

THE SECOND CENTURY

*A HISTORY OF THE
ASSOCIATE REFORMED
PRESBYTERIANS 1882-1982*

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LOWRY WARE and JAMES W. GETTYS

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Preface for "Set of Six"
for
Bicentennial Celebration
(1982)

- NO. 1 Reprint of Lathan's history of the "Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South" (1782-1882).
- NO. 2 Reprint of the "Centennial History of the A.R.P. Church" (1903). How fortunate we are to have two history books of the first hundred years. No. 1 gives a running account of the theological stances and sociological pressures that brought our church into being and how those "Stances" and "Pressures" were dealt with. No. 2 gives a sketch of the organizations, churches and institutions that sought to carry out our purpose for being. The biography of each minister or missionary who has been a part of that 100 years is given. No. 1 gives the framework, No. 2 fills in the frame with flesh and blood.
- NO. 3 "Our History from 1882 to 1982." It is written in the style/vein of Lathan, by Dr. Lowry Ware, Chairman, Prof. Ray A. King, and Dr. Jim Gettys, Jr. of the history departments of Erskine College and Seminary. It is to contain an index of Lathan's book also.
- NO. 4 "Our New Song of Praise to Jehovah." Since music has been a vital part of our history, and, since during most of our 200 years, we sang Psalms (Bible Songs) exclusively, no set of history books would be complete without emphasis on praise. This volume (song), therefore, is being offered to the world of sacred music as our contribution to the praise of Jehovah. Dr. Alec Wyton, renowned composer of sacred music, has been commissioned to write it.
- NO. 5 "Bicentennial Supplement." This volume will contain sermons, addresses, etc. delivered at the 1982 Celebration. It will have statements of *purpose* for being, its *part* in our history, and its *plans* in the future life of the Kingdom from Boards, Institutions, etc. of our church. It will complement the special Bicentennial issue of the Minutes of Synod.
- NO. 6 "The History of the Woman's Synodical Union," 1873-1980. This volume, with Mrs. Julia B. Oates as editor, relates in detail the vital work for *HIS* Kingdom done by the Associate Reformed Presbyterian women through the channels of our denomination. There were "Missionary or Ladies Aid Societies" etc., as early as 1873. Later these societies were grouped into Presbyterian Unions. In 1915 these were organized into what is now known as the "Woman's Synodical Union."

Note: As intimated herein, all six (6) books of the set are needed to get the complete story to be passed on to posterity for the century ahead.

Authorized by Synod in 1979.

BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION COMMITTEE: Mrs. John M. Alexander, John A. Bigham, Paul Gettys, Sec., Ray A. King, J. Marion Magill, Joe H. Patrick, Paul L. Sherrill, Chmn., J. Geddeh Smith.

PROMOTION COMMITTEE: Wm. A. Deaton, W. M. Kennedy, Logan V. Pratt, Paul L. Sherrill, Chmn., Chas. H. Carlisle, Chmn. of Stewardship.

DEDICATION: To all whose names are mentioned herein and the thousands unnamed (known only to God) who have been a part of our history.

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PREFACE

Associate Reformed Presbyterians have always been very conscious and appreciative of their heritage. Because of their emphasis upon tradition, they have continually looked to their history as a source of inspiration. In addition to the numerous historical articles in the *Associate Reformed Presbyterian* and other periodicals by Robert Lathan, S. A. Agnew, W. M. Hunter, R. M. Stevenson, E. Gettys, Killough Patrick, and others, there have been three book length contributions to our history. The first of these, Lathan's *History*, dealt with the Scottish beginnings and first century of the denomination. The other two were compilations which were issued for the centennial and sesquicentennial celebrations of the Synod.

The Second Century is also a memorial volume which has been prepared as a part of the celebration of the bicentennial anniversary of the formation of the Associate Reformed Synod of North America. It is one of a series of volumes issued under the direction of the Bicentennial Committee of the General Synod and the volumes include reprints of Lathan's *History* and *The Centennial History*. *The Second Century* is divided into Parts I and II which treat the half centuries, 1882-1932 and 1932-1982, respectively, and Part III which consists of an index to Lathan's *History*. Part I was written by Lowry Ware, Part II by James W. Gettys.

