the great Reformed theologian, but when he differed from him it was only after the most careful and mature reflection. No theologian of our day has studied Calvin more, lived with him longer or understood him better. There were striking intellectual and spiritual affinities between the two, coming of the same race and built largely on the same model as to mental constitution. Both original minds of the first order, both philosophic by the very necessities of their individual endowments, and both architectonic by inevitable instinct. While widely read in both ancient and modern theology, Calvin and Thornwell influenced him more largely than any others. As a student at Charleston College and Columbia Theological Seminary he came under the spell of the great Dr. James Henley Thornwell, then at the zenith of his career as a preacher and teacher. Though never a student in the class-room of Thornwell, either at the South Carolina College or Theological Seminary, the impress of his fellow-Carolinian was deeply scored upon the heart and mind of the young minister who finally came to fill so worthily the same chair of theo-

logy in the Columbia school. These names will always be united in the splendid history of that noble school and the theology of Thornwell and Girardeau will doubtless continue to represent for generations the spirit of this favored Seminary. It was Dr. Girardeau's good fortune to succeed Dr. Thornwell after an interval of some years, and, building upon the good foundation laid by his predecessor, to carry on to virtual completion his own system of theology. Dr. Girardeau's debt to Thornwell was a large one, not so much for the amount of positive contributions made to his thinking and his system, as for the impulse and spirit communicated to him by his predecessor.

I. In selecting some specimens of Dr. Girardeau's theologizing, the *first* instance which falls to be mentioned is found in the field of *Introductory Theology* in his answer to the objection that theology cannot really be a science, because it involves an infinite and therefore an inconceivable and indefinable element, and since the thinking faculty which is the organ of science cannot handle an inconceivable element, there cannot therefore be a valid theological science.

Our theologian's reply is, that every science begins with an indemonstrable, inconceivable and indefinable element. Such is the Soul with which metaphysics begins. Such is personality with which law begins, continues and ends. Such is life with which Medicine deals. Such is Substance, upon which all the physical sciences rest. The infinite is no more indefinable than is the Soul, Life, Substance. Further, the infinite is a *datum* furnished by Revelation. If the Scriptures are proven to be from God, theology may accept an infinite God as validly as the other sciences their *principia*. Moreover, it is incorrect to represent the infinite

God and his perfections as reached by the thinking faculty alone. The statement of the Pseudo-Dionysius that we reach the infinite God by causation, negation and eminence is philosophically false. In arguing from causation, we use the category of cause which is not a concept or the product of the thinking or logical faculty, but is a fundamental belief. In reaching the infinite attributes of God we do not negatively think away all limitations or imperfections; as for example with the attribute of power, which is again not a concept produced by the thought power, but which is a fundamental faith. In no case do we perceive, imagine or conceive the attributes of God, but we believe them. Nor can we by way of eminence heighten finite concepts by the thinking faculty or the power of logical elaboration until we reach the infinite. Pile Pelion upon Ossa, add finite to finite and you still have the finite. While the infinite is not reached by the discursive understanding or the thinking faculty in the narrow and correct sense of the power which forms concepts, yet we do have a valid apprehension and real knowledge of the infinite. Upon conditions of experience through the knowledge by the thinking faculty of the finite around us and within us there is developed that fundamental law of belief which enables and necessitates the apprehension and knowledge of the infinite, thus reached by faith or belief, which is as truly rational knowledge as is thought or the discursive understanding or the faculty of logical elaboration. The infinite is known by a faith-judgment which is as true an exercise of reason as is the formation of concepts by the thought power in the technical sense.

How are these fundamental faiths or beliefs, *e. g.*, in the infinite, substance, cause known? They are at first

latent underneath consciousness in the form of aptitudes or tendencies or laws, but upon the conditions of experience they appear in consciousness in the form of beliefs. It must be noted that though we are conscious of the beliefs, we are not conscious of the things believed. The beliefs appear immediately in consciousness, but the objects about which the beliefs are concerned do not immediately present themselves to consciousness and are therefore not immediately known. We are conscious of a belief in personality, substance, cause, the infinite in its three forms—as the infinite God, infinite space, infinite duration; but we are not conscious of personality, substance, cause, the infinite in any of its forms. The beliefs thus appearing in consciousness are of the nature of internal percepts and by the thinking faculty can be wrought over into concepts and thus be made the objects of metaphysical analysis and logical elaboration. But the transcendent realities to which these beliefs relate are not percepts, and they cannot be wrought over into concepts by the thinking faculty; substance, cause, the infinite are neither percepts nor concepts, but they are fundamental faiths or beliefs reached by a different faculty from that which builds concepts out of percepts as does the thinking faculty in the technical sense, and this faculty which some philosophers denominate intuition, Dr. Girardeau describes as faith or the believing faculty.

The question recurs, of what avail is it from the standpoint of science for the thought-power to have concepts of these beliefs when it cannot form concepts of the transcendent realities with which these beliefs are concerned? The answer is, the thinking faculty can certainly deal with the manifestations or phenom-

ena of these transcendent realities; and it is just these phenomena which furnish the material of the largest part of all the sciences. Moreover, the thinking faculty as one rational power, can receive from the believing faculty as another rational power, the contributions which faith or belief makes to the science which is in process of construction, and such contributions are made by belief to all the sciences physical, metaphysical and theological. Theology is in no sense singular because elements which transcend the thinking or concept building power enter into every science and such elements are the contributions of fundamental faiths or belief which are necessary and well-nigh universal. In addition, there is a wonderful synergism of thought and faith, of the thinking and the believing faculty, in combining their processes and results. Thought is concerned with both matter and form, that is, both with the truth and the logical shape of the materials with which it deals, and thought presides over all logical processes so as to secure not only scientific form but also scientific truth as the result. Faith in the same way presides as co-sovereign in securing truth in its contributions toward the combined result. It deserves to be said, that it is the same man who perceives and thinks and believes and reasons; and if thought can receive the results of the presentative and representative powers and employ them in its own peculiar processes, why not receive the contributions of these fundamental beliefs, of which the chief is our belief in the infinite, and employ them also. Further, of course, in one sense it is obviously true that the infinite is indefinable because the infinite God is the ultimate being. There is no higher genus under which He can be subsumed as a species, and there can

be no lower species into which his whole essence may enter. But yet in another sense He may be defined, as, for example, the genus being is of two kinds, finite and infinite, and the specific difference is that which distinguishes the infinite from the finite. Theologians who deny in one sense that the infinite God is conceivable or definable, yet in another sense, proceed to give us a definition, as, for example, the Westminster divines who assign God to the *genus* spirit, and then proceed to give his specific qualities in his attributes—"God is a spirit infinite, eternal and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness and truth."

In this way our philosophical theologian shows us that theology can not be justly impeached as a science upon the ground that it contains an element which is inconceivable in that the thinking faculty cannot compass it, for the same objection would vitiate all the sciences inasmuch as each one in turn employs elements marked by the same character of inconceivability by the logical understanding, but all these elements alike belong to the category of valid knowledge reached by the human reason in its highest mode of exercise in the faculty which is the seat of the first principles or fundamental faiths or beliefs. The infinite therefore is as surely known by the reason as the finite, though, of course, by a specifically different rational power, and theology justly and scientifically uses the infinite in its organization and construction.

If space permitted Dr. Girardeau's definition and distribution of theology, his reduction of Mysticism and Romanism to Rationalism, his masterly argument for plenary verbal inspiration upon necessary philosophic grounds would be presented for some expo-

sition, but the reader is referred to his "Theological Discussions" for the complete and satisfactory enunciation of his striking original views upon these great themes.

II. His Statement of the Arguments for the Divine Being in the field of Theology proper is worthy of note.

He proposes to give a reflective construction of the spontaneous process by which the native tendencies to believe in the infinite God are developed into actual faith. The argument is neither exclusively a *priori* nor exclusively a *posteriori*, but a combination of both. The statement is sometimes made that the *a priori* argument is one from cause to effect, and the *a posteriori* argument is one from effect to cause. The first part of the statement is too narrow because not simply the law of casuality, but all the fundamental beliefs of the mind are employed, and the second part is also too narrow in that the argument is based upon all the conditions of experience. In brief, "The argument for the existence of God is derived from the fundamental laws of our constitution in connection with the facts of experiences."

In the actual construction of the argument, we first use the fundamental law of existence, by which upon actual experience we necessarily affirm existence of ourselves and the world around us. We use next the law of casuality, which elicited into expression by conscious experience, forms the faith-judgment that every perceivable existence and every phenomenal change must have had a cause. This part of the argument is two-fold: (1) First, beginning from the *contingency* and *changeableness* of the world. That the world is contingent and changeable, we know by consciousness

and observation. Whatever is contingent and changeable began. If the world began, it must have had a cause. This cause must have been either in itself or out of itself. If in itself, it was spontaneously produced, which is neither conceivable nor believable. If the cause was out of itself it must have been a necessary, self-existent first cause, for if it were contingent you strike the regression to infinity of a series of finite contingent causes, which cannot be accepted, as each one of the series is contingent and what is true of all the parts is true of the whole. We are conducted, therefore, to a necessary first cause. (2) The argument may proceed from the *finiteness* of the world. That is finite which is limited and conditioned. We know ourselves to be limited and conditioned by consciousness. Matter is limited and conditioned because divisible into parts, each of which limits and conditions the other. The world of matter and spirits is thus limited and conditioned and therefore finite. Whatever is finite began. If it began, it had a cause. This cause must be in itself or out of itself. If in itself, it is spontaneously produced which makes the world both cause and effect at one and the same. If the cause was out of itself, it must have been a necessary first cause, or you strike the regression to infinity of a contingent series. We arrive, therefore, at a necessary first cause.

The argument next employs the law of *substance*, in accordance with which we immediately infer that properties inhere in a substance, or mediately infer upon the perception of the manifestation of power that this power is to be construed as an attribute and referred to a substance or essence in which it inheres as a quality. This fundamental faith is of use to pre-

vent our interpretation of the first cause with Herbert Spencer as an "infinite eternal energy," and to lead to the knowledge that the first cause is also the first substance in which the power manifest in causation inheres as an attribute. The argument next uses the law of *personality*. We are indubitably convinced that we are persons and we ask the Spencerian evolutionist how an impersonal force, which they affirm the first cause to be, could have evolved into personal beings, possessing marks which are not implied in the evolving force, or inquire of the Pantheist how impersonal substance, which is his first cause, could have been wrought over into personal substances, possessing this high mark of personality which his original substance did not wear. We can give no other just account of our own personality than to affirm personality of the first cause. "The argument next advances from the fundamental law of belief in the infinite to the infinity of the substantive, personal first cause." This belief in the infinite developed upon conditions of experience is native to the human mind as shown by the belief in infinite space and infinite duration and the well-nigh universal belief in the infinite God; and sufficient reasons can be given to show why it is not admitted as absolutely universal. In fact, the finite and infinite are correlative and the knowledge of them is correlative. It is impossible to know one without knowing the other. The mode in which they are known are different; the faculties by which they are known are not the same. The finite is known by the presentative, representative and thinking faculties; the infinite is known by the believing faculty. But the one knowledge is just as valid as is the other. We have now been conducted to a necessary, substantive, personal,

infinite first cause. This is the Cosmological argument in substance, which is not complete by itself but needs to be complemented by the teleological or, as Kant calls it, the physic-theological argument. In fact, they are not different arguments, but branches of the one indivisible, inseparable proof of the divine existence. As God is one the proof of His existence is one.

The teleological argument is based upon the fundamental laws of unity, causation and sufficient reason. Amidst the bewildering complexity of the world round about us, the human reason is forced to seek and find a principle of unity by the very necessities of its constitution. This fundamental faith is satisfied by the impression of order which pervades all the complicated phenomena of nature and history and signally gratified by the marvellous adaptations which reign both in the realm of the great and the small in the natural world. From the analogy of human experience we are forced to affirm a final cause for all this wide supremacy of orderliness and law, and also to postulate an efficient cause as it organizing and guiding intelligence. Combined with this the law of sufficient reason, whether contemplated as a law of thought or of objective reality, requires the affirmation of a cause of adequate wisdom and power to account for all the beautiful harmony and rational purpose which evidently pervades nature through and through, in the vast procession of the planets and in no less degree in the realm of the infinitesimal which the microscope reveals. When united with the Cosmological argument the teleological therefore conducts us to an infinite personal first cause and first substance who is the Creator and as well the organizer and governor of the world.

Dr. Girardeau gives us a just and profound criticism of the so-called ontological argument as presented by Anselm and afterwards modified though not improved by Leibnitz. Anselm's argument is that we have the concept of an absolutely perfect being which involves as one of its elements necessity of existence, and this in turn actual existence. Kant's criticism is very acute, as follows, viz., that to pass from the concept of an *ideal* perfect being to that of an *actual* perfect being requires either an analytical or synthetical judgment. Now if it be an analytical judgment, which affirms in the predicate something already contained in the subject, we have made no advance, for we may deny objectivity or *actuality* both of the subject and the predicate. If it be synthetical which affirms in the predicate something not already contained in the subject, as actuality or objectivity of existence is affirmed in the predicate of an ideal or subjective existence in the subject, then the judgment must not be assumed but proved, which remains to be done in some other way; and the argument is worthless. Dr. Girardeau's criticism is equally weighty and philosophic to the effect, that there can be no concept of an absolutely perfect being, and an argument built on this hypothesis is therefore vitiated. A concept is built by the thought power out of material furnished by the percepts of the presentative or the re-presentations of the representative power. Thought, therefore, cannot transcend consciousness. It is unphilosophic to say that we can perceive or represent God, and therefore the thought faculty can form no concept of Him, and to build an argument on this imaginary foundation leads, of course, only to imaginary results. The road by which the human reason passes from the finite to the infinite

is negatively not the path of sense-perception, nor of the representative power in its two forms of memory or imagination, nor of the thinking faculty or the discursive understanding or faculty of logical elaboration which builds or handles concepts, but it is a royal highway along which the noblest rational power or the believing faculty travels. The infinite is a faith-judgment. It is called by some the product of rational intuition, but intuition is too equivocal a term, employed as it is to denominate the presentative power. The infinite is reached by the human reason through its highest power or function, when all its other and lower powers developed by experience have done their work and discharged their functions, then the reason in its highest power and faculty, viz.: faith, or the believing faculty, affirms, apprehends and knows the infinite. It is a fundamental faith or belief native to the human reason which needs only the concrete facts of experience to develop it from latency into actual and inevitable expression.

Dr. Girardeau, of course, uses with great force the moral argument for the divine being and also the argument equally valid from man's religious nature; but the largest contribution in this section of theology has been his demonstration of the unity of the cosmological and teleological arguments as furnishing the one indivisible proof of God's existence. He has shown how every part of man's constitution and all the facts of experience combine their consentient testimony to this great basal truth of philosophy and theology that there is an infinite, personal, necessary first cause and first substance who is the Creator and organizer and governor of the world. And in the nature of the case, he could have rendered no higher service than to place

this argument on an absolutely impregnable philosophic foundation.

III. In the department of Anthropology, his doctrine of the origin of the first sin in the free and unhindered self-determination of the first man and his account of the derivation of the guilt of the first sin to the whole human race shows his combined philosophic and theological gifts in the highest degree. No theory which holds that Adam's spontaneity effectively controlled his volitions, can meet the demands of philosophy for a rational account of this sin or can escape the objections which theology would bring that God is inevitably made the author of this first sin on this hypothesis. If Adam's holy spontaneity had determined infallibly his volitions, he would have remained holy unto this day. In the use of the perilous power of the self-determination of the will, given to him to fit him for his probation, he freely and unnecessarily originated his own sinful volition and act and as a result, his own sinful spontaneity and dispositions. However false the theory of the self-determination of the will may be in its universal application to men now, no other hypothesis will meet the necessities of the case in the instance of the first man and the first sin.

But we are more especially concerned with the explanation of the imputation of the guilt of the first sin to the whole race which is presented by Dr. Girardeau. There are three theories which fall to be considered: 1st, Parentalism; 2d, Realism; 3d, Federal Headship. Of these in their order:

(1) Parentalism is the explanation which Arminianism offers as best solving the difficulties of the case. The following are the objections which, in substance,

first Adam and the second Adam. On this hypothesis there is no analogy and Paul's parallel in Romans and Corinthians instead of bravely walking on two stout legs, hops lamely along in a hap-hazard and inconsequential manner. Fifthly, Parentalism as expounded by Arminians makes justification either for Adam or his descendants impossible. Evangelical Arminian theology makes no mention of the limitation of the time as to probation even in the case of Adam himself, and emphatically denies that his descendants had in him a strict legal probation. If Adam were still obedient he could not claim justification on the Arminian theory, for there has been no limitation of time at the expiration of which justification could be given as a boon; and if he were still obedient, his descendants could not claim justification, for they have not been offered a legal probation in him, by standing which the reward of justification would be given. If one wishes to see the Arminian theory of Parentalism ground to powder between the upper and nether millstone of philosophy and theology, let him read in Dr. Girardeau's book on "Calvinism and Evangelical Arminianism", Part I., Section III., Subsection I., "Objections from Divine Justice"—and he will find one of the finest pieces of polemic theology which modern literature affords.

(2) Realism is next to be considered, which is liable to the following objections: first, it is but an extreme form of Parentalism and the arguments which expose the falsity of the one, expose the falsity of the other. Secondly, the theory is not only inconceivable, but incredible and contradictory to the teachings of reason. That the spiritual substance of the whole race was created as one essence in our first parent, and then

by propagation divided and subdivided over and over again to secure a separate substance or essence for each individual of the race involves a partition or material division of spiritual being which is counter to its very nature. It is as offensive to human reason as the Romish doctrine that the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of our Lord, although our senses still perceive the bread and wine. To tell us that the immaterial spiritual essence can be divided into myraids of millions of particles, as it were, is not simply to offer the reason a mystery but an essential contradiction of the very nature of indivisible spiritual substance.

Thirdly, on this theory the limitation of the imputation of guilt to the first sin would be impossible, for Adam's other sins were just as truly committed by all those who were psychically and substantially one with him. The guilt of all subsequent parents in all their sins would accumulate upon their descendants who were just as truly numerically identical with them as they were with the first parent. Fourthly, this theory would make the human nature of our Lord actually sinful, for if his human soul was a part of the one substance or essence which sinned in Adam, both the consequent guilt and corruption which followed must have attached itself to him as truly as to any other descendants who were no more involved in this sin than was he. There is no possible escape from the fact that Realism necessitates the conclusion that the human nature of our Lord was both guilty and corrupt prior to its assumption into personal union with his divine nature, and the question is an insoluble one how that guilt and corruption could have been removed so as to make his human nature sinless after the incarna-

tion. Fifthly, the analogy between Adam and Christ is destroyed as effectually as on the theory of Parentalism. Numerically one with Adam the attempt has been made to show that we are numerically one with our Lord, which involves, of course, the hypothesis that the human nature which our Lord assumed was the whole human race, and the hypothesis destroys itself by its necessary and suicidal inconsistencies. If, however, the realist hold that we are numerically one with Adam and representatively one with Christ, he makes Paul so lame and inconsequential a talker that the whole Christian world must be convicted of a colossal blunder in believing for two thousand years that the great Apostle to the Gentiles was a mighty thinker and master theologian.

(3) Federalism or the explanation of consistent Calvinism now remains. First, it is universally admitted that God entered into a covenant with Adam which included his posterity so that they are involved in his first sin, and if Parentalism in its ordinary form, or in the form of Realism cannot consistently with justice account for the judicial condemnation and sufferings of the race, the only conceivable hypothesis is that of strict legal representation. Secondly, the analogy between Christ and Adam shows our first parent must have been the legal representative of his seed. This is the biblical and theological key to the department of anthropology and Dr. Girardeau gives it great emphasis. Thirdly, the appeal to the general judgment of men favors the representative instead of the parental relation as existing between Adam and his posterity. We do not judge a child to be guilty of a parent's acts, but if one legally represents another, we hold the man responsible and blameworthy for his

representative's acts. This may seem to disparage the parental relation, but it still makes the parent to propagate the race with its essential and inseparable qualities, and as the parental head of the race no one so fitted as Adam to be the federal head and representative of his posterity. All the emphasis wisely possible may be placed on the closeness of the parental relation as furnishing the ground on which the federal relation was built.