We would like to thank numerous individuals for encouragement and help during our work and to make special acknowledgement to the Bicentennial Committee, Sandra Gettys, Ed Hogan, Ray King, W. C. Lauderdale, J. M. Lesesne, Kenneth Morris, and Tunis Romein. We, however, take sole responsibility for the interpretations as well as the errors which will surely be found in our work.

Lowry Ware
James W. Gettys

PART I

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INTRODUCTION

The Non-Celebration

The year 1882 was the hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Associate Reformed Synod of North America in Philadelphia on November 5, 1782 when the Associate Presbyteries of New York and Pennsylvania and the Reformed Presbytery (of Pennsylvania) united. No celebration marked this centennial date, and it was apparently unobserved except for the publication of Robert Lathan's *History of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South*, to which is prefixed a history of the Associate Presbyterian and Reformed Presbyterian Churches.

Why was there no observance of the centennial year of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian (often known as ARP) church? There were likely several reasons. Chiefly, perhaps, it was because the direct descendants of the Covenanters (Reformed) and Seceders (Associate Presbyterians) from New York and Pennsylvania who were at the Philadelphia meeting no longer called themselves Associate Reformed Presbyterians. For nearly a quarter century they had been known as the United Presbyterians (or UP's) and it was the formation of that church in 1859 that completed a union between the Covenanters and Seceders which had been only partially successful in 1782, and they would wait until 1959 to celebrate their centennial.

The church which still bore the name "Associate Reformed" in 1882 was known as the Associate Reformed Synod of the South, but none of its congregations had been represented in the Philadelphia meeting in 1782. Some appropriate commemoration might have been staged in 1885, for in 1785 the first congregations from the South (Coddle Creek, Cannon's Creek and Rocky Creek, N.C.) joined the A. R. Synod of North America. The only notice seems to have been a short article in the *A. R. Presbyterian*, September 10, 1885 in which Lathan concluded "this is, strictly speaking, the centennial year of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South."

Lathan's History

Despite the lack of interest which Southern ARP's seemed to have in their antecedents at this particular time, Robert Lathan's *History* was in itself a substantial memorial. The work was chiefly compiled from the author's own library, since his Yorkville (S.C.) home was distant from the libraries of theological seminaries or metropolitan centers. In addition to serving the Yorkville church and teaching school, for years he had written on historical topics for both church and secular papers, and he had collected about 3,000 volumes as well as many manuscripts.¹ A colleague, Rev. Robert A. Ross of Blairsville, S. C., supported his venture by collecting manuscript histories of congregations within First Presbytery and by reading his work in manuscript.²

The sacrifice which his work cost his family is illustrated by a story which has come down to the present day among acquaintances of the Lathans. According to this tradition, Lathan's labors on his historical study caused him to be a poor provider for his family, so that on more than one occasion after 1882 when Mrs. Lathan had visitors to her meal table, she would bring out a copy of his *History* and place it before them as part of their fare.

His work did earn him an increased recognition in other ways. Westminster College, a UP institution at New Wilmington, Pa., gave him a D.D. degree, his own Synod in 1882 passed a commendatory resolution which asked its members to promote his book, and two years later he was elected as a professor at Erskine Theological Seminary.³

Unfortunately, Lathan found little popular demand for his book. In 1884, when he prepared to move from Yorkville to Due West he advertised his book at a special price of a dollar as "I am anxious to get rid of the books before I move."⁴

The Next Half Century

In the half-century after the publication of Lathan's *History* his denomination enjoyed unmatched growth. Despite continued losses to other bodies, such as the church-

ches in Texas and Kentucky, its total membership increased from about 6,700 to 22,100, the number of congregations from 100 to 136, the number of ministers from 80 to 108, and the number of foreign missionaries from one to 22. It overcame a long standing inability to gain a foothold in cities and established strong churches in Charlotte, Atlanta, Tampa, Little Rock, and a series of smaller cities in the South. In 1882 its college had only 80 students; by 1932 the enrollment had grown to 292, and its theological seminary had grown from a total of 3 students to 6.⁵

Growth was attended by a series of problems and changes. The body was enlivened if not strengthened by such controversies as several efforts to unite with a larger body (especially the United Presbyterians), relaxation of "close" or restricted communion, the introduction of instrumental music and revisions of the psalter, the use of revival methods, coeducation in and removal of Erskine College, and other lesser issues.