Fourthly, the key-question here relates to the justice of the federal constitution. If God established this relation, then it must be just on the principle announced in the interrogatory. "Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?" Further, it is easy to evince the benevolence of this constitution, in that it limits the time of probation to a definite and terminable period, limits the persons on probation to one amply competent for his stupendous task, and perhaps limits also the area of temptation in the case of the representative to one precise command. But the representative principle could not be thus benevolent unless it were also just. In addition, if it be said that representation is incompatible with justice because it allows the represented parties no voice in deciding that the representative principle shall be employed in their case, the answer is obvious that on such a ground as this the subjects of the divine government share with God in the administration of His government. They must elect Him, approve His policies, endorse His administration, or else His government is impeached of injustice. But God is an absolute sovereign, and furnishes the best of all governments as controlled by infinite love and justice, employing infinite wisdom and power. Moreover, it is impossible to prove that

the federal constitution is intrinsically unjust. If it be asserted to be contrary to a fundamental intuition of justice, let the exact nature of the intuition or faith be shown, and the respects in which it is offended clearly proven. It is certainly supposable that God saw it equally fair to collect all mankind into unity upon a federal head who had a glorious and easy opportunity to acquire confirmed holiness and life for all as to allow each man to stand upon his own foot with the hazard of all falling and then with the representative principle excluded no redemption possible for any. If it be further objected that federal representation is unjust in that it gives the constituents no suffrage in choosing their federal head, then the same reply obtains that on this ground the subjects become co-administrators and co-sovereigns in the divine government. Moreover, God is better qualified to choose a competent and qualified Federal Head than would the whole race be, if they could be summoned in a vast mass-meeting for this purpose. Besides, the Federal Head chosen was the one best fitted for this great position, appointed when in the maturity of his splendid powers, amply able to stand and win the glorious prize of justification for himself and his posterity, the parental head as no one else could be of the race, and feeling as no one else could the pressure of the awful responsibilities which rested upon him. As a conclusive and crushing reply to the charge that representation involving the imputation of another's guilt is intrinsically unjust, the answer must be made that one clear case of the employment of this principle is a sufficient reply. Now Christ furnishes us that clear case. He suffered even unto death and only three suppositions are possible. First, that he suffered without

the imputation of any guilt, which would impeach the divine government; second, that he suffered because of the imputation of his own guilt, which amounts to blasphemy; or third, he suffered because of the imputation of another's guilt, which is the principle in hand. There are several important distinctions which must be recognized in construing this doctrine: For example, the distinction between the imputation of one's own conscious and subjective guilt and the imputation of another's conscious and subjective guilt. The failure to appreciate the force of this distinction accounts for much irrelevant argumentation against the representative principle and the doctrine of substitution. There is a further distinction between the consent of one to be a representative of his constituents and the consent of constituents to be represented by the Federal Head. The two cases are not analogous, and because the first and second Adams consented to act as representatives cannot be argued as involving that their constituents must consent to be thus represented. The distinction between the derivation of responsibility upwards from constituents to their Federal Head and downwards from the Federal Head to his constituents must not be overlooked as throwing the two cases entirely out of analogy. Nor must we forget the difference between the eternal Son of God and the finite subjects of the divine government, because he was under no obligation to law, he voluntarily consented to be the sponsor and representative of his people, but that furnishes no ground upon which to argue that his people must consent that he shall be their representative.

Fifthly, if the principle of representation be excluded on the alleged ground of injustice, then in

no case can it be admitted; and the salvation of a race of lost sinners becomes an impossibility. It is evident that no transgressor of the divine law can deliver himself from its penalty, and it is equally evident that no one disabled even unto death by the corrupting influences of sin can recover himself from their deadly power. But representation involving substitution is inadmissible, and the sinner must lie down forever with his doom. It may be said that representation issuing in the imputation of guilt is different from representation issuing in the imputation of righteousness. But the objector forgets that the first Adam was perfectly holy, easily able to stand and win the promised confirmation in holiness for himself and his posterity; and had this been the result no voice would have been raised in protest, but how does difference in result alter the nature of the principle involved? It might be said that had the representative principle been ruled out and each individual stood upon his own foot, more would have secured the reward of justification than are saved through Christ. But the precedent of the fallen angels is against this hypothesis. Adam's case discounts it. If with all his maturity and holiness and tremendous responsibilities he fell, the chance of each individual as in turn he was born into the world would seem to have been less hopeful of standing until confirmed in holiness, especially when the evil example and influence of the first parent is remembered. And when any and perhaps all fell, their case would be forever hopeless, for representation involving substitution and imputation are the cornerstones of the structure of redemption, and all the wide wonders and transcendent glories of the religion of grace, of the theology of the Gospel, are extinguished

in midnight darkness, if this great central principle both of the theology of natural religion and of the Gospel of God's grace, viz., Federal representation, is neglected and denied.

IV. In Christology, Dr. Girardeau's construction of the doctrine of the person of Christ is one of his most striking and original contributions to theological science.

Christ's personality is divine both prior to and subsequent to the incarnation. There is no divine human person as the result of his assumption of human nature into union with the divine nature. There is the one unchangeable divine person; and just as the divine nature undergoes no change so the divine personality neither suffers change. There is no human personality attached to the human nature which enters into this union. There is the creation of a new nature, viz.: the human nature of Christ; there is the constitution of a new relation, viz.: that between the person of Christ and his human nature; there is the institution of a new medium of manifestation, viz.: the human nature which affords a human ground for the expression of Christ's divine personality. There are three constituents in this union, the human nature, the divine nature and the divine person, which is the bond of union between the other two. The human nature in Christ is without human personality and expresses itself through the divine personality with which it is united through the incarnation. Of course, the divine nature and the divine person are eternally and inseparably united. As a consequence of this hypostatic or personal union of the two natures, there results two distinct but related consciousnesses and two distinct but related wills, and there is also a com-

munion of the attributes of the two natures in the person of Christ, but no communication of the attributes of the one nature to the other. The orthodox doctrine requires the assumption that human nature may be entire without human personality. Some personality is required in order to its completeness, but not in every case human personality. Christ's human nature is not absolutely impersonal, but it has subsistence in his divine person.

The key question, therefore, in Christology is, What is personality? The answer is that our conviction of personality is native. It springs from a fundamental faith or law of belief elicited into expression upon the conditions of experience. As an original principle it is incapable of resolution or definition, but it may be described both negatively and positively. Negatively, it must exclude all the elements common to man and the lower animals, the bodily appetites and sensations, whatever intelligence, feeling and will the animals have in common with man, and consciousness also, for the brutes are undoubtedly conscious. It must exclude all the attributes which Christ has in common with men, for the Scriptures teach us that he possesses the entire human essence without personality. Individuality, intelligence, feelings, will, moral qualities, with the consciousness of their operation belong to the essence of human nature and are, therefore, excluded. They may furnish the basis which personality requires for its existence and its action, but they are not the elements which constitute personality. Personality must exclude also any element which does not belong to man in every stage of his history. The freedom of the will in the sense of the self-determination of the will, therefore, must also be ruled out. For while at

creation to fit him for probation, man was possessed of this perilous power and in its exercise originated the sinful spontaneity or disposition which now enslaves him, he has not now the power to the contrary to originate a new and holy spontaneity or disposition. He may appropriate his already determined evil spontaneity in the way of elective concurrence, but the power of self-determination in the sense of choosing holy inclinations of soul has been lost, and, therefore, self-determination cannot be made as claimed by many philosophers and theologians, an essential element in the description of personality. It must exclude any element which cannot be affirmed of the person of the Son of God, or more widely of any of the persons of the trinity. Personality in the Godhead is the archetype of which personality in human nature is the ectype, for while there is no analogue between God as infinite and man as finite, between the incommunicable or modal attributes of God and man's natural endowments, yet there is in other respects a fundamental likeness between God and man and the communicable or determinative divine attributes are shadowed in the reason and moral nature of man. Moral responsibility, therefore, in the strict sense cannot belong to personality, because it does not attach to the divine persons. It belongs to the essence of human nature and not to human personality as such. Personality is accompanied by responsibility in man. but not in God, somewhat as self-determination belongs to man in one of his estates, but not in another.

Positively personality may be described as supposing an individual being, what in theology is called a substance, marked by intelligence, feelings, will, moral qualities and the consciousness of their operations.

These are not the constituents, but they are the conditions of the energy of personality. They are spontaneous in their activities and in this respect we have one of the fundamental differences between the activities of the essence and the activities of the person. Next, specifically personality involves the conviction which an individual being has of its identity. A lower animal cannot have this conviction of self-identity and hence we do not hold them responsible for actions committed long previously. But a man at sixty is conscious that he is the identical individual being that he was at twenty and hence at sixty he is held responsible for the sins committed at twenty. Sameness of individual being belongs to man and the lower animals, but they do not know it and he does, hence this knowledge belongs to him not as an individual being simply, but as a person. Another peculiar element in personality is the power of reflective activity by which the spontaneous activities of the essence are deliberately appropriated as the basis of deliberate action. All the constituents of the essence are spontaneously active, but reflection belongs to the person and not to the essence. It is this power of reflective activity in addition to the conviction of personal identity which makes the personality of man an image of the personality of God. To quote Dr. Girardeau's own statement exactly, "Personality is the knowledge of its identity possessed by an individual being and its reflective activity upon the spontaneous conditions of intelligence, feelings, will and moral qualities furnished by its essence."

No philosophic theologian has advanced further into the heart of this standing problem of philosophy and theology than has the great Columbia professor in his

discussions upon this theme in explication of this doctrine and the use which he makes of his view of personality is evident without further comment or exposition.

V. In Soteriology, the doctrine of adoption receives from Dr. Girardeau a fuller and richer development than at the hands of any preceding theologian.

At creation, Adam was both God's servant and God's son. A careful exegesis of Scripture gives this result. This sonship was threefold, first, natural, in that Adam was a spiritual being, possessed of reason, conscience, emotions and will. Secondly, it was spiritual, in that at creation man was perfectly righteous and holy with spiritual life permeating every faculty of his being. Thirdly, it was legal, in that he had certain rights as a member of God's family, contingently it was true and liable to be lost by sin, but these rights were his as long as obedience continued. Now, Adam's sin lost him both his spiritual and legal sonship, but his natural sonship remained. He could not be other than God's son in this sense, and this sonship will endure unchanged forever whatever the effect sin may have on man's other relationships to God.

It is argued that Adam could not have been both a servant and a son at one and the same time, because a servant is the subject of God's retributive moral government and a son is under disciplinary or fatherly rule and these two as incompatible cannot co-exist. The answer is that upon the testimony of Scripture, our Lord was both a servant and a son, and, therefore, it is historically proven that the two are not necessarily contradictory. In addition, believers are both servants and sons. Further, one may be at one same time under retributive and disciplinary government.

Such again was the case with our Lord. He redeemed us from the curse of the law by being made a curse for us and through sufferings he was made perfect as the captain of our salvation: bearing the retributions of the law and at the same experiencing not the corrective, but perfective processes of fatherly discipline. These considerations prove that there is nothing inherently contradictory in the position that Adam was both servant and son under retributive disciplinary government. His case as innocent was different from that of the sinner considered as unredeemed and unregenerate or considered as redeemed and regenerate. As unredeemed the sinner is no sense under fatherly discipline, but solely under retributive moral government. As redeemed the saved sinner is in no sense under retributive moral government, for all its penalties have been exhausted for him by his substitute, but he is solely under disciplinary fatherly rule both as corrective and perfective. Adam both as servant and son was under retributive moral government, for had he obeyed as a servant he would have secured the reward of justification, and had he obeyed as a son he would have secured on the same principle of distributive justice the reward of confirmation in the Father's family. And as a son he was also under fatherly rule with a view to perfective growth through filial obedience. There is nothing contradictory in his sustaining this dual relation to moral government in its two species of retributive and disciplinary government. Moreover, that Adam was a son is shown by the fact that re-creation or regeneration restores the lost spiritual sonship. Those who are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God are given the right to legally become

the sons of God, because they are already by the rebirth made the spiritual children of God. If it be objected that on this view our Lord as a substitute for his people must obey both as a servant and as a son in their behalf, the reply is that exactly this is the teachings of the Scripture and sound theology must adjust its system to embrace this truth. As a servant his obedience imputed on the condition of faith secured the justification of the believer; as a son his obedience imputed on the condition of faith secures the adoption of the believer.

As to its nature adoption is not to be confounded with regeneration, for while regeneration conditions faith, adoption is conditional upon faith. Regeneration is a creative act by which we are really and spiritually made the children of God, adoption is a legal act by which we are authorized to take our places in God's family, by which we are formally transferred from the devil's family into God's family. Regeneration adapts us to our place in God's family, adoption authoritatively and legally introduces us into it. Regeneration -makes -us -God's -children, -adoption recognizes and treats us as God's children. Adoption is also to be distinguished from justification in that they terminate on different relations; justification is directed towards the subject or servant, adoption is directed toward the child. Justification secures confirmation in God's rectoral regard, adoption secures confirmation in his fatherly regard. Justification introduces the regenerated sinner into the society of the righteous considered as a polity, adoption introduces the regenerated sinner into God's family. Justification secures for a servant the rewards of moral government, adoption conveys a title to the inheritance of an heir.

The exact *locus* of adoption in the theological system is shown in the following statement; the water symbolizing the subjective in character and nature includes under it regeneration and sanctification, the blood symbolizing the objective change in relations or *status* includes under it justification or adoption. In Dr. Girardeau's own words, "Adoption is an act of God's free grace, whereby for the sake of Christ, he formally translates the regenerate from the family of Satan into his own and legally confirms them in all the rights, immunities and privileges of his children." As to its grounds adoption rests on the eternal purpose of God the Father, union with the Son of God *naturally*, union with the Son of God *spiritually*, and union with the Son of God *federally* as the representative and Federal Head of his people. On this ground God the Father imputes the righteousness of Christ to his people, which means that he imputes Christ's filial obedience to his people. And this is the immediate ground of their adoption as distinguished from their justification whose immediate ground is the obedience of Christ as a subject and servant. The Rights, the Duties, and the Evidences of Adoption are all presented by Dr. Girardeau with a clearness and cogency which will amply repay careful study, and the minister who desires to be himself fed with the "finest of the wheat" in order that in turn he may be prepared to "feed the flock of God" can do no better than to linger long and lovingly over the treatment of adoption in the volume of "Theological Discussions."

Such are some of the key-positions in Dr. Girardeau's theological system and they are offered simply as specimens or illustrations, and perhaps many others

would have been equally pertinent and illustrative. He touched no theological topic which he did not both adorn and discuss with signal power. And while the writer is alone responsible for the exposition, yet so deeply scored, in his memory are many of the formulae in which his theological teacher stated his views that in some cases those formulae would come unsolicited in the very form in which they were received. But the memory of his students will cease sooner or later in this world to report the record of his teachings and upon his books must finally and permanently depend his fame and influence. And the conviction is a certain one that the world of scholarship and the kingdom of God will "not willingly let die" the contributions which he has made to philosophy and theology in his "Philosophical Discussions," his "Theological Discussions, Calvinism and Evangelical Arminianism" and "The Will in its Theological Relations." One is sometimes tempted to regret that like his great contemporary, Dr. Dabney, he had not completed in articulate shape his system and given it in symmetrical and finished form to the Church. Had he done so his immediate influence and renown would have been the greater, but his permanent work and fame will be the larger, because he chose instead of publishing a completed system to publish these profound discussions to which he devoted his ripe powers and in which in some cases, certainly in the specifications given in this article, he has penetrated farther into the heart of some of the great mysteries and doctrines of our faith than any of his predecessors had done. These discussions which would scarcely have fitted into a text-book designed for class-room use, will be the study of choice and able spirits, and he is destined to be a theologian

for theologians, the *magister magisterum*. And in the long run he elected wisely when he gave himself to the production of these penetrating and profound researches into selected doctrines, which will enable him to render this larger and more influential service to the Church.

The type of theology which he represents is one which will always be needed: intensely philosophic and intensely aggressive at one and the same time. In the vast sweep of the ages that system which is most rational will be most commanding and influential and the theologian can do no higher service than first to extract by sound exegesis the contents of the Scripture, and then to demonstrate, wherever it can be done, the reasonableness of the Scriptural teachings in the sense of the harmony between Scripture and reason, and when this can not be done to demonstrate at least that the Scriptural teaching does not contradict the deliverances of the rational power. Whatever popular opinion may say today or tomorrow or upon any passing human day, the reason is the deepest thing in man, and he does the business of a theologian best who sets the Scripture and reason in right relations with each other. No theologian of our day has wrought more successfully at this task than Dr. Girardeau, and his reward, though deferred for a season, is sure. Combined with this as a necessary corollary was the aggressiveness of his theological type, which could not keep the peace with opposing systems because of their unscriptural and irrational character. A Calvinism which smiles indiscriminately upon all its historical opponents has lost its vitality and is in danger of burial. Dr. Girardeau was professor of Didactic

and Polemic Theology, and he must be both in order to be either. While having the largest charity for all of God's people, he did not construe this to be a reason for failing in loyalty to God's truth or for failing to expose false doctrine in any of its forms. He saw no reason to apologize for the faith in which the most of God's people have lived and died and knew no other policy than to expound, defend and propagate it—all in the most stalwart, manly, Christian way of course. An aggressive Calvinism, buttressed by Scripture and supported by reason will win the day; and this is the type which our theologian represented. May he have an ever increasing host of successors!

The splendid service which he rendered as teacher and author, adds lustre to the Columbia Theological Seminary, of which he was a professor for nearly a score of years, and upon the list of its honored sons whether as student or professor his name stands first. The theology of Thornwell and Girardeau must always be the type for which this institution stands. Its history demands it. Its constituency are pledged to it. The loyal sons of their *alma mater* would consent to nothing else. After all is said and done, the Chair of Systematic Theology is the king professorship and determines the type of theology for which the institution stands. Thornwell, Girardeau, and their successors have wisely shaped the spirit and decided well the type of which this Seminary is the exponent. And an appreciative Church appraises at its true value the service which they have rendered, and counts with calm confidence upon its continuance for the coming days. The Southern Church can never forget the services rendered by that splendid line of professors, both

of the past and the present, who have enriched the history of this noble institution and who have enriched also the life of the Church which they served, and at the head of this list stands the name of

JOHN L. GIRARDEAU.

CHAPTER XI

EXAMPLES OF POEMS AND OTHER WRITINGS

By GEORGE A. BLACKBURN, D. D.

In early youth Dr. Girardeau showed that he had been gifted above his fellows with the power of expression. His meditation entitled, "The Old Church," only a fragment of which remains, was written when he was nineteen years of age. Here is seen the budding scholar, philosopher, orator, and Christian. His meditation, "Sabbath Morning," was written a year later, and brings out more strongly the poetic imagination that gave such a peculiar charm to his speeches and sermons. These, with some other samples of his writings, will be inserted in this chapter. His hymns and translations of Psalms are especially worthy of being preserved. Some of them ought to find their way into our Hymnals.

"THE OLD CHURCH."

"It was evening, the shadows of night were fast gathering like a mantle around, when I took my way alone to the country church. To a stranger, when approaching it, there would be very little either striking or interesting except the ordinary solemn influence which hangs over the last remains of those who were once flushed with the bouyancy of life. But to me the spot was peculiarly interesting. Around it cluster a thousand recollections which, while memory retains its seat, can never be effaced.

"To any one of even ordinary sensibility, the last resting place of the dead is a solemn spot. The affecting contrast which it presents to active life; the somber, still, repose, broken only by the chirp of the cricket or the hoot of the dis-

tant owl; the soft breeze sighing in querrulous tones through the tall tree tops, hymning a requiem to the departed; the long grass waving over the narrow beds of the motionless tenants—these all conspire to draw the soul away from the din and bustle, the carking cares and corroding anxieties of this mortal life, and lead it to the contemplation of scenes beyond the reach of time. There is nothing here to interrupt our fantasies; no jar of the busy throngs as they press recklessly on in the pursuit of an unreal happiness to which they must at some future time bid a long farewell, no noise of city commotion, no tramp of crowds, nothing, nothing, to break the silence of the grave—all is perfect quiet. The voice of conscience and of God fall in thrilling tones upon the heart; the stormy clamor of passion is hushed, and we are prepared for the reception of all-important truth.

“Let us imagine an old philosopher of times unblessed by the light of Christianity, but still an ardent enquirer after truth, realizing the imperfection of human nature, and feeling keenly the want of some better religious system than the world had yet afforded him, despairing of any light to guide him through the mazes of life and to shine upon the thick darkness which hovered fearfully above the tomb, touchingly crying out, ‘*causa causarum, miserere mei!*’ Let us, I say, picture to ourselves such a man, sitting among the graves of those whom he had loved, and forming vague, wild, uncertain conjectures as to the state which is now present to their conscious spirits, and which will soon be present to his own, lost in a labyrinth of shapeless hypotheses, and standing on the verge of despair. A voice from heaven falls upon his startled ear, and in tones which carry conviction reveals to him a future state of rewards and punishments, the imperishable nature of the soul, and its immortal destiny beyond the grave, and then the method of securing eternal life and happiness. Who can conjecture his feelings? What astonishment and what rapture! The gloom of despair, now dissipated forever, he leaps for joy in the glorious anticipation of life and immortality. A new sun has arisen, another creation of light has taken place, and the immortal soul once shrouded in mist and darkness is now illuminated by that sun. How precious would such truth be to that man! With what miser care would he guard the treasure, and pass it onward in the path of life! Such truth does the Bible contain. And yet, alas! we trifle on

the brink of the tomb, and laugh when the interests of eternity are urged upon our consideration. Oh! what a fearful account will too many have to give of misspent opportunities and derided privileges. The same light which would now guide us on our journey to the tomb and lead us in the path to heaven will, when that journey is over and the heavenly path is no longer open to us, expose our guilty souls at the awful tribunal of our God and Judge. I have wandered from my original subject, but these reflections are such as naturally press themselves on the mind when musing in a grave-filled churchyard.