Yet, in spite of changes, the ARP's always seemed to change less than their fellow Christians. Neither additions nor defections seemed to make essential changes in the character of the Synod. To a remarkable degree its leaders and members agreed on what its mission was and were busy trying to carry it out.

Chapter I

STRENGTHENING THE STAKES

Between 1882 and 1932 the membership of the Synod more than tripled. During these years ARP's engaged in two continuous tasks which they called "strengthening the stakes" and "lengthening the cords." The former was used to refer to the building up and sustaining of the churches where the denomination had its bases; the latter to the task of carrying the ARP message, the gospel "in its plainness and purity," to new fields.

The ARP base was made up of the strong churches in the First and Second Presbyteries. These two presbyteries in 1882 contained just over two-thirds of the total membership of Synod. Yet even in this heart of Synod, the churches were almost entirely limited to farming communities. As one observer who was well acquainted with the ARP's in the 1880's described their situation at that time: "This body of noble Christians was confined to the rural districts. It had some numerically strong churches of wealth and culture; a few struggling ones in towns, and not one in the city."¹

The coming of the railroad was already changing the South and it soon had its impact upon the ARP churches. In 1875, First Presbytery reported that whereas a decade earlier along "the continuous line of railroad" which ran from Winnsboro, S. C. to Statesville, N. C. there was only one church, Winnsboro, there were now six: Winnsboro, Chester in S. C. and Ebenezer, Charlotte, Huntersville and Statesville, N.C. This line ran like a backbone through the body of the presbytery which included some 40% of the membership of Synod. The report concluded. "These and others are points to which people move, and furnish us missionary ground for us to cultivate, as the new settlements do our brethren in the West."²

The story of the development of these six points during the half century after 1882 illustrates the strengthening of the First Presbytery core during this period. Since all

were in towns or cities except Ebenezer, which was in rural Mecklenburg County, this story also covers the entrance of the ARP's into towns and cities. They were not typical of the churches in Synod in one other important respect. While the Synod as a whole grew three times during this period, these six churches plus the additional churches which were built in Charlotte and Statesville increased by ten times, from 424 members to 4,443.

Winnsboro

The Winnsboro church was probably the first Southern ARP church which was located in a town. Winnsboro, the county seat of Fairfield County, was considered a center of culture, and the church there was surely one of those which Lowry had written was noted for its wealth and culture. Its members were among the town's most influential citizens, and it was well known for its generous support of the work of Synod. It led the Synod in per capita giving until the churches at Chester and Charlotte were built up.³

Perhaps the most productive period of the church's history came during the pastorate of Rev. J. T. Chalmers (1881-1891). While there he served for five years as an associate editor of the *A. R. Presbyterian*, and in 1884 as a special agent for the Erskine Seminary for which he traveled over Synod and collected an endowment of \$25,000.⁴ It was also while he was there that the first young people's missionary society in the Synod was founded in April, 1883. Other congregations sought his services, for example, he was offered the pastorate of the Due West church in 1890, but when he left Winnsboro in 1891 it was for one of the largest UP churches in Philadelphia.

Chester

The story of the Chester church illustrated how the growth of the newer churches were sometimes accompanied by the decline of the mother country churches, in this case old Hopewell in Chester County. Eight of Chester's first ten elders were from Hopewell as well as "a

large element" of the congregation.⁵ In 1882, Hopewell still had 114 members to Chester's 61, although during the same year the latter raised total contributions of over \$1200 to the older church's \$500. In two decades, Chester's membership had surpassed Hopewell's, and its pastor was receiving the second highest salary in the Synod and double that of the pastor of its mother church. By 1906, Chester's membership was twice that of Hopewell, and the latter now had to be combined with another church to support a pastor; two decades after this the Chester congregation was four times that of the older church.⁶

Hopewell's Robert N. Hemphill was one of Synod's leading benefactors in his gifts to Erskine, the Seminary, and the cause of Foreign Missions, but the most generous benefactor of the church during this period was Joseph Wylie of Chester. By his death in 1900, Wylie had given about \$60,000 to the ARP church or about 2/3 of his entire wealth, and he gave liberally of his time as well. He had served as treasurer of the Seminary and on a number of boards and committees of Synod.⁷ His generosity to the church was unmatched until late in the period when E. C. Stuart began his many benevolences to it.

Wylie's generous spirit and liberal means set the tone of the Chester church. From its organization in 1869 until his death he served as clerk of its session and superintendent of its Sabbath school. A self-made businessman, merchant and banker, his example was followed by his partner, Matthew White, and other Chester ARP's such as W. J. Henry and J. K. Henry and Joseph Lindsay. In 1887, Wylie built and gave to the church one of the finest parsonages in the Synod, and in 1898 largely through the efforts of these prosperous businessmen the Chester congregation erected a new and handsome church. The dedication was an event of celebration for the whole town, and the other churches joined in the occasion.⁸

It was natural that Chester attracted some of the most outstanding pastors in the Synod. Rev. Mason W. Pressly served from 1882 to 1886, Rev. J. S. Moffatt from 1886 to 1907 when he became president of Erskine, Rev. C. E. McDonald from 1907 until his death in 1909, Rev. D. G. Phillips from 1909 until he moved to First Charlotte in

1922, and Rev. Paul A. Pressly from then until 1936.

Ebenezer

The next church of the six contrasted with this in that it was served throughout most of this period by a single minister, Rev. G. R. White of Ebenezer. White served this congregation as its first settled pastor from 1876 to 1927.⁹ White was also a prominent figure in the affairs of Synod. He served as treasurer of the Home Mission Board from its formation in 1888, and he and his closest friend and fellow pastor of rural Mecklenburg County, R. G. Miller of Sardis, supported the building up of the Charlotte churches without regard to any competition which they might provide for their churches. Miller, White, and W. W. Orr were the chief officers of the Home Mission Board, and as an aggressive triumvirate they pushed the work of expanding and supporting the home work of Synod. For over fifty years at Ebenezer, White never took a salary of over \$500 a year since he owned and managed one of the best farms of the county nearby, and he was a generous contributor to many of Synod's causes.¹⁰

The Question of a City Mission: The Nashville Experiment

Five miles north of Ebenezer on the rail line was the city of Charlotte and the ARP experience there during this period was an altogether remarkable one. When a mission was opened in Charlotte in 1873, it represented Synod's only city mission.

The Synod of the South had begun two city missions in the 1850's, Nashville and Louisville. Both suffered under the obvious disadvantage of being far removed from the center of ARP strength. Nashville had the support of the Tennessee Presbytery, but that body was weak with only 2 to 3 ministers and some four or five small churches in middle Tennessee in Lincoln, Marshall and Maury Counties. Louisville had the aid of a presbytery which included some members who were both wealthy and generous, but it (The Kentucky Presbytery) was not much larger than its

Tennessee counterpart, and the mission was even further removed from the heartland of the Synod. It was also true that the other Kentucky churches were quite distant from Louisville (They were in Bourbon and Jessamine Counties).

These ante-bellum missions were important experiments for the Southern ARPs. As Editor J. I. Bonner wrote in the *Associate Reformed Presbyterian* in 1867, the Nashville mission "was almost our first aggressive movement," and its loss in his view would have a morale impact upon the whole Synod akin to a Gettysburg type of defeat. His lament was "Is the Associate Reformed Synod unable, intellectually, morally, materially to carry out a single city mission?"¹¹

The Nashville mission from its organization in January, 1855 had never enjoyed more than a precarious existence. For one thing, it was difficult to get ministers to serve the mission very long, or sometimes even for a short time. Rev. H. T. Sloan of the Long Cane and Cedar Springs churches in South Carolina, a brother of A. S. Sloan of the Tennessee Presbytery, left his home for only three months when he went to organize the mission, and this set the pattern. Except for visits from the brethren of the Tennessee Presbytery, the mission frequently could secure no preaching, for the men sent by Synod usually found that they could stay only a portion of a year.¹²