“But to return. The dusk of evening was fast setting in, and one by one the pale lamps were lighted in the far-off sky. I opened the door of the old church, and walking softly up the aisle, took my seat in the pew where my father and mother used to sit, under the ‘droppings of the sanctuary,’ and worship the God of their fathers. All was still as death. The dim light of the fast-expiring day glowed faintly through the old-fashioned windows. The pulpit where the men of God, some of them now gone to their rewards, used to declare the counsel of their Maker was but feebly visible in the thickening shadows. How many affecting and deeply solemn recollections crowded upon me in that moment! I was sitting where my mother used to sit, and all the hallowed remembrances which always attend the thought of her stole softly and sweetly over me in that holy place. . . .”

“SABBATH MORNING.”

“Preferring walking to riding on this beautiful morning, I took my way leisurely to the church. It was the holy season of communion. The table of the Lord was spread and I went with softened and devout feelings to sit there and think of a dying Savior’s love. Everything around tallied with this state of my feelings. No gloomy cloud obscured the calm, sweet, face of the far blue sky; no boisterous wind reminded me of stormy passions which often agitate the human heart—all was still and peaceful. It was indeed a *Sabbath*. Nature seemed to wear the same smile of loveliness that she must have worn when fresh from the hands of her great creator. I always call to mind old Herbert’s sweet lines on such a day.

“‘Sweet day, so pure, so calm, so bright,
The bridal of the earth and sky.’”

And the thought would intrude that even this beautiful day must expire. Could we not detain it? Were it not impious, we could almost wish for a Joshua's power to stay the sun in his course that we might enjoy a little longer the beauty of the charm. However, there is not one lovely object but has its hour of death. This morning which seems too sweet soon to pass away must be succeeded by the dusky shades of night.

“Sweet dewes will weep thy fall tonight,
For thou must die.’

We might exclaim in the cold language of the day, Well, let it go, tomorrow's sun may bring one just as bright. But we can not. We can not let thee depart without one sigh for thy early death. The dewes will weep for thee, the stars will be funeral tapers to burn over thy grave, the sable garment of night will be thy pall and the mourning weeds that Nature will wear for thee, the love whistle of the finch, and the chirp of the solitary cricket will be thy dirge. And I, sweet day, will sit and mourn that thou hast taken thy flight forever. Many an equally bright and lovely day may bless our sight in future times; many a fragrant flower will scent the gale; and many a happy bird will ‘sing the morn as merrilie,’ but the same soft feeling, the same high and holy thoughts which hallow thee may never more visit my breast.

“As I pushed my way along the pleasant path, I listened to the birds as they sang their morning hymns to their creator, and I joined in with my voice and heart. I saw the sweet jessamines lifting their heads as they perfumed the gentle breeze. But my attention was caught by a wild violet that scarcely dared lift up its modest head above the bosom of its mother earth. I stooped down to admire it and thought how much prettier and sweeter this lowly flower was than the gaudy, though really handsome jessamine that reared itself on high as if disdainful of the station of its humbler companion. And thus it is ever with the people of the world. The love of display seems to be almost inherent in man. ‘Some flaunt in rags (if they can get nothing else) and some in rich brocade.’ Like the jessamine, those who are gifted by the benignant hand of God with natural graces and external beauties, instead of being grateful, and of humbly adoring the hand which can take away as well as give, are proud and vain, and make use

of any circumstance which can exalt them in the eyes of their fellow men. Like the jessamine, they cling to foreign supports which, when swept away, leave them 'poor indeed.' In what graceful wreath and pendent festoons that vine hangs from the tree which sustains it; but when the ruthless axe is laid at the root of the tree lowly, how fallen it lies! But let us, while we do not underrate the gifts of God, not repose in external beauty, look within and cultivate those powers which will serve us in the hour of need.

"But there are some, who, though endowed with many exquisite graces, keep in mind the frailty of these graces and are humble and retiring. Such as these are flowers—lovely flowers that bloom in this cold world and seem too tender to flourish long on this side the tomb. They find here an uncongenial soil, and, like the violet, clinging near to earth, are trampled heedlessly by the rough and rude. These are the victims upon whom soonest falls the sickle of the Angel of Death.

"There is a reaper whose name is Death
 And with his sickle keen
 He reaps the bearded grain at a breath
 And the flowers that grow between.
 "Shall I have naught that is fair?" saith he;
 "Have naught but the bearded grain?
 Though the breath of these flowers is sweet to me
 I will give them all back again." "

POEMS.

"MOONLIGHT ON THE SEA."*

"How softly streams yon fair moonlight
 Upon the dark blue sea!
 Like angel spirits pure and bright
 It dances in its glee.
 Far, far it stretches o'er the stream,
 Till vision melts away,
 It seemeth like a rapt'rous dream
 Of immortality.

*Written while at college.

"How merry, merry are its beams
 Like fairy elves at play;
 How every gleaming wavelet teems
 With virgin purity!
 Like fairy elves they seem to sport
 With Ocean's hoary crest,
 And e'en old Ocean loves to count
 Their laughter and their jest.

"Then dance away, thou sweet moonlight,
 I love thy smiling face
 That puts to flight the gloom of night
 And fills my soul with peace.
 Yes, I can sit and revel here,
 And converse hold with thee;
 For thou art to my spirit dear,
 Thou Moonlight on the Sea!

"Thy smile can make a sea of strife
 A softer aspect take;
 But o'er my sad and troubled life
 A sweeter smile doth break.
 Ah, Moonlight, thou mayest on the sea
 With peerless brightness shine;
 The smile of JESUS give to me
 And I'll not covet thine."

"SPRING."

"'Tis Spring, and Nature's form is seen
 Attired in robes of fairest hue;
 Her mantle green, how bright its sheen,
 And gemmed with drops of pearly dew.
 Her voice of love—her voice of love,
 How soft it streams from every hill!
 How sweet the note that seems to float
 From every murmuring, weeping rill!
 There's not a flower in rosy bower
 That lifts its modest, blushing head,
 And steals a kiss of dewy bliss
 From Morning's lip of glowing red—

There's not a lovely saffron tint
 That paints the couch of dying Day—
 There's not a star that beams afar,
 And lights retiring Eve away—
 There's not a tone by Seraphs blown
 To which the ear of Fancy listens—
 There's not a bead of early dew
 That on the fragrant myrtle glistens—
 There's not a breeze that through the trees
 Low sighs the requiem of day—
 But worship brings, and praises sings
 To Nature's God in Nature's way.
 Her voice of love is heard above
 Though mortal sense despise her tongue,
 Her Maker's ear bows down to hear
 Her matin and her vesper song.
 Though mortal eye may not descry
 The native charms of her sweet face;
 Her Maker's eye is ever nigh,
 To note each beauty and each grace."

"SONS OF THE SOUTH, ARISE! ARISE!"*

"Sons of the men who fought and bled,
 By Greene, and Lee and Sumter led,
 Or followed fast through swamp and glade,
 The star of Marion's flashing blade,—
 Now let them live again in you,
 Now prove your glorious lineage true,
 Light up afresh the undying fires
 Of revolutionary sires.

"Hear ye the tramp of Northmen's feet?
 New England heels your highways beat;
 And shall their columns' spurning tread
 Profane the ashes of your dead?—
 Enough to make the patriot's bone
 Turn 'neath the cold sepulchral stone!
 Enough to rouse his mould'ring form
 Once more to breast the battle's storm!

*This, and the following two poems, are inserted to show the intense feeling of the South at what it regarded a ruthless and unwarranted invasion.

"The voices from your common Past
 Shall stir you like a trumpet's blast;
 The mighty pulse of one great soul
 Shall beat your thrilling battle-roll.
 Shoulder to shoulder, hand to hand,
 For freedom's rights together stand;
 Or, wrapped in one infolding pall,
 In the last pass of freedom fall.

"Behold your country bows her head,
 And weeps her gallant, martyred dead;
 But you she bids, with kindling eye,
 'My sons avenge, or with them die!'
 Religion at her altars kneels,
 Meek childhood to your strength appeals,
 And Innocence and Virtue claim
 Your arm to shield from deepest shame.

"Sons of the South, arise! arise!
 For all that men are wont to prize
 Of freedom, honor, country, State,
 Is staked upon the fierce debate.
 Strike now! the historic hour is come
 That stamps your glory or your doom;
 Strike home! resolved ye ne'er will see
 The funeral rites of liberty.

"By the bright, sunny land ye love,
 By the green fields your children rove,
 By the domestic altars where
 Your wives and sisters bend in prayer.
 By the sweet name of liberty,
 The quenchless instincts of the free,
 Go down you may to freemen's graves,
 Ye'll never, *never* live as slaves!

"Southrons, the right is on your side,
 The truth shall stem this stormy tide,
 The living God shall be your tower
 And fortress in this trying hour.
 Trust Him, and through the clouds of war
 Shall glitter freedom's morning star;
 Trust Him, and His great name shall be
 The oriflame of victory."

"HYMN FOR THE WAR."

"O Lord of Hosts, to Thee we kneel,
To Thee amidst this strife appeal;
Forgive our sins against Thy laws,
Against our foes defend our cause.

"God of our fathers, let Thy might
Uphold the truth, support the right;
Be Thou our leader, Thou our shield,
On each ensanguined battle-field.

"O Thou most mighty, gird Thy sword
Upon Thy thigh and give the word,
Now let the flaming pillar guide
Our armies through the battle's tide.

"Inspire our heroes for the fight,
Spirit of justice, truth and right,
Then when the invading hosts shall flee,
A country's thanks shall rise to Thee.

"And when each storm of strife is o'er,
The sabre's clash, the cannon's roar,
Where'er the patriot down shall lie
Upon his gory bed to die—

"Lord Jesus! Saviour of mankind,
Thy mercy let the sufferer find;
Receive the suppliant's latest sigh,
And close the soldier's dying eye."

"LINES ON THE DEATH OF MAJOR MATHEW V. BANCROFT."

"This lamented young officer, the major of the Twenty-third Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, received a fatal wound in the trenches near Petersburg while preparing the regiment to receive an expected assault. In his note book, found in his pocket, were inscribed the following words: 'Tell my dear parents that I fell at the post of duty, while fighting for my noble country.' He died June 22, 1864."

"At Freedom's shrine he calmly took his stand,
To lay himself a willing offering down;
Nor thrust he back the sacrificial hand
That wreathed upon his brow the martyr's crown.

“Here, at the post of danger, I'll perform
 My duty at my Country's sacred call;
 Although when next shall rage the battle's storm,
 My prescient spirit warns me I shall fall.’

“Prophetic words! ‘Be ready, men,’ he said,
 ‘To meet the shock of yonder gathering foe!’
 Unblenched he stood,—when o'er the rampart sped
 The bolt that laid the youthful hero low.

“The noble heart is stilled, that erewhile gushed
 With every high emotion of the brave;
 The clarion voice, that cheered to arms, is hushed
 In the deep stillness of a soldier's grave.

“Bancroft, farewell! Forgive the starting tear,
 For thou art gone, our circle's fairest gem;
 But thou, with lustrous light, shalt glitter e'er
 A jewel in thy Country's diadem.”

“LINES FOR MISS M. S.'S ALBUM.”

“‘Nothing to pay?’ No, nothing, to win
 Salvation by merit from law and from sin;
 But all things, to buy, without money and price,
 The wine and the milk of a free Paradise.

“‘Nothing to do?’ No, not to procure
 A heaven, by infinite blood made secure;
 But all things, with labour and sweat of the face,
 To honor my Saviour and magnify grace.

“‘What of the law?’ Its thunders were stilled
 Against my poor soul, by the blood that was spilled;
 But the hands which were nailed to the wood of the Tree
 Now wield its commands to be honored by me.

“‘Nothing of guilt?’ No, not to my God,
 As Judge and Condemner, uplifting His rod;
 But, ah, I am guilty of breaking His Word
 In the house of my Father—the Church of my Lord.

“‘What am I waiting for?’ Spare me a while
 To tell of Thy love to a sinner so vile!
 Then take me to Heaven, which is *not* my due,
 And give me the Crown of Fidelity, too!”

"THE FLOWER OF HOPE."

"When Eve, our first mother, forlorn,
 Was banished the garden of God,
 She plucked at the root of a thorn
 A flower be-sprinkled with blood.

"And we, the sad children of Eve,
 May find the same blood-tinctured rose;
 The emblem of Hope when we grieve,
 Midst thorny afflictions it blows.

"It blooms in the chamber of woe,
 Where widows are drooping the head.
 And little ones timidly go
 A tip-toe to gaze on the dead.

"It grows where the stormy winds rave
 In this valley of sin and of gloom;
 It springs from the mould of the grave,
 And twines round the gates of the tomb.

"Dear Fanny, 'tis faith in the Cross
 Which causes this flower divine
 To bloom in the sepulchre's moss;
 Its promise of glory be thine!"

"LINES OCCASIONED BY THE DEATH OF HARRIET ENGLISH
 PINCKNEY, A SINGULARLY SWEET AND PROMISING CHILD."

"I saw a Paradise,
 To which the saints arise,
 Where is no night:
 There stiller waters flow,
 There greener pastures grow,
 There sweeter blossoms blow,
 That know no blight.

"I saw no darkened room,
 No black-robed mourners come;
 Pure is that air:
 None hold the aching head,
 None press the sufferer's bed,
 No dying couch is spread:
 Death reigns not there.

"I saw no little biers,
 On which pale mothers' tears
 Ran raining down:
 No father sore distressed
 Saw I, with heaving breast,
 Lay his sweet child to rest,
 Beneath the ground.

"I saw an infant band
 Led by the Shepherd's hand,
 And loving eye:
 They look into His face,
 And softly hymn His praise,
 Through all the happy days,
 And never die.

"O, why these tears we weep,
 Because our children sleep
 On Jesus' breast?
 A little while, and we
 An end of cares shall see,
 And then lie down, and be
 With them at rest.

"But hark! a voice of love!
 It speaks: 'On things above
 Now set your heart:
 Then to yon Paradise,
 YE shall one day arise,
 And see them, with your eyes,
 No more to part.'

"We hear the voice Divine;
 Our lambs we now resign,
 Saviour, to Thee:
 We still the throbbing heart,
 And wipe the tears that start,
 There, there we shall not part,
 Eternally."

"LIFE."

"Life! 'Tis a passing breath,
A vapor of today,
Appearing for a little while,
And vanishing away.

"Life! 'Tis a courier swift
With tidings from the fray;
With bending form and foaming steed
He posteth on his way.

"Life! 'Tis the eagle's flight
Across the trackless way;
His rapid pinion beats the air—
He hasteth to the prey.

"Life! 'Tis the gallant ship,
With pennon floating free;
The favouring gale swells all her sails,
Look now! She's far at sea.

"Life! 'Tis a fleeting dream
That ends a troubled night;
But start not—Lo! the morning beam
Of everlasting light.

"Life! 'Tis the setting sun
That sinks in storms away;
But see! the morrow is begun
Of Heaven's eternal day."

 "DEATH."

"The brightest eye must dim in death,
The loveliest cheek grow marble pale;
The warmest heart must chill beneath
The lowly wild-flowers of the vale.

"The proudest head must bow,
The tallest form must stoop,
And in the grave so still and low
The sweetest blossom droop.

"The brightest sun must set at night,
 The fairest day expire in shade,
 And nipping frosts will ever blight
 The bloom o'er nature's bosom laid.

"My life, e'en now it wears
 Death's livery on its sky;
 My hopes, how soon they'll set in tears!
 How soon in ruin lie!

"Ye earthly visions, fare ye well!
 Farewell, ye dreams of fairy light!
 I can not thus consent to dwell
 Away from God in endless night.

"While earthly flowers are fading fast
 And earthly hopes are withering too,—
 JESUS, on Thee my soul I cast,
 Illusive scenes, adieu! adieu!"

"IT IS I."

"Take courage, wanderer, when the cloud of night
 Lowers o'er the way;
 Though stormy winds may whistle loud
 Through tattered sail and mast and shroud,
 Go on. 'Twill soon be day!

"List, wanderer: O'er the roaring deep,
 Comes there a cheering cry,
 It stills the angry wave to sleep—
 'Tis Jesus tells thee not to weep:
 "Take courage, it is I.'"

"THE LAST HOPE OF THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD."

"Thou who from Olive's brow didst rise
 In splendid triumph to the skies,
 Before the rapt disciples' eyes,
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!
 For Thy appearance all things pray,
 All Nature sighs at Thy delay,
 Thy people cry,—no longer stay,
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!

“Hear Thou the whole creation’s groan,
 The burdened creatures’ plaintive moan,
 The cry of deserts wild and lone,
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!
 See signals of distress unfurled
 By States on stormy billows hurled,
 Thou Pole-star of a shipwrecked world,
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!

“Hush the rude blast of war’s alarms,
 The tocsin’s tale, the clash of arms,
 Incarnate Love, exert Thy charms,
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!
 Walk once again upon the face
 Of this sad earth’s tempestuous seas,
 And still the waves, O Prince of Peace;
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!

“Lo, Thy fair Bride, with garments torn,
 Of her celestial radiance shorn,
 Upturns her face with watching worn,
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!
 Her trickling tears, her piteous cries,
 Her struggles, fears, and agonies,
 Appeal to Thy deep sympathies,—
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!

“By doubts and sorrows inly pressed,
 By foes beleaguered and oppressed,
 Hear the strong plea of her unrest—
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!
 Hope of the Sacramental Host,
 Their joy, their glory and their boast,
 Without Thine advent all is lost,
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!

“Flush the dark firmament afar,
 And let Thy flaming sign appear;
 Shine forth, O lustrous Morning Star,
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!
 Break through the lowering clouds of night,
 Put these sepulchral shades to flight,
 Flash out, O Resurrection Light,
 Lord Jesus, quickly come!

"And when the astonished heavens shall flee,
 When powers of earth and hell to Thee
 Shall bend the reverential knee,
 In that great Day of Doom ;
 Be ours the happy lot to stand
 Among the white-robed, ransomed band,
 And hear Thee say, with outstretched hand,
 Ye blessed children, come !"

"BABE OF BETHLEHEM."

"Blessed Babe of Bethlehem,
 Owner of earth's diadem,
 Claim, and wear the radiant gem.

"Scatter darkness with Thy light,
 End the sorrows of our night,
 Speak the word, and all is bright.

"Spoil the spoiler of the earth,
 Bring creation's second birth,
 Promised day of song and mirth.

"'Tis thine Israel's voice that calls,
 Build again thy Salem's walls,
 Dwell within her holy halls.

"'Tis Thy Church's voice that cries,
 Rend these long unrendered skies,
 Bridegroom of the Church, arise.

"Take to Thee Thy power and reign,
 Purify this earth again ;
 Cleanse it from each curse and stain.

"Sun of peace, no longer stay,
 Let the shadows flee away,
 And the long night end in day.

"We adore Thee as our King,
 And to Thee our song we sing ;
 Our best offering to Thee bring.

“Lamb of God, Thy lowly name,
King of kings, we Thee proclaim;
Heaven and earth shall hear its fame.

“Bearer of our sins’ sad load,
Wielder of the iron rod,
Judah’s Lion, Lamb of God!

“Mighty King of righteousness,
King of glory, king of peace,
Never shall thy kingdom cease!

“Thee, earth’s heir and Lord, we own;
Raise again its fallen throne,
Take its everlasting crown.”

“O PRAISE HIM EVERMORE!”

“Come, sinners, praise the bleeding Lamb!
He all your sorrows bore;
Come, sing a hymn to Jesus’ name,
O praise Him evermore!

“He wept, He bled, He died in shame,
Salvation to procure;
All glory give to Jesus’ name,
O praise Him evermore!

“He lifts you from a bed of flame
To glory’s open door;
Ye find your Heaven in Jesus’ name,
O praise Him evermore!

“Ye dying souls, ye blind and lame,
Ye broken-hearted poor,
Life, light and rest is Jesus’ name,
O praise Him evermore!

“Come, ransomed sinners, shout His fame,
Tell all His glories o’er;
Eternal thanks to Jesus’ name,
O praise Him evermore!”

“THE SONG OF MOSES AND THE LAMB.”

“Thousands of thousands round the throne
 Shall sing the heav’nly psalm—
 The new, the everlasting song
 Of Moses and the Lamb.

“Kindreds and people, tribes and tongues,
 Shall, with united heart,
 Cry,—‘Holy, Holy, Holy, Thou
 Lord God Almighty art!’

“Great are Thy works and marvelous
 O Thou Almighty Lord!
 How just and true are all Thy ways,
 Thou King of saints adored!

“Who shall not fear Thee, righteous Lord,
 And glorify Thy name?
 Thou only holy art; and all
 Shall celebrate Thy fame.

“Worthy the Lamb, for He was slain,
 And to the Lord our God
 From every nation, tribe, and tongue
 Redeemed us by His blood!

“Blessing and honour, strength and power,
 Thanksgiving, glory, praise,
 To God and to the Lamb be giv’n
 Throug everlasting days!”

“PREPARE TO MEET THY GOD.”

“Prepare to meet thy God!
 Attend the warning knell;
 Forsake the broad and beaten road
 That leads thee down to hell.

“Prepare to meet thy God!
 The judgment thunders roll;
 And storms of wrath fly all abroad
 To whelm thy guilty soul.

“Prepare to meet thy God!
 While yet in Christ there's room;
 Now, sinner, let thy heart forebode
 The day of final doom.

“Prepare to meet thy God!
 To Jesus come today;
 Hasten to the fount of Jesus' blood,
 And wash thy sins away.

“Prepare me, O my God,
 To end my mortal race,
 To pass into my last abode,
 To stand before Thy face!”

“THE SPIRITUAL CONFLICT.”

“Thy law, O God, is pure,
 But mine's a captive's fate;
 For what I would, that do I not,
 And do the thing I hate.

“I know that in my flesh
 There dwelleth no thing good;
 The will I have; but find not how
 To do the good I would.

“I find a law that when
 I'd serve Thee, sin's at hand;
 Yet in Thy law, O God, I-joy
 Within my inward man.

“Another law I see
 That wars again my mind,
 And leads me captive to the law
 That makes my members sin.

“A wretched man I am!
 Who shall deliver me?
 Who from the body of this death
 Shall set my spirit free?

“I thank Thee, O my God,
 Through Jesus Christ, my Lord;
 Through Him, I surely trust, Thou wilt
 Deliverance afford.”

"FIRST PSALM."

"Blest is the man who walketh not
 In counsels of deceit,
 Nor in the way of sinners stands,
 Nor fills the scorner's seat.

"But ever in Jehovah's law
 He placeth his delight;
 And in his law he meditates,
 Alike by day and night.

"In season he'll bear fruit like trees
 By running streams that stand;
 His leaf ne'er fades; and all he doth
 Shall prosper in his hand.

"Not so the wicked: they're like chaff
 The wind doth drive away;
 They shall not in the judgment stand,
 Nor with the righteous stay.

"Jehovah doth approve the way
 Of those that righteous be;
 The way of the ungodly man
 Shall perish utterly."

"TWENTY-SEVENTH PSALM."

"When Thou didst say, Seek ye My face,
 My heart replied to Thee,
 Thy face, Jehovah, will I seek;
 Hide not Thy face from me.

"O hear me, Lord, when with my voice
 I unto Thee do cry;
 Have mercy also upon me
 And unto me reply.

"When father, mother, me forsake
 The Lord will interpose;
 Teach me Thy way, O Lord, and lead
 Me straight through all my foes.

“Unto the wishes of my foes
Do not deliver me.
False witnesses against me rise
And breathe out cruelty.

“My soul had fainted, unless I
Had fully been assured
That in the land of life I'd see
The goodness of the Lord.

“Wait patiently upon the Lord,
And of good courage be;
He'll furnish strength unto thine heart—
Wait on the Lord, I say.”

“EIGHTY-FOURTH PSALM.”

“How lovely are thy dwellings, Lord,
My soul doth long to see
Thy courts: my heart and flesh do cry,
O living God, for Thee.
The sparrow lingers near Thy courts,
The swallow there hath found
A nest beside thine altars, Lord,
Where she may lay her young.

“How blest are they that in Thy house
A dwelling-place have found;
And who when earthly comforts fail
Thy praises still shall sound.
Blest is the man whose strength's in Thee;
Whose heart is on the ways
Of them who pass through Baca's vale,
And fill the vale with praise.

“From strength to strength they go; till each
In Zion shall appear:
Hear Thou my prayer, O Lord of Hosts,
O Jacob's God give ear.
O God, our shield, behold the face
Of Thine anointed King;
For in Thy courts, one day exceeds
A thousand days of sin.

"I'd rather keep Thy door, my God,
 Than with the wicked live;
 Jehovah is a sun and shield,
 He'll grace and glory give.
 For no good thing will He withhold
 From those that upright be;
 O Lord of Hosts, how blest the man
 Who puts his trust in Thee."

"NINETY-FIRST PSALM."

"He who doth in the secret place
 Of the Most High reside,
 Beneath the shadow of the Lord
 Almighty shall abide.
 Of God the Lord, I'll say, He is
 My refuge and defence;
 He is my God; and I in Him
 Will place my confidence.

"He surely will deliver thee
 From out the fowler's snare;
 And from the noisome pestilence
 He'll save thee by His care.
 His feathers shall thy covering be,
 Beneath His wings thou'lt flee;
 His faithfulness forever shall
 Thy shield and buckler be.

"Thou shalt not fear the night's alarms,
 Nor dart by day that's thrown,
 Disease that in the darkness walks
 Nor death that wastes at noon.
 A thousand at thy side shall fall,
 Ten thousand e'en shall lie
 At thy right hand; but unto Thee
 It never shall come nigh.

“Only with thine own eyes shalt thou
 Upon them look and see
 The righteous retribution of
 The men that wicked be.
 Because thou's't made my refuge, God,
 E'en the Most High thy home,
 No ill shall take thee, never plague
 Shall nigh thy dwelling come.

“He'll give thee in His angel's charge,
 To keep in all thy ways,
 And lest thou dash thy foot on stones,
 Their hands shall thee upraise.
 Upon the lion thou shalt tread,
 And on the adder's seat,
 The dragon and the lion's young
 Thou'll't trample under feet.

“Because He sets his love on me,
 I will deliver him ;
 I will establish him on high,
 Because he knows my name.
 Upon me he shall call, and I
 Will surely answer him ;
 With him in trouble I will be,
 I'll save and honour him.”

“ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FOURTH PSALM.”

“Behold, bless ye Jehovah, all
 Ye servants of the Lord,
 Who stand by night within His house,
 By night attend His word.

“Lift up your hands in holiness
 Your praise to Him address ;
 The Lord that made both heav'n and earth
 Thee out of Zion bless.”

"ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH PSALM."

"Praise ye the Lord. Sing praise to God,
 Within His holy place;
 And in his firmament of power,
 Unto Him render praise.

"O praise Him for His mighty acts;
 His glorious greatness praise;
 Praise Him with sound of trumpet blast;
 With harp and psaltery praise.

"Praise Him with timbrel and with pipe;
 With tuneful strings Him praise;
 With organs, and on cymbals loud—
 On clashing cymbals praise.

"Let every creature that hath breath
 To utter forth His praise,
 Jehovah's glory celebrate;
 Praise ye Jehovah; praise."

Dr. Girardeau's published books are, "Instrumental Music in the Public Worship of the Church," published in 1888; "Calvinism and Evangelical Arminianism," published in 1890; "The Will in Its Theological Relations," published in 1891; "Discussions of Philosophical Questions," published in 1900; "Discussions of Theological Questions," published in 1905; and "Sermons on Important Subjects," published in 1907.

His book on "Instrumental Music in the Public Worship of the Church" is really a testimony against what he regarded as a corruption of the worship of God. The book rests on the principle that a divine warrant is necessary for everything in the faith and practice of the Church, and the argument is a splendid piece of logical reasoning. If any one supposes that this was a mere vagary of his, let him remember that

this was the view of John Calvin, Zwingli, Gillespie, Rutherford, Owen, Thornwell, Breckenridge, Dabney, Charles Spurgeon, and a countless number of other illustrious men of all ages of the Church. It was also held by the Huguenot, the Scotch, the Irish, the Independent, and other reformed churches. If any one thinks it easy to answer this book let him put his argument in syllogistic form and he will find that he has subverted some of the important principles of Presbyterianism, or that he has a *non sequitur*.

The book on "The Will in Its Theological Relations" is his master-piece. This book will live because it illuminates a problem that will always live—Free Agency and Divine Sovereignty. It places one hand on the throat of Arminianism and the other on the throat of necessitarianism and says to them, "You are equally wrong—the truth lies between you." It has probably given the final answer of the human intellect to the questions, "How can sin exist and God be a Sovereign?" And, "How could a holy being become a sinner?"

In his "Discussions of Philosophical and Theological Questions" his analysis of Herbert Spencer's Philosophy, his treatment of the Inspiration and Authority of the Scriptures, and his discussion of the doctrine of adoption will probably be regarded as his best chapters.

Some of his best writings are found in pamphlets, reviews, and Church papers. These would make a small volume themselves. His articles in the *Southern Presbyterian Review* on the Diaconate ought especially to be emphasized.

CHAPTER XII

THE MAN

By GEORGE A. BLACKBURN, D. D.

Dr. Girardeau was a remarkable man in every respect. His figure was tall, straight, well-proportioned and athletic; his movements were easy and graceful; his face was strong, and his blue eyes could beam with love or flash with fire as occasion required; his voice was full, rich and sweet; it was said that when preaching in the early days of his ministry, it sounded like the notes of a flute; it certainly had wonderful compass; he could make it imitate the lapping of the water on the beach, the roll of distant thunder; or anything else for which his high-wrought and splendid rhetoric called; his gestures, always made unconsciously, were strong and impressive and exactly suited to impress the thought that he wished to convey.

In home life, he was a model. He gave his wife the love of his heart, and treated her with that consideration that constituted the first element of chivalry in the old-time Southern gentleman. His French blood strongly manifested itself in his treatment of his children; he delighted to pet and play with them, and his method of dealing with them drew out and cultivated their emotional natures. They loved him passionately, and they also revered him, for with them his word was law.

As a friend, he filled all the ideals of the highest standards. He gave his friends his love, trust, and

loyalty, expecting the same from them, and when any of them disappointed him the wound was deep. He probably never refused a request from a friend if it were in his power to grant it; he certainly never refused money to any of them, nor would he ever take interest from them. When with them there was no restraint in his manner; he delighted to joke them, and could take jokes from them, being always full of life and humor. His appreciations of friendly attentions, and his enjoyment of friendly associations were great. He and Dr. R. L. Dabney did not agree on every point in theology*, nevertheless they were warm personal friends. They had been chaplains together in the Confederate army, they were recognized as the two leading theological teachers of the Southern Presbyterian Church, and in most of their public controversies they were in harmony. When, therefore, Dr. Dabney, himself afflicted with blindness, heard of the partial paralysis of his friend, he came to Columbia to visit him. Their communion was sweet, and in a measure the spirit of other days seemed to come back on them.

*Dr. Girardeau left among his papers one entitled: "Points Upon Which I Disagree With Dr. Dabney": "Distribution of Theology from Source, *Dabney's Theology*, p. 6. Space and duration, p. 10. Possibility of an infinite series of finite parts, p. 19. Identification of Adoption with Justification, p. 627. Opposition to Immediate Imputation, p. 341. Doctrine as to the Will (as inadequate), p. 120. Relation of Repentance to Faith as to order of production, p. 656. The nature of the Divine Foreknowledge, p. 158. Our knowledge of the Infinite, p. 173. Adam's sin made certain by God's decree, p. 214. View as to the standing of the elect angels, p. 231. Arraignment of sub-lapsarianism, p. 233. Analysis of Reprobation, Denying two Elements, p. 239. Construction of the Wesleyan doctrine of Imputation, p. 316. View of Traducianism (leaning to it at least), p. 319. Advocacy of the private nature of the first sin, p. 311. Appetite dependent for awakening upon perception, p. 115. Inadequate analysis of responsibility for mental beliefs (will included), p. 423. Self-determination—what, p. 287. Witness of the Spirit, p. 711. Two natures in the believer denied, p. 677."

On Sunday, Dr. Dabney preached to a large congregation, in the Arsenal Hill Church, on the power of love. The sermon was one of extraordinary power, and when he came in his discourse to the love of Jesus for his aged servants many in the congregation were weeping. Dr. Girardeau himself was deeply moved, while the hearty congregational singing, unaccompanied by any instrument of music, seemed to greatly affect Dr. Dabney. When the service was over the two came down the aisle together; they were men of imposing presence, each like the son of a king; their faces showed the influence of chastening grace; their foreheads betokened the might of the intellects behind them; venerable men! dignity, goodness, and greatness sat with ease and naturalness upon them. Dr. Girardeau said: "Doctor, that was a glorious sermon this morning." Dr. Dabney replied, "This has been a sweet service to me, and this singing carries me back to old Tinkling Spring." Dr. Girardeau said: "But what will it be in heaven?" The answer of Dr. Dabney was lost in the tramping of the congregation. And so, blind and lame these princes in Israel walked on, talking of the past and future worship of God. A few months after this meeting they both joined the general assembly and church of the first born in the majestic worship of their God and Saviour.

He was an unusual student; he loved his books, and would ordinarily work into the small hours of the morning; sometimes, as he went up to bed, he would meet Mrs. Girardeau coming down to begin the duties of the day. He made notes on the margins, and indexed what he wanted to remember on the fly leaves of his books; these notes show what good use he made of his library of more than three thousand volumes.

His scholarship was accurate and extensive, he read Hebrew, Greek, Latin and French with ease, nor was he unacquainted with the natural sciences. He delighted to think through questions, to reach the foundation principles that governed them, and get their bearings on other related subjects. This quality was one of the things that made him pre-eminent as a teacher for it enabled him to present whatever subject he discussed as a whole so that every part of it, like some great building, could be seen at a glance.

The Church at large has acknowledged him as one of her greatest preachers; he was not only great sometimes, he was always great. Congregations frequently lost the sense of time and place under the spell of his eloquence; often whole congregations would be weeping under the vividness of his emotional pictures. On one occasion a man was sitting near an old-time window, the sash of which was raised, but being slightly jammed, was not fastened. The preacher was setting forth the awe-inspiring events of the final judgment; just as he described the blowing of the arch-angel's trumpet, the window sash dropped with a loud "bam!", the listener, terrified, as if he had heard the peal of doom, leaped into the air, and over those between him and the aisle, nor did he stop until he was clear of the house. On another occasion, when he had among his hearers one of the ablest and most dignified ministers of the Southern Church, he described the swine into which the devils had entered going over the steep place into the sea. As he imitated the curl of the tail on the back of the hogs with his finger his friend and admirer broke into a loud laugh, then remembering where he was, he hushed with a snap of his teeth. His preaching produced a won-

derful effect upon the negroes. He required them to suppress all extravagant outbursts; but sometimes a groan, a sob, a sigh or a soft laugh would pass like a wave over the whole congregation. The white people enjoyed his preaching quite as much as the negroes, while old soldiers say that they can still remember the sermons he preached to them while they were gathered round the camp fires of Virginia. It was said that there were only two men at the great prison on Fort Johnston who could instantly command the attention of all of the Confederate prisoners—the commandant and Chaplain Girardeau. The author of this chapter will never forget the first sermon he heard him preach. It was from the text, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." As he listened, he realized that the apparently extravagant reports of his preaching had not done him justice; the sermon was profound, philosophical, learned, beautiful, eloquent and powerful, and left its permanent impression on the hearer, who wondered then, and has been wondering ever since, what it was that made his preaching so different from that of others.

In an effort to find the source of his power some things are clear. His Maker had endowed him with splendid gifts, and Grace had added to them rare virtues. His figure, voice, eyes, gestures and graceful bearing were suited to the orator; his great intellect, working at white heat; his intense emotions, stirred into flame; his vivid imagination making his pictures real; his calm judgment, exquisite taste and wonderful magnetism must all be taken into consideration: so, too, the careful preparation of what he had to say, his chaste language, his touching illustrations, and his love and sympathy for men all had their effect, but

these are not sufficient to account for his strange power. Moses talked with God face to face and saw the hinder parts of his glory; John, the Baptist, dwelt in the wilderness alone—with God; Paul saw Jesus on his mediatorial throne, entered the highest heaven and heard things that could not be repeated, and from these circumstances we understand their power. Where else should we look for the power of this man? He spent much time over the open pages of the words of truth, he was often on his knees in midnight vigils, and sometimes the whole night was spent in unbroken prayer,—God heard him and dwelt with him, thus he became “a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost,” and one who spoke out of the deep experiences of a heart that felt the love of God shed abroad in it.

In theology, he was a Sub-lapsarian; in morals, a Puritan; and in government a Presbyterian. To him, every word of the Bible was the infallible word of the living God. Every thing that concerned the faith and practice of the Church was determined by this word of God as interpreted in the light of his regulative principle: “A divine warrant is necessary for every thing in the faith and practice of the Church.” This rule governed him in all of his thinking and in all of his conduct.

His views on prophecy are especially interesting at this time. He believed that we were in the last part of the “Times of the Gentiles”; that the Gentile period would end in a great apostacy; that this would end by the coming of the Lord in a Spiritual or material way, he was not sure which; that before this the Gospel would be preached to all nations as a witness, and the Jews would return to their own land.

Dr. W. S. Plumer Bryan of Chicago, a student of Dr. Girardeau, has preserved in his notes a paper that gives exactly his teaching on the second coming of Christ. The notes, with the paper, are as follows:

“ESCHATOLOGY.

“Papers by Dr. Girardeau. *Second Advent. Premillennialism and Post-Millennialism.*

“The appeal must be to the direct testimony of Scripture and not to any antecedent speculations of our own. What saith the Lord? The consideration of the analogy of Scripture, however, is necessary. We are not at liberty to interpret Scripture against Scripture. In cases in which particular passages seem to be opposed to each other, we must consult the proportion of faith. The question must be considered. How far are we to interpret prophecy spiritually and figuratively; how far literally. Difficult question. Prophecy is sometimes possessed of dogmatic force. For example, the dogmatic statements of Scripture in regard to great events still future—the Resurrection, the Judgment, etc., are prophecies by their very nature; at least partially so. The doctrine of the first Advent during the first Dispensation was equally a dogma and a prophecy. The time of its occurrence was doubtful, but not the event itself. It is not clear, then, that the Second Advent is at all doubtful as an event, or as to the circumstances that shall environ it, while the time of its occurrence may be purposely clothed in obscurity. A distinction is conceivable, further, between the precise time of its occurrence and its relation in time to other events. In the latter aspect, it may be fairly discussed, while there can be no legitimate discussion as to the former, since no revealed data are furnished on which to ground discussion and consequently no conclusions can be reached. Of that day and hour knoweth no one but the Father. It is among the contents of revelation. The precise time of arrival of the descending Saviour will be unknown on either the Premillennial, or the Post-millennial hypothesis. There are differences as to details among both the parties to this controversy. Neither class as a class is free from inconsistencies of views. Unless, then, it can be proved that the inconsistencies of one class make their *system* logically self-destructive

tive, while that is not true of the other, the appeal of this want of harmony by either party is captious and irrelevant. The peculiar nature of the subject makes it necessary that one should guard himself against the danger of making it a hobby. What! The relative importance of the Priestly and Kingly functions of Christ. The former constitute the *great theme* of the preacher—Christ crucified. If we are to magnify any one department of revealed truth, above others, let it be that which is concerned about atonement, the way of Life to perishing sinner. But surely the Kingly office of Christ is also to be treated as important. Wisdom in dealing with these subjects according to the analogy of Scripture. Danger of overlooking Death and Heaven in their relation to the individual in treating of the Millennium and the Second Personal Advent in their relation to the Church as a whole, and to the world. The Preacher immediately in contact with individuals—primarily. Consult Scripture as to this matter. At the same time the duty to hold up the Second Personal Advent as the hope of the Church, and as the consummation of the hopes of the individual. *The Millennium*. There will be a definite period (it may be a dispensation of the New Testament economy) which will be marked off from the present by peculiar and characteristic. 1. The extension of the devil. 2. The general effusion of the Holy Spirit. 3. The reign of Christ manifested in some visible and glorious manner; and the complete subjection of the world-powers to His rule. 4. The universal prevalence of peace—the cessation of war. 5. The literal restoration of the Jews to their own land. 6. The first resurrection (whatever it will be). 7. A paradisaical condition of the earth, succeeding great physical changes.