A second problem had been funds. To construct "a suitable house of worship," the 1855 Synod had authorized Rev. J. H. Bryson, son of the pioneer ARP missionary to Tennessee, to canvass its churches for money for a building. Bryson raised a subscription of almost \$4,000, but only 1/3 was in cash, and supporters of the mission had to borrow some \$900 to erect a "neat lecture room" which was employed as a temporary chapel for the work.¹³ Most of the subscriptions were only partially paid and the resulting debt remained a burden to the work.¹⁴

A more important problem seemed to be that city people were unreceptive to the distinctive principles or beliefs of the ARP's. As J. G. Miller reported in 1858, the Nashville people were quite ignorant of the denomination, and when exposed to ARP practices, they showed "a

strange prejudice" against them. Certain unnamed groups stirred up such hostility that he found the work faced "a mighty undercurrent of opposition."¹⁵

While friends of the mission constantly besought the aid of Synod, even they must have been surprised when in 1859, Synod voted to move the Seminary from Due West to Nashville. Without warning the action came after extended debate over the Seminary and the election of a new theological professor. That professor, Rev. R. C. Grier who had recently had to give up the presidency of Erskine due to ill health, was directed to take charge immediately of the Nashville mission, but other wise there were no provisions for the transfer of the Seminary.¹⁶

Grier proceeded to Nashville in December of that year and stayed there through early January, 1860. In April, he returned to Nashville and preached until July. The other seminary professor, Rev. James Boyce, remained in Due West, Grier took up his work there in the fall as well as the pastorate of the Due West church, and the 1860 Synod rescinded without explanation the action of the previous year on removal of the Seminary.¹⁷

Grier's successor at Nashville, Rev. J. H. Peoples, reported that he thought the mission's chief trouble lay in its lack of local leadership. By the time that Peoples left soon after the outbreak of war, one of the mission's two ruling elders had moved away, and he observed that despite the best efforts of the missionaries "scarcely any persons of position or influence" had ever been attracted to the mission.¹⁸

The war disrupted what was left of the work as well as the whole of the Tennessee Presbytery. The building was used late in the war as a Federal hospital.

In 1867, Synod directed Rev. H. T. Sloan to return to Nashville and attempt to revive the work, but he did not go, and in the following year the Committee on Domestic Missions tried an unusual strategy to try to find a man for the Nashville mission. It put up \$1200 for the support of the mission "to test the sense of the Synod," but after approaching five men for the job, it had to confess failure.¹⁹ So, in 1869, it turned over to Synod the task of selecting a man for the post. Not until the closing session and follow-

ing "an animated and protracted discussion" was Rev. C. B. Betts secured for the work.²⁰

Betts was a native of middle Tennessee and had spent his pre-college years there, and he was making a sacrifice by giving up a prosperous church at Winnsboro, so when his labors produced only a "barrenness of results," the 1870 Synod considered closing the experiment. By a close vote, a majority decided to end it.²¹

The Louisville Case

While the Synod also supported the Louisville mission which dated from 1852, its involvement there was on a very different basis. For one thing, it was the work of only one minister, Rev. Gilbert Gordon, who preached for the people there for almost two decades. In addition, the Kentucky churches gave liberal support from the beginning, and there seems to have been strong local leadership. A chapel was built and paid for even before the mission was organized in 1854, and in 1858 when Rev. Gordon was installed as its pastor, a new and commodious sanctuary was erected. The Louisville mission had twenty charter members and in the first year after its organization that was doubled. By the time that it left the Synod in 1871 it had between 75 to 80 members.²²

Although the Civil War cut off Louisville along with the rest of the Kentucky presbytery from their Confederate brethren, the city suffered little from the ravages of war. It was five years after the war that the congregation, along with the majority of the presbytery, decided to leave the ARP fold over the failure of that body to work out an acceptable union with the Southern Presbyterians.

Thus by 1871, the Southern ARP's were without a city mission, successful or otherwise. The Nashville experience seemed to suggest that it would be wise not to try again soon; the Louisville case, though a bitter loss, indicated more promise.