“If the question be, whether Christ will come to introduce the Millennium I would answer, Yes, certainly, in the second of these specific senses, as developed through the Church, nations and polities. Destruction of the world-powers, whether in the Church or out of it, so far as their anti-Christian elements are concerned. If the question be, whether Christ will come in His second glorious Personal Advent to introduce the Millennium, I would answer: I do not certainly know. The likelihood is that it was not intended that we should know. Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels, nor the Son of Man Himself as the Commissioned revealer of God’s will to men. It is not a matter of revelation. How, then, can we know? I am disposed to think that the times of prophecy have reference mainly to the first of the above mentioned senses of the term Coming of the Lord and Coming of the Son of Man as applicable to polities. 1. Upon this question, the first thing to be settled obviously is the sense in which the terms *Coming of the Lord* and *Coming of the Son of Man* are employed in Scripture; and upon that point I am satisfied that many Post-Millennialists (as Dr. David Brown, for example) have conceded too much—viz., in the latter case that the terms be rigidly limited to the Second Personal Advent. President Edwards’ view, I hold to be the true Scriptural one, as may be established by a fair induction of particular declarations of the New Testament. 2. The second thing to be determined is the future fact of a Millennium marked off as a distinct period from preceding ones by peculiar and characteristic features. Also how far it may be considered as constituting a New Dispensation. The Mosaic Dispensation was distinct from the Patriarchal, but was not introduced by the visible personal advent of Christ. His first Advent in that sense was to introduce the Christian dispensation. This fact deserves to be noted and may have regulative influence in settling the question signalized under this second head. 3. If there will be a Millennium in what sense Christ will come to introduce it, whether in the first or second of the specific senses signalized above. (1) I believe there will be a Millennium distinguished by peculiar and characteristic elements. (What are they?) (2) I believe also that Christ will come to introduce it. (3) That is perfectly conceivable that His coming will be in the secondary and subordinate sense—it may be in that sense. The

sense is Scriptural. (4) That it is extremely difficult to prove that His coming will be in the higher sense of the Second Personal Advent. The difficulty lies in ascertaining which class of Scripture passages preponderates—that apparently favoring, or that apparently opposing it.

“The Final Assault Upon the Church. The view has been suggested by Dr. Breckinridge and some others, that the last assault upon the Church, by the multitudes represented under the names of *Gog and Magog*, will be made by the wicked after their resurrection under the lead of the devil. The idea is appalling; but it does not strike me as having sufficient ground of probability. The Scripture is not very explicit upon the subject, but there is one passage which seems to be adverse to the above-mentioned view. ‘The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.’ But, according to the hypothesis mentioned, the wicked will take the aggressive as enemies of the saints after the destruction of death as the last enemy of the latter. For the saints shall be raised before the wicked. ‘The dead in Christ shall rise first.’ Supposing, however, that these words have sole reference to the order in which the resurrection of the dead saints and the transfiguration of living saints shall occur, and that the resurrection of the righteous and the wicked will be synchronous; still, we must admit that death will have then destroyed as the last enemy of the saints before the attack upon them of the raised wicked could take place. The last enemy to be destroyed, accordingly, would not be death, but the devil and the massed wicked raised from the grave. But that contradicts the express declaration that death will be the last enemy of the saints, whose opposition it will be necessary for Christ to subdue.”

During his later days he leaned clearly to the Spiritual coming of Christ to introduce the millennium.

In 1886 the Second, now the Arsenal Hill Presbyterian Church, was organized in Columbia, S. C. Dr. Girardeau, having felt constrained to leave his chair in the Theological Seminary by reason of his opposition to the views of Dr. Woodrow on the subject of Evolution, was called to the pastorate of this church.

He agreed to accept the call provided the church would accept his views on instrumental music in the public worship of the church, would allow the deacons to serve at the communion table with the elders, and would not allow its members to attend theatres or take part in dances and card parties. To these conditions the congregation assented, and he became their pastor. After a year changed conditions opened the way for him to return to the Seminary, and he gave up his pastorate of this church, which he used to say was dearer to him than even Glebe Street had been. His son-in-law, the Rev. Geo. A. Blackburn, succeeded him as pastor, and arranged for him to continue preaching in the church every Sabbath afternoon. This he continued to do until his health failed. To the end, large congregations of all denominations attended these services.

Dr. Girardeau held that professors, under ordinary conditions, ought to retire from the Seminary at seventy years of age; so when he reached that age he offered his resignation and insisted on its acceptance against the protests and intreaties of his brethren.

He retired from the Seminary in the spring of 1895. The following fall a slight apoplexy left him partially paralyzed on one side. Thus broken in health he continued until June the 23d, 1898, when death opened the portals that admitted him into the kingdom of joyful life. His end was peaceful. In the dimly lighted room, surrounded by his weeping family, and attended by his loving physician, Dr. Benjamin F. Wyman, he quietly ceased to breathe and his soul withdrew from its tabernacle of clay to abide with Jesus until the resurrection morning. There was no rustling of wings, nor sound of heavenly music; no soft

etherial light, nor sense of mystic visitors; yet, angelic guards were there to guide his conscious soul, through air and ether, by moons and suns and stars, along the highway of the universe that had been beaten for centuries by the swift passing heroes, martyrs, and saints, with their spirit attendants, to the capital of the Great King. How long would it take him to pass through the intermediate space, and stand at the portal of the gold-paved city of palaces, walled with its priceless stones and lighted with its halo of glory? What would be the impression on this master of assemblies, who had described the beauties of this "Jerusalem, the Golden" as few others had ever done, when his vision swept its splendors and his consciousness drank in its indescribable loveliness? No wonder the tears ceased to flow in the desire to see him approach the throne of His Majesty, the Savior he had loved and worshipped with such passionate devotion; to see them meet, face to face; the faithful servant, the matchless Master; to hear the words of welcome—what were they, and what did he answer?

His funeral services were conducted in the Arsenal Hill Church by Dr. J. R. Howerton, his student and friend, and he was buried in Elmwood Cemetery near where the dust of his beloved teacher, James Henry Thornwell, lies. On his tombstone is the following inscription:

“JOHN L. GIRARDEAU

Born

Nov. 14th, 1825

Died

June 23, 1898.

After he had patiently endured,
he obtained the promise. Heb. 6:15.”

The Charleston Presbytery adopted the memorial of him prepared by the Rev. F. L. Leeper. The Presbytery's minute is as follows:

“MEMORIAL SERVICES OF THE LATE REV. JOHN L.
GIRARDEAU.

8 o'clock P. M.

“Agreable to a special order, Presbytery met and entered upon the memorial service of the late Rev. John L. Girardeau, D. D., LL. D.

“Rev. F. L. Leeper, Chairman of the Memorial Committee, read the following paper:

“The Rev. John Lafayette Girardeau, D. D., was born on James Island, in Charleston County, S. C., on November the 14th, 1825, A. D. He graduated from Charleston College in 1844, and from the Columbia Theological Seminary in 1848. He was licensed to preach by the Charleston Presbytery in the same year, and labored for a short time in the Wappetaw Church. Not long after entering into the ministry he was called to the pastorate of Wilton Church, near Adam's Run, in Colleton County, then a wealthy and influential congregation. He was ordained to the full work of the ministry and installed pastor of this church in 1850. In 1854, he was called to take charge of Zion Church, in the city of Charleston. This church had been established by pious Presbyterian masters for the special benefit of their slaves. He continued in this work until the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861. The Lord largely owned and blessed his work among this people, and to his dying day he cherished the memories of this pastorate as among the most prized of his life. Here, Sabbath after Sabbath, was presented the novel sight of a large church building filled with negroes, while in the surrounding galleries sat their white masters and mistresses, all eagerly listening to the words of life from this gifted man of God. During his pastorate of this church, then occurred, in 1857, the most remarkable revival of religion known in the history of the city or State. For weeks he gathered his congregation nightly to pray for an outpouring of the Holy Ghost. In these services there was no

preaching, but they were prayer-meetings only, and the effort of the pastor was to have all the prayers concentrated upon the outpourings of the Spirit as the special gift of the ascended Lord and Mediatorial King of the Church. The congregations, like those of prayer-meetings, usually, were not large, at the beginning, but were composed of the earnestly pious of the church, and steadily grew until at the close of these meetings the house was well filled. One night, while all were buried in prayer, there suddenly came upon all present an inexpressible feeling of awe, hushing even the voice of prayer, and causing a profound silence. After some seconds this silence was broken by sobs all over the house. When this feeling had somewhat subsided, the pastor rose from his knees, announced preaching for the next night, and dismissed the congregation, which quietly dispersed.* The next night as the pastor approached the church, he was surprised to find the street filled to a considerable distance with a crowd of people, eagerly pressing to get into the building. Working his way with difficulty through this crowd, he entered the church, and found every available inch of space already occupied by a congregation of both negroes and whites. For weeks these services continued, marked throughout with wonderful manifestations of the Spirit's presence and power. Hundreds of both races were, during these meetings, happily converted to God, and from these came many, who as ministers, officers and private members, have blessed and refreshed the Church in all her borders.

“When in 1861 the war broke forth between the North and South, Dr. Girardeau, an earnest and enthusiastic Southerner, entered the army as Chaplain of the 23rd regiment, S. C. volunteers, and continued with them until the close of the war. His faithfulness to duty and undaunted courage are beautifully illustrated by an incident told by one of the members of this regiment. “On one occasion Dr. Girardeau was conducting services just before a battle. The men were in the trenches, while he stood on the level ground just behind them. During the prayer the enemy opened upon them with their artillery. In the midst of falling shot and bursting shells, he continued his prayer to the end, apparently as calmly as if he had been in his church at home.”

*The congregation did not disperse until after another service.

“Returning home after the war, he became pastor of Zion Glebe Street Church, in the city of Charleston. For years after the war, the old Zion Colored Church was a part of the pastorate of Zion Glebe Street, and each Sabbath he preached once in the white church and once in the negro church. As pastor of Zion Glebe Street he built up a large congregation, and so trained them in religious truth that it became a model Presbyterian Church, noted for its high standard of piety, its zeal in mission work, and its large liberality. For years the regular contributions of this church for outside causes of benevolence more than doubled what they expended upon themselves.

“In 1876 he was elected Professor of Theology in the Columbia Seminary. This election cost him months of anxious thought and prayer. The Seminary had been torn and rent by internal discord, and sorely needed the help of its strongest friends. He loved it as the institution where he had received his own training, and as belonging to his native State, with all the intensity of his ardent nature. The natural bent of his mind and the labor of his life were to the study of Systematic Theology. He had the natural gifts of a teacher and was peculiarly fitted for the place. His election had been unanimous and enthusiastic. His friends were urgent in pressing him to accept the position, as the only means of saving the Seminary. Yet in the face of all this he hesitated for months in agony of mind and heart. A short time before his election a controversy occurred in the Seminary between the body of students and the Professors. This controversy was carried to the General Assembly for final settlement. Dr. Girardeau had earnestly espoused the side of the Professors as representing lawful authority. The Assembly, however, decided in favor of the students, and several of the Professors resigned in consequence of this action. One of these was Dr. John B. Adger, who had been a close and life-long friend of Dr. Girardeau. The question over which he prayed and agonized was, What did honor and faithfulness to these, who in solemn protest to what he and they believed a wrong, had resigned from honorable positions in this institution, demand of him? Only when honestly holding himself at Christ's judgment seat, his conscience became clear in its judgment that in accepting the position he was guilty of no unfaithfulness to these, his friends, nor of inconsistency with his own avowed principles, did he

consent to accept. In the fall of 1876, he entered upon his duties as a Professor. As a teacher he fully met the expectations of his friends. He was laborious and painstaking in his preparation, and enthusiastic in his teaching. He inspired his students in a large measure with the same elements. A law of the Seminary fixed seventy years as an age limit, at which all professors cease by virtue of age to be professors, and can be continued in their chairs only by a yearly-re-election. Dr. Girardeau was not willing to subject himself to this constantly recurring re-election. So in 1894, as he approached the age of seventy, he gave notice to the Board of Directors, as required by the Constitution of the Seminary, that he would resign his position with the close of the session in 1895.

“Early in the winter of 1895, he was taken sick, and from this he never fully recovered. He lingered, physically a feeble and broken man, until the 23d of June, 1898, when, surrounded by his heart-broken family and friends, he gently and quietly fell asleep in Jesus, in the full hope of a blessed entrance into his Lord’s presence, and of a glorious resurrection.

“Such are the brief outlines of a life of large gifts, of intense piety, and of great usefulness.

“As a man, Dr. Girardeau was gifted with large and quick mental powers. But in his judgment, these were only tools with which to do life’s work only as they were brought to highest possible perfection, and kept in best working order. So he was careful to train and keep disciplined his mind by close and hard study. Years of careful training of his reasoning powers made him a close and logical thinker. Turning his mind to any subject, he was able to pursue it through its many windings and varied relations, dividing and sub-dividing it by a close analysis, until he became master of it. In his work he had no need of pen or paper, but so thoroughly had he trained his mind to do its work, that fixing his eye upon a certain spot on the floor, he could hold it steadily on one subject for hours, until he had thoroughly thought it out. He had also a vivid and carefully trained imagination, which enabled him to take the subject which he had torn to pieces by his analysis and rebuild it into a living theme.

“It was the combination of these two powers that made him the orator that he was—instructive and pleasing at one and the same time. Behind these were the fires of an intensely

passionate nature. He inherited all the warmth, and quick, strong passions of his Huguenot ancestors. He owed much to grace in both curbing and chastening this passionate nature, and himself often gladly acknowledged the debt. It was, however, exactly this passionate nature that drove him forward in all his work with such intense and continued energy; that made his mind work at white heat when turned to any subject that he loved; and caused his words to come forth burning words, that set his hearers all aflame, and made him a master of Assemblies.

“These gifts of nature made him to be an earnest man of large powers that would have lifted him into leadership in any calling of life. When converted and brought to yield himself to Christ, this very earnestness of nature made the consecration complete. As a Christian he was both earnest and enthusiastic. His religious life gathered into itself every power of his being and the things of eternity, in his faith, became living forces of the present, inspiring in his heart motives of actions and determining the form into which character was to be moulded. Under the intensity of his religious life, he became in its highest and best sense a man of one idea, and largely wrought into his life the motto of the Apostle, “This one thing I do.”

“To him, the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ was the one thing in this world that was worth knowing. An earnest and diligent student, often turning night into day by his long continued labors, it was the Gospel alone that engaged his energies and absorbed his thoughts. Even when his mind was turned to other fields of thought, it was still this one idea that constantly and consciously controlled him. In the fields of science, of philosophy and of literature, he was ever seeking for clearer ideas, and better illustrations of the one Gospel of God; and for the best words and forms in which to tell unto his fellow-men “The old, old story of Jesus and His love.”

“Another marked element in his religious life was his deep and earnest humility. While conscious of his gifts and powers, and rejoicing in the possession of them as means with which to do his Master’s work and his fellows’ service, he yet realized that as spiritual forces they were the things that are not, and had to be chosen of God and filled with His Spirit before they could accomplish anything for God or man. Therefore, the

glory of all real achievements in his work he recognized as belonging to God and not to him.

“He had a deep and abiding sense of sin and utter emptiness in himself. To him, Jesus Christ himself was a real, living and personal friend, able and willing to meet all his wants. His faith, therefore, was a personal love to Jesus himself, and a constant effort to realize his presence and approval. This made him to be a man of prayer. So by this daily communion with his Lord, he was continually measuring himself, not by any comparison with his fellows, but with his Lord, and so there was ever present with him the feeling, “I have not already attained, neither yet am I perfect.” This deep sense of sin and unworthiness largely moulded even his public prayers, and made them to ring with earnest confessions of sin and tender pleadings for mercy. Living in the presence of Christ, he learned to know the worth of the truth, and to be eager to get it, no matter whose the tongue that uttered it. He would listen with profound respect to the humblest negroes, and cheerfully acknowledged that from them he had often learned some of the profoundest and most important lessons of the Christian life.

“He had a deep love for and a ready sympathy with his brethren of the ministry, and was always quick to recognize and appreciate their gifts. In a close, friendly intercourse of twenty-eight years, unbroken by a single jar or misunderstanding, I never heard him criticise adversely a brother preacher or his sermon, unless the sermon contained, what he believed to be, fundamental error, and then his criticism would be severe as against the thing taught rather than against the teacher. Amid the bitterest controversies, it was seldom that he allowed himself, even among his closest friends, to give any expression to his judgment against his opponents personally, and when betrayed into doing so, he would repent of it bitterly, as under the sense of a great wrong done.

“His religious life was full of sunshine, making him to be habitually cheerful. He was genial in his nature and loved companionship. When among friends, and especially when with his brethren, he enjoyed their society with almost a childhood zest.

“He was a positive man in his convictions, and having once reached a conclusion of faith, it became to him a settled ques-

tion from which nothing could turn him. At the same time, he was a man of broad charity. He loved his own household of faith intensely, yet his sympathies went forth freely to brethren of other denominations, and he was always willing to labor for or with these as opportunity offered.

“As a preacher, he was careful and painstaking. In his judgment, preaching was tremendously solemn. He believed that in every congregation, and under every sermon, men were actually settling questions of life and death, and dealing with issue of time and eternity. Preaching was, therefore, to him serious work. He gave to it the most careful and laborious preparation of both mind and heart. He wrote but few of his sermons, and yet in the strict sense he was no extemporaneous preacher. He carefully thought out his sermons even in minute detail, and he trained his memory to hold them, and to reproduce in the pulpit the work of the study. A vivid imagination gave intensity of life to his preaching, and made even the discussion of the most abstruse doctrine intensely interesting to his hearers.

“As a pastor, Dr. Girardeau was faithful and tender. He was a hard student and loved the seclusion of his study. He was, therefore, not given to much visiting for the mere sake of visiting. When his people were in health and free from trouble, he visited but little among them, believing that he was best serving them in his study, making the more thorough preparation for the Sabbath. But the moment sickness or sorrow came to any of them, his whole heart was enlisted for them, and, putting everything else aside, he gave himself wholly to the effort to help and comfort them. In the sick room or home of sorrow, his voice would become as tender in its tones as that of a mother dealing with a hurt child, and his prayers were earnest and impressive. In dealing with men's consciences, while always tender, he was exceedingly faithful. He had a great horror of leading a soul to rest in false hopes, or in mere shallow experiences of grace. In receiving members into the church, while confining himself to questions of experimental religion, he still made his examination close and thorough. In his judgment the adding of a member to his church was a small matter; but the uniting of a soul to Christ the greatest event in the world.

“As a presbyter, he was both faithful and efficient. He was a Presbyterian from conviction, and believed that the courts of the Church were ordained of Christ. Attendance upon these was, therefore, a question of obedience to his Lord, who had made him to be a bishop in his house. Only the most serious providence could keep him from attending upon their sessions. And when in attendance he gave himself wholly to the business there to be transacted. His ordinary rule was to be present at the opening and closing services. He was a courteous, yet an earnest debater, contending for what he believed to be right and for the best interest of the Church, regardless of what the consequences to himself might be. All questions relating to the Church's welfare, in his eyes, were important. He believed the Church to be the real kingdom of God. That upon the actual coming of this kingdom into the real experiences of this world, depended all sure hope for the righting of all wrongs; the breaking of all rods of oppression; the punishing of all iniquity; and the rewarding of all righteousness. That the coming of this kingdom to the full fruition of its appointed glory was the only possible hope for peace and happiness to this earth. He, therefore, took an intense interest in every Church question, whether it related to some feeble congregation in some dark corner, or to the Church at large.

“In all departments of his ministry he worked as one that realized that he must give an account to his Lord. His aim was to keep himself in constant expectation of that Lord's coming, and to be always ready. All the years of his ministerial life were spent in his native State, and as a member of Charleston Presbytery, by which he was licensed and ordained. Into the history of this Presbytery the energies, prayers and faith of this man of God were largely wrought. Today we miss from our assemblings his cheerful face, his wise counsels, his earnest devotion to duty, and his tender and hopeful prayers. We stand with bowed heads and sad hearts as we lay our tribute of love in his vacant place, and realize that these places which once knew him so well, shall now know him no more forever. Earnestly we pray the Lord that the mantle of the fast departing fathers, the Dabney, the Hodge, the Adger, and the Girardeau, may fall upon the younger sons of the Church, and that the high ideal of a ministry maintained by these, may ever prevail in our beloved Southern Church.

“Be it resolved,

“1. That a page of the minute book of this Presbytery be inscribed to the memory of this beloved brother.

“2. That the earnest sympathy of this Presbytery be extended to the bereaved widow and children of our brother, praying for them the abounding grace of our God to help and comfort them in all their sorrow.”

“After hearing the Memorial, nearly every member of Presbytery bore testimony to his esteem and regard for the piety and ability of him to whose memory this service was set apart.

“By a rising vote, the Memorial as prepared by the Committee was approved and ordered to be spread upon the records of Presbytery, and offered to the Church papers for publication.”

A few testimonials will close this chapter. The following is an editorial from *The News and Courier* of Charleston, S. C.:

“JOHN L. GIRARDEAU.

“The Rev. Dr. Girardeau, who died at his home in Columbia on Thursday night, was a very remarkable man. He was a profound theologian, a powerful antagonist in debate, a thorough teacher, an accomplished scholar, a brilliant rhetorician, a marvelous preacher. His whole heart and soul were given to his work. He was passionately in earnest in whatever cause he espoused, and contended for his convictions with all the ardor of an enthusiastic nature. He made himself a part of his subject and went with it wherever it led and whatever the consequences. He made a marked and lasting impression upon the religious thought of the times in which he lived. He yielded nothing to so-called ‘modern thought.’ He believed that the decrees of God are eternal and unchangeable, and he held with undying tenacity to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. He was a thorough-going Calvinist, and though trembling at the eternal justice he trusted to the mercy of God which endureth forever.”

"In the class room Dr. Girardeau was unexcelled as a teacher; but it was as a preacher that he was most widely known. In the pulpit he was irresistible as a prairie fire. He spoke with the utmost ease, and whatever the character of his congregation, he compelled their attention and admiration. Whether expounding the Word to his simple-minded colored flock in Charleston or preaching before an assembly of the Church's most learned men, he illustrated the wisdom and power, the height and depth and all-embracing wideness of the Gospel of Christ.

"During the war Dr. Girardeau served as a chaplain in the Confederate army. He believed that the South was right all the way through, and he held his views unchanged and unchangeable to the last. Personally, he was a most attractive gentleman, and in his social relations he was the centre of a charmed circle. His manners were simple and unaffected. He regarded this life merely as a school of preparation for the higher and everlasting life into which he has entered. A prince in Israel has fallen here only to be exalted yonder."

A member of the old Glebe Street Church writes:

"The tidings have come of the passing away of one of the most distinguished men that our State has produced. When the battle-stricken warrior sheathes his sword and retires from the fight to lie down and die his comrades, even to the lowliest and humblest, love to tell of the battles he has won and the record he has made.

"Will you give place to a few words of tribute to him whose name adorns the head lines of this article from one who knew and loved him well?

"Born upon our coast, he had that ardent, passionate love for the 'low-country' which only a low-countryman can understand. He loved first of all Charleston, then his native State. While at the same time a Southerner of the old stamp, he embraced in the most ardent affection the traditions and convictions that belonged to this Southland of ours.

"There are, doubtless, some in this city who can recall, with admiration, an address delivered by him just after the Civil War, when all our hearts were bleeding from the fresh wounds which it had left. It was made before the survivors of the

Washington Light Infantry, and with the most wonderful word-painting he drew a picture of our low-country scenery and spoke of our love for our seaside homes. His skilful brush reproduced before the mental vision of his audience the scenery he himself loved so well—the almost tropical luxuriance of the foliage, the oak embowered bays and islands, and the river banks lined with tangled forests—the home of the turkey and the deer.

“After long service as chaplain in Virginia, the close of the war found him back in his old home and among his own people, now desolated and impoverished, and he became pastor of the Glebe Street Presbyterian Church, in connection with the charge of a colored church in Calhoun Street.

“As a preacher Dr. Girardeau was ‘*sui generis*.’ His style was his own, and what that style was those who heard him in his prime can testify. The most abstract discussion under the fire of his earnestness and desire to convince became luminous. Hence he was never dull. His application and peroration were often masterpieces of impassioned eloquence. All his gifts of oratory, all the stores of learning he had treasured up in his well disciplined mind he laid as a tribute at his Master’s feet. The pathos, the tender appeal, the solemn warning, the tone of voice, the graceful gesture, the eye, now flashing with the fervor of his thought, now melting into tenderness—these are simply indescribable.

“Like most great men, Dr. Girardeau thought strongly and expressed himself strongly and always had the courage of his convictions. Hence to some minds, cast in a different mould from his, he at times appeared ‘extreme,’ but those who knew him best and understood him were aware that he could always give reasons, and good ones, too, for the faith that was in him.

“But he is gone, and there is one light less in our intellectual firmament. Our State is, indeed, rich to be able to produce such men as Thornwell, Girardeau, Palmer. The last named, in his green old age, still lingers in the land of Beulah. ‘As thou art so were they; each one resembled the children of a King.’”

Dr. T. A. Hoyt says, in *The Christian Observer*:

"There are many testimonies to Dr. Girardeau's preëminence as a preacher. Men of culture, some of them distinguished preachers, who had heard Guthrie, Candlish, Cunningham, James Hamilton, French, Cumming, and Spurgeon, have declared that Girardeau excelled them all. But he always depreciated himself as a preacher, and for this reason, while he met his appointments at home, it was difficult to induce him to preach elsewhere. The world consequently never came to know him. Among the last comments he ever made upon himself was: 'I could preach to the negroes. That's about all I was ever fit for.' No one who never heard him preach to the negroes ever heard him at his best. To them he talked as an angel from the skies. To them he preached on the profoundest problems of religion, and discussed the most intricate questions of Christian experience. It seemed to me that before an audience of negroes he could make the doctrine of the Trinity plain."

His life-long friend, Dr. B. M. Palmer, wrote:

"July 5th, 1898.

"My Dear Mrs. Girardeau: The *Central Presbyterian* of June 29th confirms the report of your husband's death, which had before reached us through a private source. It is a personal sorrow to hundreds in the Church, as well as to those of his own household. For though the tie may not be so near and tender, as that which bound him to yourself, the association is both close and sweet which endeared him to many. Perhaps even more than the students of his later years, the associates of his earlier manhood may most deeply feel his loss. To this class I myself belong; for we were connected by close churchly ties, until the period of my removal to New Orleans. The interval of more than forty years has not, however, separated us either in memory or affection. He was indeed one of the noblest of men; endowed with royal intellectual gifts, these were equaled if not surpassed by the qualities of his heart. Indeed, the combination of natural and moral attributes was exceedingly rare and stamped him with an individuality altogether his own. A physical nervous force, like an electric current, ran along the line of his vigorous

thought as well as through his deep emotional nature, to constitute him one of the greatest of our modern preachers. Better than all, his fervent piety and deep religious experience, gave a holy sanction to all his public teaching. It will be long before another generation can produce his equal; and those, who have known him from first to last, feel that we lay him to rest among the immortals of the past.

“What he was to you in the privacy and joy of his home, can only be measured by yourself. Not often does the shadow of such a bereavement fall upon any home. I do not venture to offer the premature consolations which only vex the heart; for well I know that in the first access of bitter sorrow the heart desires to be left to the luxury of its own grief. In due time, however, the God of all consolation will whisper to you the needed words of comfort—enough to sustain your faith until you are called to join him in the life of blessedness above.

“Yours in sympathy,

“B. M. PALMER.”

The following anonymous poem was published in *The Southern Presbyterian* of July 14, 1898:

“ON THE DEATH OF A BELOVED MINISTER.

Affectionately dedicated to the family of Rev. J. L. Girardeau.”

“Brother, all thy toils are ended;
 All thine earthly warfare's done;
 To thy long-sought rest ascended,
 Thou hast won thy starry crown!
 There the welcome plaudit met thee;
 Well-done Servant of thy Lord,
 Faithful toiler in My vineyard,
 Enter on thy full reward!

“Thou wast faithful with the talents
 I committed to thy care,
 And each burden laid upon thee,
 Gladly for Me thou didst bear.
 Now beside the ‘living waters,’
 In my greenest pastures rest;
 And forget thine earthly sorrows,
 Leaning on My loving breast!

“Oh! methinks the holy angels
 Never had a dearer care,
 Than that ransomed soul to glory,
 On their shining wings to bear!
 Hark! the golden harps of Heaven,
 Quiver with a richer strain,
 As that voice with holy rapture
 Blendeth in the glad refrain!

“While on earth, Redemption’s story,
 Ever dwelt upon his tongue.
 And to him the *‘Songs of Jesus’*
 Were the sweetest ever sung.
 Now the loved ones led to Heaven,
 By his earnest pleadings here,
 Join with him to praise the Saviour,
 Who redeemed and brought them there.

“But alas! while thou art bathing
 Where the streams of bliss o’erflow,
 Sighs are heard, and wails of mourning
 Through our Zion here below!
 She hath changed her beauteous raiment
 For the sable robes of grief!
 Saviour, wilt thou not in mercy,
 Quickly come to her relief?

“Stay thy rod, O Heavenly Father,
 Spare the watchmen left her now;
 They whose hearts, though sorely smitten,
 Meekly to Thy will would bow,
 Let the unction of Thy Spirit,
 With his ‘mantle’ on them fall,
 May they emulate his fervor,
 ’Till they hear the welcome call!

“And to that now darkened dwelling
 So long brightened with his love,
 Holy Comforter with healing
 Haste, oh haste Thee, from above,
 Sweetly woo those broken spirits
 To their everlasting rest;
 There to find their lost and loved one
 Leaning on the Saviour’s breast!”

APPENDIX

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Delivered Before the General Assembly at Savannah, Ga., May 23, 1876, by the Rev. John L. Girardeau, D. D., Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in the Columbia Theological Seminary.

THEOLOGY AS A SCIENCE, INVOLVING AN INFINITE ELEMENT.

Fathers and Brethren of the Assembly: Did not usage require that something be said touching my induction into this chair, I would prefer to be silent upon that subject. A few words will, I trust, suffice for the demands of the occasion, and I shall pass on to the discussion of a more congenial topic.

The act just performed in your presence scarcely needs comment—it speaks for itself. Yet it is proper that I should say it has been done without reserve. I accept your Standards in the sense in which they were constructed by the Old School Church in 1837 and 1838, and in which they are notoriously understood by the Southern Presbyterian Church. Accustomed for years to teach those venerable documents in the pulpit, the Sabbath School, the Bible class, and the family, it occasions me no difficulty to bind them thus solemnly upon the conscience. It is only to repeat what was once done when I stood up with profound emotion to assume my ordination vows. I have no particle of sympathy with the infidel cant which prates of the

tyranny of creeds and the decay of "crumbling theologies." On the contrary, I fully subscribe to the necessity of confessions and symbols, as a testimony to the truth of God, and as a bond of union between the faithful witnesses for Christ. Still I feel bound in honesty to express the opinion, that, as there is a possibility in the future of more and more perfectly conforming our doctrinal standards to the word of God as the supreme and infallible rule of faith and practice, some wise and carefully guarded provision to that effect should be made in the Constitution of our Church; and also to state, that, as such a provision exists for the amendment of our governmental standards, one is at liberty to discuss the necessity or expediency of changes in them, it being at the same time understood that until they are duly made, the practice of the Church ought to be in accordance with the existing law.

I would avail myself of this occasion to tender to my able and honored brethren of the Faculty of the Seminary my grateful acknowledgments for the welcome to their sacred academic fellowship which they have been pleased to extend, and to express the hope that the fraternal intercourse with them which it has been my privilege already to enjoy may know no unhappy interruption. An obvious delicacy restrains me from speaking of the present, with its living actors; but I may be indulged in a brief allusion to the past, and especially to those who, once connected with this institution, have rested from their toils for Christ's kingdom and truth upon earth, and have taken their seats among the General Assembly on high.

I esteem it a joy that the school of sacred learning, in which I have been called to occupy a place, is that

at whose maternal breasts I first drew my knowledge of theology. There it was my privilege to sit at the feet of Dr. George Howe, the erudite and accomplished scholar, and Dr. A. W. Leland, the sacred orator, endowed by Providence with rich and splendid gifts. The grand head, the classic face, the organ-like voice, the majestic elocution, the fervent and evangelical delivery of truth, are matters of tradition now, for he has been gathered to his fathers and sleeps in Jesus. At the same time it was my happiness, with my fellow students, to listen to the eloquent and powerful preaching of James H. Thornwell and Benjamin M. Palmer, whose pulpits were additional professorships of theology to the favored pupils of the Seminary. I blush at the thought that the chair to which I have been called, and which I have reluctantly consented to ascend, was subsequently filled by both these distinguished servants of the Church—by one provisionally for a brief period, and by the other for a term of years. Yes, I blush to venture into a seat which Thornwell illuminated by his ample learning, his profound genius, and his exquisite tact for instruction. He shone in the ecclesiastical firmament a brilliant star, of the first magnitude, which blazed the more lustreously as all too swiftly it sunk to its setting in a dark and frowning horizon; and although, alas! it disappeared from our straining eyes, it has left behind a trail of light which lingers a wake of glory upon the scene of his last labors and the Church of his passionate love. Plato thanked God that he was permitted to live in the age of Socrates, and no youthful lover of theological truth who ever sat under the teachings of Thornwell would be ashamed to confess a kindred gratitude. But though he be dead, yet shall

he, by the grace of Providence, yet speak in the place in which his eloquent tongue discourses no more. Had he survived to complete the labors so auspiciously and magnificently begun, the Calvin of our Southern Presbyterian Church would have produced a work which would have been to us what the immortal Institute of the Christian Religion was to its age, and upon which the encomium contained in the line of Martial might justly have been pronounced:

“Unum præ cunctis fama loquatur opus”;

at least the great work of the illustrious Princeton theologian would not now, save as to the doctrine of the Church, be without a peer as a comprehensive modern recast of theology. What he has left will, I trust, make its mark upon the Columbia Seminary, and the grand analyses and comprehensive principles of revealed truth he has embodied in his writings be infused into the minds of the students of that institution. It will be a labor of love for one who has studied in the school of this master—and it was the school of Christ—though he may follow with no equal pace, nay, at a long interval behind, to endeavor up to the bent of his ability to continue its methods and inculcate its doctrines.

The communications which have been presented to the Assembly render it unnecessary for me to allude to the great reluctance with which I entered upon the duties of this position; but I take leave to say that, in their susception, I acted not from choice, but in obedience to the repeated call of my brethren. Now that the trust is assumed, nothing remains but that I bring to it what industry and ability the Head of the Church has granted me. Discarding all dependence

upon fleshly wisdom, and implicitly relying upon the unction from the Holy One, who teacheth all things, I not unwillingly dedicate myself to the performance of this office. Profoundly conscious of insufficiency for these responsibilities, I am nevertheless comforted in part by the conviction that the love of the truth, which has never been a subordinate passion of my heart, has not diminished with the lapse of years. I can sincerely adopt the language in which the great scholar, Sir William Jones, has beautifully paraphrased a noble passage of Berkeley's *Siris*:

“Before thy mystic altar, Heavenly Truth,
I kneel in manhood, as I knelt in youth;
There let me kneel till this dull form decay,
And life's last shade is brightened by thy ray!
Then shall my soul, now lost in clouds below,
Soar without bounds, without consuming glow.”

When Dr. Thornwell was inaugurated into his Professorship in the Seminary, he pronounced a discourse in which he discussed all the great aspects of theology—its nature, its scope, its methods, its distributive principle, and its importance. That address is extant in his writings; and however appropriately to the circumstances of this occasion one might submit his own views upon these subjects, the fact which has been mentioned deters me from so ungraceful and supererogatory an effort. I shall, therefore, content myself with inviting attention to the discussion of a more specific question.

It is now so generally admitted that theology is a science, that any elaborate attempt to establish its claims to that denomination would seem to be super-

fluous. It has been said that the title of science is denied to theology, "partly on the ground that the habit corresponding to it is not natural, but supernatural; and partly on the ground that it does not spring from principles of reason, nor proceed by logical deductions. It does not, in other words, find a place under the Aristotelic definition of science." Now, even were it conceded that it professes to be a subjective and not an objective science, the first of these objections would not necessarily be fatal. For if there may be a natural habit of natural knowledge, there is no just reason why there may not be a supernatural habit of supernatural knowledge; and if reason, in its natural condition, is adapted to the scientific treatment of the former, one fails to see why reason supernaturally enlightened may not be competent to deal with the latter. Theology, however, claims to be mainly a science in the objective sense, as concerned about the theory rather than the habit of religion, and the difficulty alleged is consequently deprived of force. To the other objection it may be answered that theology does in part spring from the indestructible principles of reason, endorsed and enforced by revelation; that in so far as it arises from the dicta of a supernatural revelation, it does no more than other sciences in accepting fundamental principles already furnished; that if that be granted, it grounds itself upon data which are at least of no lower original than those supplied by reason; and that if the facts and doctrines of a divine revelation be given so as to be apprehensible, our faculties, if supernaturally illuminated, not only may, but must, by a logical necessity, proceed to arrange and classify them—in other words, to reduce them to scientific form. It may surely be allowed to

a theologian to do reflectively what every intelligent man of piety, to a certain extent, does spontaneously.

It is not, however, my purpose to vindicate at large the claims of theology to be a science, but to endeavor to meet what is, perhaps, the most formidable difficulty lying in the way of these pretensions, growing out of the allegation that the attempt is made to reduce the infinite to scientific conditions—to make the unthinkable a term of human syllogisms. It must be admitted that, as to His essence, God is undefinable; an infinite being, as He is in himself, cannot be subjected to logical forms, cannot be made an element in the narrow premises of finite reasoning. We know nothing of our own substances except through their phenomenal properties, and what can we know of the substance of God? But if this were all, as theology has for its chief object an infinite God, it would follow that its pretensions to be a science at all, in any proper sense, must at once be discharged. With a profound conviction of the littleness of man and the greatness of God, and, I trust, with the reverence which befits the discussion of such a theme, I would adventure some reflections upon the questions: Have we a valid knowledge of the Infinite Being? What is the mode of attaining to that knowledge? And is it possible for the reason to employ it as an element in the processes of science? In order to clear the way, it will be necessary to institute some preliminary inquiries, and to fix the meaning of the terms which will be prominently employed.

In the first place, what is the relation between faith and reason? It has been so customary for certain writers to speak of the distinct provinces of faith and reason, and to represent them as occupying entirely different domains, and performing entirely separate

functions, that there is no wonder that confusion has been the result. It would seem to be obvious that there can be no generic difference between them. Take any view of the nature of faith, except the special one of a feeling of trust, and it cannot be excluded from the territory of the reason. If we adopt the distribution of Kant, and regard the pure reason as distinct from the logical understanding, and as constituting the seat of transcendent ideas, it is manifest that such a faculty would be the very repository of our fundamental faiths. It would be the precise office of the reason to believe those truths which transcend the forms of the logical understanding. Take the view of Hamilton, and identify the reason with the understanding as the same generic faculty, and it is clear that it must be considered as the place in which these primary faiths or fundamental laws of belief are to be found. And as faith, in all its aspects, whenever it is in exercise, involves as its first element the assent of the understanding, it must be admitted that since the understanding and the reason are, on this hypothesis, the same faculty, faith can only be regarded as a function of the reason. To what other department of the mind can we assign it? The truth would seem to be that reason is simply a *genus* of which faith is one of the species. Another is thought; and the distinction, which is really valuable and deserves to be noted, is not between faith and reason, but between faith and thought. In the one case it is the reason believing, and in the other the reason thinking. It is one and the same faculty discharging distinct specific functions. If this view be correct—and I see not how it can be fairly disputed—a considerable advance is made

toward disentangling the difficulties connected with the main questions before us.

In the second place, the inquiry must be met as to the real distinction between faith and knowledge. It is one of critical importance in regard to the possibility of a knowledge of God as an infinite being. It deserves to be signalised in consequence of differences which, I am inclined to think, are to a certain extent more apparent than real between the parties to the issue in reference to the cognoscibility of God. It is moreover deserving of consideration in view of the fact that, as the result of inadvertence, or perhaps, in some cases, of the desire to avoid an apparent captiousness and technical minuteness, the greatest writers have not always used their terms with that rigid uniformity which is demanded by the importance and difficulty of the subject. Sir William Hamilton, notwithstanding the ordinary accuracy of his terminology, has not always been free from vacillation in this matter. And one at least of his distinguished critics has, in consequence of the same fact, rendered it doubtful whether his intention was to affirm or deny the possibility of knowing the infinite simply by the functions of the thinking reason. Now, it is respectfully generic relation which I have attempted to show is held by reason; with this important difference, however, that reason is the generic course from which faith and thought spring as species, while knowledge, on the other hand, is the generic result of the exercise of these specific powers. Is it not clear that there are some things which we know because we believe them, and other things which we know because we think them? And yet there appears to be a continual tendency to confound the cognoscible with the cogitable.