Its limits in manpower and resources were already being tested by such efforts as aiding the western churches as far distant as Texas, preparing to enter foreign missions, and raising an endowment for Erskine, but the

church did not put its faith in manpower or resources. God alone would determine the ultimate outcome of all of its ventures, and it was ready by 1873 to trust in Him while beginning anew in the field of city missions.

The Charlotte Mission

The 1873 Synod authorized Rev. H. T. Sloan to go to Charlotte to open work there, and in March, 1874 he organized a congregation there of thirteen members. In the 1850's at the time of the Nashville and Louisville enterprises, First Presbytery had tried a Charlotte mission, but Synod was not involved, and the effort had ended in failure.²³ The new venture was under the authority of Synod, and a lot was purchased with a loan from the Erskine Endowment funds and a chapel erected with money raised in Charlotte and the churches of First Presbytery (along with a few in Second Presbytery).²⁴ The *A.R. Presbyterian* warned that although the chapel was suitable for temporary use, only "a brick building" which appealed to "all classes" would succeed in attracting city people in large numbers.²⁵

Rev. W. M. Hunter, a native of Mecklenburg County, began the supply of the Charlotte mission and he was followed by Revs. J. L. Hemphill, J. C. Galloway, and W. T. Waller. The work grew very slowly, but by 1882 the congregation was ready to elect its own elders, T. R. Magill and J. I. McCain, and First Presbytery optimistically reported to Synod that it would soon be self-supporting (a prophecy which was a decade too early), "a feeder of the church instead of a dependent upon the treasury."²⁶

Unfortunately for the next several years the work suffered reverses when some of its members, including Prof. McCain who was appointed to the Erskine faculty, moved elsewhere, and the membership dropped from 30 to 25 by 1884.

When Synod met at Due West in 1885, many were ready to end the Charlotte mission; in the words of Rev. G. R. White, "to have done with it." For a dozen years, the work had been pursued by some of Synod's most capable men, and Charlotte was in the midst of supportive and pro-

sperous ARP churches. Yet the mission had done little better than survive. Later Rev. White of neighboring Ebenezer church recalled how Elder T. R. Magill came to "some of us" in tears and begged "Don't let them kill our little church." The result was that Synod turned over the mission to the direction of First Presbytery for a one year last effort.²⁷

A year later, First Presbytery reported that the Charlotte mission was "in better condition than it ever was. It seemed a dark day for that mission at your last meeting, but God has brought order out of confusion and light out of darkness." One of the reasons for the more favorable state was that Rev. J. S. Moffatt, just received in the presbytery from the UP church, had labored at Charlotte with "great acceptance," and he was returned to the work for the next year.²⁸ When Moffatt left to take up the church at Chester in late 1887, Rev. C. E. Todd was called by the mission and he became its first settled pastor.

In the fall of 1888, Rev. Robert Lathan, now a professor at Erskine Seminary, but for much of the life of the Charlotte mission an observer from the neighboring county in South Carolina (York), undertook to assess the situation. He noted that while other denominations had imposing churches in the city, the ARP work had been like "rowing against the tide." "This is strange," he wrote, "since it is surrounded on all sides by strong, growing ARP congregations." (During the last six years the seven rural churches in Mecklenburg County had gained nearly 200 members and now totaled approximately 850.) Others saw the problem which handicapped the mission as the poor location and condition of the chapel. Lathan ventured a different and more troubling view, "The main reason, most probably, why the Associate Reformed church in Charlotte does not grow more rapidly, is because it is too old-fashioned. In most of our cities the church, in order to be popular, must put on city airs as well as the people. It is wonderful what egregious fools many country people become after residing in a city for a few years. What airs they put on, and what marvelous attainments they make in imping the rich. Genuine Presbyterianism has in its constitution very little of that elasticity which fits it for adap-

tion to worldly ways and worldly fashions."²⁹

Such views did not deter the 1888 Synod from planning for a new building in Charlotte. The congregation of 50 members raised \$1,000 and Synod directed First Presbytery to raise the additional funds needed. The presbytery set up a seven man committee, four of which were from the Charlotte mission, with Rev. W. W. Orr of Huntersville as chairman. Orr secured five men to canvass the churches of the presbytery, every ladies society was asked for \$10 and every young people's society for \$5. For his fellow churchmen, Orr asked a now familiar question: "If we cannot succeed in Charlotte, surrounded by ARP churches as it is, pray in what city can we succeed? Is the ARP church prepared to say she will drop all city work?"³⁰