There are cases in which they coincide, but there are others in which they do not—in which the knowable transcends the thinkable. There are instances in which knowledge is the common product of faith and the reflective reason; and there are others in which faith attains a knowledge which lies utterly beyond the reach of the thinking faculties alone. There is, therefore, no generic distinction between faith and knowledge, just as there is no such distinction between faith and reason. Knowledge is a result of which at one time faith is a factor, and at another, thought. When, therefore, it is affirmed that we cannot know the infinite by the thinking reason—in other words, that we cannot conceive it—the meaning need not be taken to be that we cannot know it at all; but, on the contrary, the position is consistent with the affirmation that we know it by faith. When Hamilton sometimes says, We do not know, we only believe the infinite, he departs from his own strictness of speech. His meaning is that we do not know it by conceiving it, but we know it by believing. "The Divinity," he correctly remarks, "is in a certain sense revealed, in a certain sense is concealed; he is at once known and unknown." That is to say—his meaning obviously is—the Deity is known as revealed to faith, and unknown, as infinite, through the exercise of the reflective reason. The knowledge derived through faith immeasurably overpasses that acquired by thought. Dr. Thornwell, who, with a philosophical genius akin to Hamilton's, criticises the position of the great Scotchman in reference to the cognoscibility of the infinite, enounces the distinction for which I am now contending when speaking of the knowledge even of finite substance. His language is: "In our knowledge of the finite there

are evidently two elements or factors. There is, first, the relative and phenomenal, which can be conceived and known; this is the proper object of thought. There is, secondly, the substance or substratum, the *quasi* absolute, which cannot be represented in thought, but which is positively believed as existing. One element addresses itself to the intelligence and the other to faith. * * * It is in and through the phenomena that substance is known." Here knowledge in one relation is attributed to conception, and in another to faith. These citations are sufficient to indicate that the view now insisted upon was at bottom held by both these great thinkers, to wit: that faith and knowledge are not contrasted, but that knowledge is a product of which at one time faith is the efficient, and at another time, conception.

I would take occasion, in connection with this subject, to remark briefly upon the vexed question of the relation, in the order of sequence, between faith and knowledge; for that is the form in which the question is nearly always stated, although the terms of the relation ought to be, not faith and knowledge, but faith and thought. It would appear to be evident that, first of all, would come a fundamental belief or faith, and then a special act of cognition furnishing a certain kind of knowledge, and lastly, a particular exercise of faith resulting in another kind of knowledge. Let me illustrate by two cases—one drawn from the sphere of nature, the other from that of grace. We have, it is now well-nigh universally admitted, at the root of our faculties fundamental laws of belief, which are elicited into exercise upon the occasions which occur in experience. Among these, characterised by simplicity and necessity, is the intuitive faith in the relation of effect

to cause. We behold a new event. Something begins to be which did not exist before. What takes place? Apparently there is first the cognition of the event. But back of that act of cognition lay the fundamental law of belief in the relation of cause and effect. That law, existing prior to the cognition, but latent and undeveloped to consciousness, is now elicited by the perceptive act, and the result is a special exercise of faith, necessitating the inference that the event perceived was due to some sufficient cause. Take a case from the supernatural sphere. A sinner believes in Christ as his Saviour. What is the order here? First, there is the capacity and tendency to believe—a fundamental law of the spiritual life, imparted by the grace of regeneration. Then there is an apprehension in thought of the propositions of the gospel which offer Christ to sinners, and, lastly, there is the special act of faith by which the soul receives those propositions as the testimony of God, embraces the Saviour, and knows Him unto salvation. We would infer from this analysis that the special cognitive acts of thought are preceded by fundamental faiths, and that the special cognitive acts of faith are occasioned by the particular exercises of the thinking faculty; and it would further follow that the knowledge which results from perception, and reasoning, is of one kind, and that produced by faith is of another sort.

There is but one difficulty which I can conceive in this statement of the order of procedure among the mental powers in the evolution of knowledge. It is one which arises from the fact, that it is not uncommon to rank primitive concepts, as well as primary or intuitive faiths, among the fundamental data of consciousness. If by primitive concepts be meant

formed and developed knowledges, as the term would strictly imply, it is evident that the theory of their existence is based in mistake. Whatever were Locke's defects, he exploded the doctrine of innate ideas as involving formalised knowledge. If it be meant that they are laws of thought bearing the same regulative relation to the specific acts of thought as the laws of belief may be conceived to sustain to the special exercises of faith, the question of their separate existence would be a fair one. It would seem, however, to be unnecessary to make the distribution. The fundamental laws of belief are usually considered as holding, in the form of certain necessities of knowing, a common relation to all the cognitive functions. But if the distinction be admitted between the primary laws of thought and those of belief, it is obvious that, as both classes would equally lie at the very foundations of the mental processes, there could be no precedence of one to the other. They would be concurrently evolved, each in its own special direction. It cannot be shown that, in the last analysis, faith is ever grounded in thought. The probability lies the other way—that our fundamental faiths lie at the basis of all our mental acts. Knowledge begins in faith, and ends in faith.

Having endeavored to clear away certain difficulties which lay in the path of the discussion, by indicating the relations of faith and reason, and of faith and knowledge, and by calling attention to the real distinction which deserves emphasis, viz., that between faith and thought as specific functions of the reason and specific factors of knowledge, we are prepared to take up the question as to the validity of our knowl-

edge of the Infinite, and as to the mode of its possession.

There are two sorts of revelation which God has furnished—the first natural, the second supernatural. Natural revelation is the testimony of God to natural truth—concerning himself, man, and the relations involved. That testimony—the unwritten word of God—is contained in the microcosm within man, and the macrocosm without him. It is imbedded in his make and constitution, and utters itself in every energy which wakes to activity from the profoundest depths of the soul. It whispers in consciousness, thunders in conscience, and breaks into doxologies in the instinctive worship of the heart. Every bodily sense gives it a tongue. It proclaims itself at the gates through which the procession of the mental powers marches out to communicate with the external world, and through which a mighty host of influences from the universe without throngs into the capacious courts of the human spirit. It breathes in the air, shouts in the storm, and lifts up its awful voice in the roar of tempestuous seas. By day, it is read in the light poured out upon the earth like a baptism of glory, and by night unrolls its flaming register upon the distant vault of heaven. In a word, the testimony of God afforded by natural revelation is inscribed upon every power of man, and upon every element of external nature.

Supernatural revelation is the testimony of God to supernatural and redemptive truth—concerning himself, man, and the relations involved. This is furnished in the Scriptures. They discharge a twofold office. In the first place, they republish and confirm the lessons of reason, of the external universe, and of the

Covenant of Works as a positive element in the first religion of man as an unfallen being. They bring out afresh and illuminate the testimony of God furnished in natural revelation, but rendered, in great measure, illegible, inaudible, and impotent by the deadening influence of sin. In the second place, they create the knowledge of the scheme of redemption, reveal the original principles of God's moral government under new modifications and altogether singular and distinctive methods of application, and unveil to the gaze of a holy universe, an attribute of the divine nature which had not previously terminated upon its appropriate objects—the lovely quality of mercy, yearning over the guilty, the wretched, and the lost, and suggesting their recovery from sin and hell through the blood of the eternal Son, and the grace of the eternal Spirit. The gospel, therefore, is not coëxtensive with the Scriptures. They are generic; it is specific. So far as the Scriptures reveal redemption for sinners, they are the gospel.

Corresponding to these two kinds of revelation, and to the respective divine testimonies yielded through them, there are two sorts of faith—natural and supernatural. Generically considered, faith, as fundamental and undeveloped, is an aptitude for, and as elicited into act, an assent to, truth upon evidence, and commonly evidence in the form of testimony. Truth is the object, faith the organ, and testimony the ground. Specifically contemplated, natural faith is an aptitude for, or assent to, the truths of natural revelation upon the testimony of God.

Supernatural faith—the product of the regenerating grace of the Holy Ghost—in so far as it is fundamental and regulative, is an undeveloped spiritual

power lying at the roots of the renewed nature, and adapted to the reception of the transcendent truths of redemption upon the written testimony of God. In so far as it is brought out into special exercise, it actually receives the truths of the gospel upon God's testimony, and embraces and relies upon the Lord Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of sinners.

Let us now inquire into the functions of these respective sorts of faith in regard to the infinite element in natural and supernatural revelation; and the apostle Paul shall furnish us a text for the discussion: "He that cometh to God must *believe* that he is."

1. We begin with natural faith. The proposition which I desire to establish is, that there is in the soul a fundamental faith which adapts it to the knowledge of the Infinite Being, and that, when developed through experience, it positively affirms his existence. It is in this way we know God as infinite, and not through the processes of the thinking reason. It has been the common opinion of theologians that the knowledge of God is intuitive. It is not to be understood that they meant, by the use of this language, to affirm that there is any presentative knowledge of him. Intuition, though sometimes employed in that sense, is not in this relation. Had we such a knowledge of God, we could describe him as we do objects upon which we gaze. What they intended was, that man is so constituted that the truth of the divine existence is self-evident—it vouches for itself by its own light. Of course, by such a doctrine, if it be not unmeaning, they designed to teach that there is an intuitive knowledge of an infinite Being. As specimens of theological consent in this matter, I cite a witness from the Reformation period, one from a later

age, and two from our own time. Calvin, sometimes, is wont to say that the knowledge of God is implanted in the mind, and at others that it is carved into it. De Moor, in his able and learned Commentary on Marck's Compendium, expressly draws a distinction between the *notitia insita* and the *notitia acquisita*—the implanted and the acquired knowledge of God. Dr. Charles Hodge, by a convincing argument, sustains the position that such knowledge is intuitive; and Dr. Thornwell, although somewhat guarded in his language, admitted that there is a fundamental faith which necessitates the inference of the Divine existence. And yet it seems strange that, notwithstanding these express admissions, the two last-named illustrious divines were reluctant to concede the impossibility of knowing the Infinite Being through the processes of the discursive understanding. They criticise the doctrine of the great Scotch philosopher, that we know the Infinite only by faith, and appear to hold, that by thinking away limitations, and removing imperfections, from our concepts of finite manifestations of the Infinité, we may reach, though only a partial, yet a real and valid knowledge of it. I must confess that, to my mind, such a process of the thinking faculty, however indefinitely prosecuted, could only avail to give an ever-enlarging conception of the finite. We know the Infinite Being, as infinite, by faith; we know his finite manifestations by perception and thought.

There are criteria by which the existence of fundamental beliefs may be tested—they are self-evidence, simplicity, and necessity. If a principle is revealed in its own light, if it cannot be resolved into simpler elements, if it must be admitted in a healthful and

normal condition of the faculties, it ought to be acknowledged to be primary and fundamental. Universality, though not strictly one of these coördinate criteria, is a fair proof of necessity. Beliefs which we find existing in every partially civilised tribe of men, and expressed in the language of every people possessed of even a moderate degree of cultivation, are proved by that fact to be necessary. Subjected to these tests, the belief in the Infinite, and, I am disposed to think, in an Infinite Being, will be evinced as one of the fundamental faiths of the human mind. It certainly is characterised by simplicity, for it cannot be resolved into anything more ultimate. It will be said that it cannot abide the tests of self-evidence and necessity, in view of the fact, first, that there are some who are ignorant of it; and, secondly, that there are some who theoretically deny it. To the first objection it is easy to reply that no acknowledged intuition is developed in the mind of an infant, and that there are tribes of men who, in intellectual culture, are in an infantile condition. The belief in substance is self-evident and necessary, whenever the faculties are developed by education; but there may be an intellectual state so brutish that it is not elicited into exercise. There is a failure, even on the part of some philosophers, to distinguish between the originality and the comparative maturity of a principle. Paley, for example, confounded the maturity and the originality of conscience. It is conceded that a fundamental faith, like a fundamental law of morality, depends for even its lowest development upon the conditions furnished by experience, and that the degrees of its expansion correspond with the degrees of a regular and normal cultivation of the faculties. It is susceptible of doubt,

moreover, whether the cases are not exceedingly few, in which men have been found in so dwarfed a state of the intellectual and moral faculties, as not to possess some belief in the illimitable.

To the second objection—that there are some who theoretically deny the existence of an Infinite Being—it may be answered that the number of such thinkers is just exceptional enough to challenge attention to the general rule. The rash and abnormal expressions of a few men cannot be assumed as at all affecting the consentient faith of the race. It is worthy of notice that when God himself deigns to speak of those who deny his existence, he stigmatises them not so much as criminals, but as fools. The indescribable folly of such a course would appear to transcend its impiety. It is to the credit even of a sinful and infatuated race, that this variety of it, like the mutilated specimens of some animal species, are very limited in number. They may emphatically be regarded as *lusus naturae*, since in their production nature seems to indulge in a horrible amusement at her own expense; and so, by the hideous caricature of herself, proves that the sin which has revolutionized her integrity is as besotted as it is devilish.

The whole difficulty, if any there be, is relieved of force by the simple consideration that there is scarcely any self-evident truth which has not had some one to deny it. It would seem as if the ultimate effect of sin would be to craze the reason, and to convert the world into a lunatic asylum.

Having endeavored to prove, positively, that there is a fundamental law of belief which guarantees the Infinite, I pass on to show, negatively, that we can reach the knowledge of the Infinite in no other way—

that it is not possible for thought to furnish it. It is the province of the thinking faculties to receive the information furnished by perception, to conceive, to form judgments from concepts, to construct arguments from judgments—to proceed by analysis and synthesis, by induction and deduction. It is clear that as each one of these powers is limited to phenomenal properties, the conclusions which they reach must be characterised by a corresponding limitation. There cannot be in the conclusion more than is contained in the premises. Let us test this law of the processes of thought by a single illustration. Take the notion of substance. How do we know it? That about which perception and conception are concerned, is simply the phenomenal properties. Think away, for example, from this desk all its properties—its dimensions, its configuration, its color, its divisibility, and others which belong to it—and what remains to be apprehended in thought? Nothing. And yet we must postulate the existence of a substance in which these properties inhere, and of which they are the phenomenal manifestations. What we know in thought is the accidents, what we know by faith is the substance. In like manner think away thought, feeling, desire, volition, moral perceptions from the mind, and what remains to be conceived? Nothing. Still we must demand a substance, which is ourselves, to which these qualities belong and which they express. How do we know it? Not by conception, but by faith. The knowledge of the substance is as valid as the knowledge of the properties. The explanation of the process would seem to be clear. The cognitive apprehension of the phenomenal manifestations elicits into exercise a hitherto dormant fundamental law of belief; that necessi-

tates the inference from the properties that the substance exists; and that inference is precisely a special act of faith. It is necessary—we cannot avoid it. It is immediate,—it differs entirely from the mediate inference of the syllogistic process. There is no enthymeme with a suppressed premise; for there is no suppressed premise to be supplied. We pass, *per saltum*, from the concept of the properties to the existence of the substance. Now what is true of our knowledge of finite substance, is, *a fortiori*, true of our knowledge of an infinite substance. Let us take, for instance, the famous cosmological argument. We cognize effects, and effects upon a stupendous scale. We refer them to an adequate first cause. That, however, only gives us a sufficient, not an infinite, cause. The effects are apprehended as finite; the cause that is postulated need not be more than a vast finite cause. Were the process purely ratiocinative, that would be the result. Limited and conditioned effects, however great, demand no more than a limited and conditioned cause. But this, it will be said, is not a complete account of the argument. We cognize the cosmical effects as changing, fluctuating, contingent; and we refer them to a first cause which is unchanging, unfluctuating, uncontingent—that is, to a necessary Being who has the reason of his existence in himself. But given a necessary Being, and we have an infinite Being. Now, in regard to this procedure, we submit a few remarks: In the first place, it is based, even in its simplest form, upon a fundamental law of belief, namely, the principle which demands a cause for every effect, and a cause sufficient for, and corresponding to, the effects. What, then, is the process? By perception and thought we apprehend the phenomenal effects, and the funda-

mental law of causality necessitates the inference to the cause. That inference is but a special act of faith. Call it judgment, if you will, but it has no middle. It is immediate and necessary, and therefore ceases to be ratiocinative, and takes on the complexion of faith. In the second place, the inference from contingent effects to a necessary Being as their cause is only legitimated by a similar fundamental law of belief. The mere process of thinking would never conduct us to it. In the third place, it is possible to doubt whether the affirmation of a necessary Being is tantamount to the affirmation of an infinite Being. It may be conceivable that a Being might have the reason of his existence in himself, and yet not contain all that is strictly demanded by the notion of the Infinite. But granted that such a result follows from the attainment of a necessary first cause, and still it is urged that the knowledge of that Being is the product, not of the conceiving and reasoning process, but of an act of faith enforced by a fundamental and regulative law of belief. Why not admit that there is a primary and intuitive faith, which is at once an aptitude and a guarantee for the knowledge of the Infinite? I have already attempted to show that there exists such a fundamental principle, which will stand the test of criteria by which the existence of such primitive laws are determined.

Let us then start with that assumption, and indicate the steps of the process by which an actual knowledge of the Infinite Being is reached. Let it be observed that there is not here even a squinting to the theory of the Absolutist philosophers—that we immediately know the Infinite Being as the result of this law of belief. Were that possible, what could we

know? Nothing but the Infinite Being Himself, without the qualification of a single attribute. Properties as such, are only apprehended by perception and thought. These faculties cannot, therefore, be over-slaughed in the effort to answer the question, What God is, as well as the question, Does God exist? Hence it is no marvel that Cousin, who contended that the mere possession of the belief in the Infinite necessitates the immediate knowledge of the Infinite God, denied his personality, and made the human reason itself impersonal. It is true that the term Infinite, unless it symbolises nothing, and language in its most solemn and impressive form be only an imposture practiced upon our faculties by themselves or by some malignant spirit, implies the existence of a corresponding reality. But that determines nothing in reference to the mode by which the knowledge so represented is ultimately attained. What is that mode?

Consciousness and external perception furnish for thought the phenomena of our own being and those of the external world. We perceive them as effects, and effects upon a vast, an universal scale. The fundamental belief in the Infinite, elicited into exercise by these conditions of experience, induces the inference, in the form of a special act of faith, not only of a first cause, but of an infinite first cause. We cognize the moral phenomena of our minds; we infer a moral lawgiver and ruler. This conducts us, however, only to one who has knowledge and power sufficient to enable him to govern the universe. The fundamental belief in the Infinite leads to the inference, by a special faith, in the infinity of the moral Ruler. We are conscious of the sense of dependence, and of religious tastes and emotions which infer a Being of vast knowl-

edge and power, and of beauty, loveliness, and glory as the object of worship. But we have not reached the Infinite. That is given by faith. We know the Infinite Creator, Governor, and Object of worship, as infinite, not by thought, but by faith.

To be more particular: for it is special cases which are the tests of theories. How do we acquire the knowledge of infinite attributes? Let us take the instance of power. We cognize effects, which we are constrained to refer to power as their cause. That reference is itself necessitated by a fundamental belief. But finite effects can only give us finite power. I do not deny that we have a real and valid knowledge, by conception, of the finite manifestations of infinite power, just as we have the knowledge, by conception, of our own power and of the forces of nature, in their lower degrees of exercise, as well as their higher. But still we have only reached limited power. We then, by the thinking faculty, endeavor to remove all limitations, and to attain the concept of an unlimited and illimitable power. We fail; for conception cannot grasp the Infinite. Here faith comes in, and projects the highest concept of finite power into the region of the infinite. Without the condition afforded by the thinking process, faith would sleep; without faith roused into activity by that condition, thought would stop infinitely short of the Infinite.

Indulge a figure for a moment. Faith and Thought—twin powers—go forth together to the examination of phenomena, of effects and properties; and at first Faith leans upon the arm of her sister. Thought proceeding upon the phenomenal contents of perception, rises concept by concept, and removes imperfection after imperfection, in her endeavor to reach the Infi-

nite. Foiled in her attempt, she sinks in her final effort, breathless and exhausted, on the hither side of the chasm, which opens up between the highest concept of the finite and the Infinite God. "Art tired, sister?" says Faith; "rest thou here, until I essay the passage of this gulf." Then stretching her hitherto folded wings, and planting her feet on the last standing ground of Thought, as her point of departure, she flies across the ocean impassable to her feebler sister, home to the bosom of the Infinite Being. She sees the invisible God, hears his inaudible voice, and, by a mysterious and inexplicable power, apprehends his infinitude. Then returning, she furnishes her grand knowledge to Thought, and ever after the form of the Infinite, so to speak, is imposed upon the processes of the finite understanding. Thenceforward Faith and Thought unite their forces, and reason together concerning the infinite, as though it had been an original datum of the thinking faculty. The same line of argument might be pursued in regard to the other attributes—wisdom, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth. By conception, we validly apprehend them in their finite manifestations. This gives us, so to speak, their quality, under the imperfect but real analogies presented by the properties of our own being. By faith we know them as infinite. And then the irresistible inference is to the existence of an Infinite substance, of which they are the wholly singular and peculiar properties. It deserves to be remarked, that in this account of the mode by which we reach the knowledge of the Infinite, I have described the reflective rather than the spontaneous process. So much for the office of natural faith in conducting us, upon

the evidence furnished by natural revelation, to the knowledge of an Infinite God.

2. The limits of this discourse will allow only a brief reference to the distinctive influence of supernatural faith in regard to the knowledge of the Infinite. And, indeed, it is not necessary to prosecute in detail that branch of the inquiry, for the reason that what has been said of the office of natural faith may, by an easy change of the terms and relations involved, be applied to that which is supernatural. The latter kind of faith reaffirms all that the former declares, and, in addition, discharges a characteristic office in receiving all that the written Word and the Spirit reveal of the infinite perfections of God, under the transcendent relations of Redemption. The apostle Paul tells us that "through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear;" and that "he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of such as diligently seek him." In these remarkable words we are taught that there are truths which, though they lie beyond the range of the discursive faculties, are known by faith. The existence of God, the creation of the worlds out of nothing, the infinite moral government of the Divine Ruler, and his infinite perfections as the supreme object of worship, are all among the *cognita* of faith. Our blessed Saviour also teaches that this mysterious power belongs to faith. "This," says he, "is eternal life, that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Thus to know God, is to know him as infinite, for only an infinite is the true God; and thus to know Jesus Christ, is to know him as an infinitely

sufficient and merciful Redeemer. A knowledge of the Infinite, Paul expressly assigns to faith, and that of which our Saviour speaks is of course attributable alone to the same exalted principle. This ought to settle the question of the cognoscibility of God by faith; and, I humbly conceive, does confirm what I have claimed for the office of faith in furnishing the infinite element in our knowledge. It may be said, however, that faith is a spiritual conception. In a sense, this is true. When the believer cognizes the facts of revelation which are level to the apprehension of the unbeliever, he knows them after a spiritual fashion which is impossible to the latter. But there are other elements which not even the renewed thinking powers are competent to understand. It is a supernatural faith, as distinguished from thought, and it alone, which apprehends the infinite perfections of a Redeeming God, and the transcendent, the inconceivable facts and relations and ends of the glorious scheme of redemption.

It only remains to gather up the results of this discussion, and show their bearing upon the question with which we began—whether the fact that theology involves an infinite element bars its claims to be regarded as a science. It is urged that as science proceeds by definition, the infinite cannot be made an element of it, because to define it is to limit it, and that involves a contradiction. The difficulty is removed by noting the distinction between logical definition and limitation as to extent. To illustrate: Unless we take the ground of the Pantheist, we must distinguish the divine substance from all created substances. He is not they, and they are not he. We define, but we do not limit the divine essence as to extent. It is

immense, and contains the sum of all being, but it is different from finite essence. Further: We distinguish between the divine attributes. Justice, for example, is not mercy. We define, but we do not limit these attributes as to extent. They coëxist as equally infinite, but they are both really and logically distinguishable. We are forced to do this, not only in theological statement, but in ordinary preaching. There is a sense, therefore, in which we are obliged to define the infinite, but in which we by no means limit it as to extent. There is, then, no contradiction emerging on this score from the introduction of the infinite into the scientific procedure of theology. A distinction must also be taken between different sorts of knowledge of the Infinite Being. It is one thing to say that by faith we know the fact of God's existence, and quite another that we know the *how* of his existence—we know that his essence is, but not how it is. The latter we cannot know, for we are not God; but the former we not only may but do know. It is known as revealed to faith. It is susceptible of affirmation and negation—may be made a term of human judgments. In like manner, a divine attribute cannot be perfectly comprehended by us, but it may be known as an infinite perfection by faith; and as known may be made the subject or the predicate of a proposition. Conception may furnish one term and faith the other, and yet the proposition be valid. For example, we are entitled to make the affirmation: the justice of God is infinite. Conception gives justice, a particular kind of perfection, as the subject, and faith gives the term *infinite* as predicable of justice. Here, then, we have an infinite element as a valid constituent of a premise, and as other premises may be constructed in the same

way, legitimate conclusions may be drawn. But if we may reason about the infinite and from the infinite, it is manifest that it may constitute a valid element in human science, under the limitations, however, which have been pointed out. To all this it may be objected that it involves a mere juggle of words—that the term infinite is a symbol of nothing real and positive, but represents only a bald negation. We deceive ourselves by the “fatal imposture” of words. Then, if that be so, an infinite God means nothing, and infinite guilt means nothing, and infinite mercy means nothing, and nothing an infinite Saviour and an infinite salvation. They are mere negative conceptions; at best but protests in thought against the absolute restrictions implied in positive affirmations of the thinking reason. No doubt it would be pleasant to some to get quit of an eternal hell as a mere negative concept, a grim play upon words; and *that*, it is likely, is the end sought by the objection; but we insist on an infinite Redemption and an eternal heaven as something more than a mere charlatanry, a petty quackery, of terms. It deserves to be carefully considered by those who either deny the knowledge of the Infinite altogether, or affirm what is impossible and must have a terrible recoil—that mere thought can furnish us that knowledge—what a practical sweep these positions imply. They threaten the foundations of both natural and supernatural religion. But if we are made to know God, and not to know him as infinite is not properly to know him at all; if he has laid deep in the very ground-forms of the human soul a fundamental faith adapting us to that knowledge; if he has so constructed our powers as by the very virtue of their energies to conduct us to it, and if he has been pleased more fully and

explicitly to reveal it to us in his written Word—what hinders that, in the employment of our reasoning powers, which were made with an adaptation to order and system, we should attempt to arrange and digest that knowledge into a theoretical and practical science of religion? If the term *infinite* has no corresponding reality, it is of course admitted that there can be no science which involves an infinite element; but it also follows that there can be to us no God. But if the knowledge of the infinite Being and his infinite perfections be a real and not a delusive human knowledge, it may, under proper restrictions, be made the subject of scientific treatment, both inductive and deductive. Not only does the theologian act upon this assumption, but every preacher of the gospel proceeds upon it. He reasons concerning the Infinite inductively when, for example, by a collation of infinite titles and attributes and works, he establishes the divinity of Christ or the Holy Spirit. He reasons concerning it deductively, whenever, in reply to the difficulty of the sinner that his sins are infinitely great and deserve infinite reprobation, he infers the possibility of his pardon from the infinite mercy of God, from an infinite atonement, and from the infinite ability and willingness of Jesus Christ to save. It is obvious that there is a sense in which the Infinite not only may, but does and must enter into the reasoning processes of the human mind. That being conceded, the possibility of a science of theology is granted. Soberly and reverently to reason about God is not to dishonor him; not to do it is to degrade ourselves.

This is the science of sciences which the theological instructor is called to teach. It deals with the high problems of the infinite, the unchangeable, the eternal,

as well as with questions adjusted to the measures of the finite intelligence. It lays under tribute every other science, subordinates its lessons to its supreme religious end, and, recapitulating the resources of all into its own grand unity, it offers the collected results in adoring worship before the altar of God. Exploring three worlds in the scope of its mighty induction, examining by its analysis the doctrines of Natural Religion, and the sublimer principles of Redemption, it employs its comprehensive synthesis in the construction of a system which refuses to be a cold and formal digest, and rises, step by step, into an immortal epic, moving to the passionate notes of a triumphal anthem, and pouring its rich and thrilling doxologies into the ear of the Triune God. Not confined within temporal limits, death will lay no arrest upon its quest of truth, but translated with the glorified Church into the eternal sphere, it will develop its principles through the everlasting ages. The infinite perfections of God will be its text-book, Redemption its transcendent theme, Heaven its seminary, and Eternity its time of study.

NOTES.

P. 399. In the remarks made upon the relation of faith to reason, and the denial of any generic difference between them, the term *reason* is not employed specifically, as designating either the noetic or the dianoetic faculty. It appears to me illegitimate to treat reason as no more than the discursive understanding. It is more comprehensive than the faculty of reasoning. What has been here maintained is, that faith is a function of reason in its widest sense. It is not, however, intended to confine faith to the domain of the intellect proper. It would seem to involve the feelings in the form of the special emotion of trust. Faith is an intellectual exercise, so far forth as it is a conviction of the existence of a being or of the truth of a proposition. It is a feeling, so far forth as it involves trust in any being, or confidence in the truth of any proposition. This is true of supernatural faith, and, for aught that appears to the contrary, is true also of natural faith. In both cases an intellectual and an emotional function are discharged in one concrete, personal act. But to contradistinguish

faith from reason, or to place it in antagonism to right reason, is to strip it of its most fundamental feature—an intelligent assent to truth.

P. 401. In the first draft of the preceding Address, the term cognition was used in what was admitted to be a strict and narrow sense. As an act, it was contradistinguished from faith as a certain kind of knowing; and as a result, from the knowledge which is distinctively the product of faith. A term was needed which would group into unity, and compendiously express, all the acts of the mind by which it knows, excepting faith. Conception was too narrow, as excluding perception on the one hand, and on the other, judgment, and reasoning. Nor did the term *thought* appear to be wide enough, for, strictly speaking, it does not include percepts, but begins with concepts; and in adopting it, for the sake of clearness, in the present form of the Address, it has been found necessary to employ some circumlocution. Cognition, in a limited signification, answered the purpose; and there was high authority for that manner of using it. Sir William Hamilton (Discussions, p. 578), says: "Thinking (employing that term as comprehending all our cognitive energies) is of two kinds." Again, (Discussions, p. 608), he says: "Of things absolutely or in themselves, be they external, be they internal, we know nothing, or know them only as incognisable." It must be conceded, however, that the prevalent usage is adverse to this restricted employment of the term, and the Address has been recast so as to eliminate the ambiguity occasioned by it, and to render unnecessary a mere criticism of words.

P. 404. Sir William Hamilton, the most pronounced advocate of the existence of fundamental laws of belief, as original principles in the constitution of the human mind, expressly excepts the law of causality from that category. While admitting the necessity of the causal judgment, he denies that it is the result of an original principle. The law which demands a cause for every thing which begins to be, he maintains, is one which is derived from experience. It is but a special application of the great law of the Conditioned, viz.: that positive thought lies between two contradictory extremes, neither of which can be conceived as possible, but one of which, on the principle of Excluded Middle, must be admitted as true. The positive thought of cause, accordingly, lies between two contradictory extremes: one, the fact of an absolute commencement; the other, the fact of an infinite non-commencement. Neither of these extremes is conceivable. But the fact of an absolute commencement must be admitted to be true, on the ground that consciousness affirms it in the case of every free act of the will. Consciousness attests the fact that what thus begins to be, absolutely begins to be, that is, it is not related to anything previously existing which determines it. Now this fact, vouched for by a deliverance of consciousness, beyond which there can be no appeal, is inconceivable. The mind is impotent to think it. It is unable to think that anything which appears to begin to exist is an addition to the sum of existence. This impotence of mind necessitates the judgment that what thus appears to begin to exist in one form, must have had a previous existence in another form,—that is, that the existence of a thing in

one form is caused by its existence in another form. Thus it is shown that the causal judgment—the positive thought of cause—lies between two contradictory and inconceivable extremes, one of which, however, is proved to be true by the testimony of consciousness, viz.: the fact of an absolute commencement. But the inability of the mind to think that fact, necessitates the postulation of a cause for everything which appears to begin to exist. This, in brief, is Hamilton's account of the genesis of the causal notion. Now, argues he, the alleged existence of an original law of belief, which necessitates the positive affirmation that everything which begins to be must have had a cause, is contradicted by the deliverance of the fact of an absolute commencement by consciousness. Unless, therefore, consciousness lies, the existence of such an original principle must be denied.

It will be perceived that the argument is based upon the assumption that consciousness gives the fact of an absolute commencement. The only proof of the fact which Hamilton adduces is the consciousness of it. Now, if it can be shown that we can have no consciousness of the alleged fact, it must be abandoned as destitute of proof; for if, as he says, it is inconceivable, it is beyond the reach of the discursive understanding. That we cannot be conscious of an absolute commencement may, I humbly submit, be evinced upon Hamilton's elaborately established opinions as to consciousness taken into connection with his express admissions in this argument.

1. In the first place, he explicitly admits that the fact of an absolute commencement is inconceivable—that it cannot be thought. Now, if as he affirms, we are conscious of an absolute commencement, it would follow that we are conscious of what is inconceivable, of what is impossible to thought. But his own doctrine is, that thought and consciousness are concurrent and inseparable. Consciousness, he contends, is the condition of all thinking, feeling, willing, etc.; in a word, of all our mental acts. There can be no mental act without consciousness, and, of course, there can be no consciousness of an act, if the act does not exist. But in this case, consciousness and thought are divorced. The consciousness of an absolute commencement conditions no thought; it conditions the vacancy of thought. There is no act of thinking, for, *ex hypothesi*, the fact is unthinkable. There can be, consequently, no consciousness of an absolute commencement.

Nor will it do to say that we may be conscious of a belief in the fact though it be inconceivable; for Hamilton grounds the belief of the fact in the consciousness of it, and not the consciousness of it mediately in the belief of it.

2. In the second place, Hamilton expressly and formally teaches that consciousness is only possible in cases in which immediate knowledge is involved. We are conscious only of that which we immediately know. And, in this relation, he uses the terms *intuitive knowledge*, *presentative knowledge*, and *immediate knowledge*, as equivalents. There can be no mistake as to his doctrine upon this subject. He illustrates it very clearly in the case in which we reproduce a past event in memory. The event itself, as past, is mediately known through a vicarious representation of it in the mind. What we immediately know, is not the past event, but the mental modification which

represents it. Now, says Hamilton, we are conscious of the representing image as immediately known, but of the past event itself, as only mediately known, we have no consciousness. If, then, we are conscious of the fact of an absolute commencement, it follows directly from his own doctrine that it is immediately known—that it is intuitively and presentatively given. If so, as it is face to face with us, we perceive it, and, of course, can subsequently construe it in thought. It is first perceivable and then conceivable. But Hamilton contends that the fact of an absolute commencement is inconceivable. It is one of the contradictory and inconceivable extremes between which lies the positive concept of cause. We have then upon his principles an inconceivable fact apprehended in an act of immediate, presentative knowledge. There is here a manifest contradiction, and the argument which evinces it is very simple: We cannot be conscious of anything which is not immediately known; but an absolute commencement, as inconceivable, cannot be immediately known; therefore, we cannot be conscious of it.

We have, therefore, as flowing from Hamilton's doctrine of consciousness, the conclusion that we cannot be conscious of an absolute commencement; and we have his strong assertion, in this argument concerning the origin of the causal judgment, that we *are* conscious of it. It is difficult to imagine so astute a thinker as Hamilton slipping into a flagrant self-contradiction, and the presumption is so strong against this supposition that one is disposed to suspect some fatal flaw in the reasoning which appears to unmask it. It seems, however, but too conclusive. If, then, there be a contradiction between the two statements thus contrasted, it would follow, in accordance with the law which Hamilton himself so strongly enforces, viz.: that of two contradictories one only can and must be true, that only one of the contradictories here signalled can be true. In making the election we cannot hesitate. The position that consciousness only exists in cases of immediate knowledge is the most clearly established; and we are, consequently, forced to reject the contradictory supposition of a consciousness of an absolute commencement as wholly untenable. At least, it must, upon Hamilton's principles, be denied.

If, now, we are obliged to abandon the hypothesis of the consciousness of an absolute commencement, the only ground alleged for holding it as a fact is destroyed. There being no consciousness of it, it cannot be proved to exist—it is to us zero. But as Hamilton finds the empirical origin of the causal judgment in our inability to think an absolute commencement, and that is nothing, it would follow that our impotence to think nothing must result in nothing. His account of the origin of the notion of causation breaks down. It is not likely that any similar attempt to assign the law to an empirical source will prove more successful than that of this great thinker; and we fall back on the theory which ranks the law of causality among the original and fundamental principles of our mental constitution. The hand that pulls the laniard may be a feeble one, but if it discharges Hamilton's own battery, it must succeed in demolishing his celebrated structure of an Absolute Commencement. The fact would seem to be that his famous speculation upon this subject fails to exhibit even the con-

ditions of experience upon which the causal judgment is elicited. All that is necessary is, not only that a phenomenal change, but that the existence of anything be perceived. That occasions the positive inference that it must have had a cause, and that affirmation is grounded in a fundamental law of belief.

P. 408. Dr. Calderwood, in his *Philosophy of the Infinite*, which I had not read before the delivery of this Address, maintains that we have an immediate knowledge of God, and it would follow from that position that we have a consciousness of Him. On the contrary, I have endeavored to show that while we have, by faith, a real and valid knowledge of God, that knowledge is mediate and not immediate. It is evident that as we cannot directly perceive Him, we can have no consciousness of Him as an object perceived. Nor, if we admit that we cannot conceive or think Him, can we be conscious of Him as an object conceived or thought. But, if we do know Him, as infinite, by faith, the question might be suggested whether we may not be conscious of Him as an object believed—whether there may not be what might be called a faith-consciousness of God. That question will, perhaps, be best answered by a reference to the distinction between our knowledge of substance, and of its phenomenal qualities. We are not directly conscious of our own substance, either spiritual or material; that is, we are not directly conscious either of the substance of our souls or of that of our bodies; but only of the qualities which respectively manifest these substances. What then? We believe in the existence of the substances in which the qualities inhere. Of course, as that belief is an energy of the mind in operation, we are conscious of it. Now does it follow that in being conscious of the belief we are conscious of its objects, viz.: the substances believed to exist? This brings us to the last analysis. If Hamilton's doctrine be true, that there can be no consciousness where there is no immediate knowledge, then we are not conscious of substance. Phenomenal qualities are immediately given and we are conscious of them, whether mental or material. We then believe in the substance so manifested, that is, mediately given through the qualities. The faith is an object of consciousness because one of immediate knowledge, but the substance believed, not being immediately, but mediately known, is not an object of consciousness.

This line of argument will apply with increased emphasis to our knowledge of God. We are conscious of perceiving the phenomenal manifestations of His attributes. Granted that we are also conscious of these phenomenal manifestations, what then? We believe in the attributes so manifested. That, I think, is the first step. We are conscious of the act of faith as immediately known, but not of the attributes as mediately known. But given the attributes, we necessarily believe in the substance of God, to which the attributes belong. We are conscious of that second step in faith, but we are not conscious of the substance of God, because it is not immediately but only mediately given. In short, neither our own substance nor the substance of God is presentatively known and consequently an object of consciousness. This view would seem to be clear. We may raise the question, as between Reid and Hamilton, whether in being conscious of our perception of an object we are also conscious of the object itself, in the

same concrete act. We might, with Reid, deny; and then the preceding argument would, of course, be strengthened. For, if in being conscious of the act of perception we are not conscious of the object perceived, then, in being conscious of the act of faith we are not conscious of the object in which we believe. But if we admit the doctrine of Hamilton and most philosophers, it does not, because, in being conscious of perception we are conscious of the object perceived, follow that in being conscious of faith we are conscious of the object in which we believe. This, in the case of objects mediately known, Hamilton denies. Yet he often speaks elliptically of self-consciousness. What I conceive his phraseology, if expanded, would strictly mean, is, that we are conscious of attributes from which we immediately and irresistibly infer our selfhood. Dr. Mansel, however, expressly avows and defends the doctrine that we are directly conscious of self—that is, if it mean anything of the substantive existence of the Ego. But even he makes the consciousness of self an exception to the law that we are not conscious of substance. He fails to prove his extraordinary position, and opens the way of the Absolutist hypothesis—which he vehemently assails—of the immediate knowledge of the Divine substance.

We believe in the Infinite God. Thus we know Him mediately but validly. As He is not presentatively given in His essence, we cannot be directly conscious of Him. We are conscious of His blessed manifestations of Himself to us and in us, and we immediately and necessarily infer His attributes, His existence, and our relations to Him. This doctrine is safe—it is one which nature and the Scriptures concur in teaching. To say that we cannot know God at all is to sweep away the foundations of religion; to say that we can think Him, with our narrow grasp of conception, is either to deny practically that we can know Him, or to make with the philosopher of the Absolute our knowledge commensurate with that of God—to raise the finite to the Infinite, or to reduce the Infinite to the finite. We know His manifestations by thought, we know Him as infinite by faith. And in claiming this wondrous power for faith, we do not confound a knowledge of the Infinite with an infinite knowledge, a faith in the Infinite with an infinite faith. It may increase in intensity, though not in extension. It can never give more than the Infinite and that it gives now; but it may more give the Infinite and that eternally, more and more. On the other hand, Thought knows the finite. In its grand *nisus*, it will ever strive to reach the Infinite, but never will. The comprehension of conception will expand forever, but to pternity will only give the finite. Else comprehending God, we would have nothing more to know.

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