Orr made this challenge in part from his position as secretary of the new Home Missions Board which had been set up the year before to promote the very kind of work that the Charlotte mission symbolized. The officers of the Board also included Rev. R. G. Miller, pastor of Sardis, and Rev. G. R. White, pastor of Ebenezer. These three, Miller, Orr, and White, by coincidence were from congregations which ringed Charlotte, and all the other board members were from First Presbytery, and the aggressive, expansionist element of the church which the board represented determined to make Charlotte a model for the future building up of the Synod.

In 1890, First Presbytery reported to Synod that the Charlotte mission was in a "flourishing condition." Its membership had grown by 50% (up to 75) during the two years since the decision to build a new church had been made, funds were coming in and the building under way, and the congregation had met all its financial obligations. This time the Presbytery seemed realistic in expressing the hope that Charlotte would soon have a self-supporting ARP church.³¹

The Growth of the Charlotte Churches

The membership continued to increase and in 1893, the first year in which the church received no outside aid, it reached 150 members. Its pastor, C. E. Todd, with the aid

of a layman, M. M. Ross, began to publish a semi-monthly, *The Young Worker*, in Charlotte for the benefit of the young people's societies of Synod. By the time that Rev. Todd was forced to give up the pastorate because of ill health in 1895, the Charlotte church had become a center of strength for the denomination.³²

The congregation experienced something of a slump in 1895 and 1896 when it dropped from a high of 170 members down to 130, but in 1896 it secured the service of Rev. J. T. Chalmers, and it began to resume its growth. Ironically Chalmers had been forced to give up his work in the UP church at Philadelphia for the same reason which Todd had to give up Charlotte, ill-health. His health seemed to have improved, and he proved an extremely effective leader in Charlotte. By 1899, the membership had reached a new high, 177.

The year 1899 was a memorable one for the Charlotte church for at least two reasons. Synod met there for the first time (it had been 37 years since it had met in Mecklenburg County), and a quarter of a century since its founding, it became "First Charlotte". It had given birth in the fall to an offspring, 2nd Charlotte, as it was listed in the statistics of Synod, the first "second church" in the history of Synod. The event appeared a little like the "loaves and the fishes" in that even with the transfer of 50 of its members to the new church, the mother church reported a membership of 177 in 1899, the same as the year before, which made it the 10th largest in Synod. Its pastor's salary was \$1,000 which was equaled only by the congregations at Chester and Due West.³³ Finally, the Charlotte Synod paid its pastor the tribute of electing him president of Erskine (to replace W. M. Grier whose loss by death was a great blow to the whole church), and Rev. Chalmers in turn honored his congregation by declining the post with the statement he would not "exchange my present pastorate for any gift of Synod."³⁴

The second Charlotte church soon took the descriptive name, The East Avenue Tabernacle. It had grown out of two ventures of the mother church, a prayer meeting held at different places in the city during the summers by the Young Men's society of the church and a mission Sabbath

school. It was designated as one of the special or cooperative missions which would be jointly funded by the UP and ARP Home Mission Boards even though it was a distinctly ARP church. Rev. J. Knox Montgomery, a UP minister, served as its first supply in 1900 and 1901, before he left to take a church in Chicago. In November, 1901 the new church called as its first settled pastor, Rev. W. W. Orr of Corsicana, Texas.³⁵

Rev. Orr proved as effective at the East Avenue Tabernacle as he had at Corsicana in bringing in new members. In his first year, the membership grew 80%, and reached a total of 241 which the Home Mission Board declared "far beyond expectation." For the next six years while Orr was its active pastor, the church continued to grow rapidly until it became the largest congregation in the Synod, paid its pastor the largest salary, and supported a native worker in the India mission.³⁷ During the last two years before Orr resigned the pastorate to enter the work of full time evangelism in 1910, the church employed an associate pastor, Rev. John A. Smith, who performed most of the pastoral duties while Orr carried on evangelistic tours.³⁸

Despite the fact that the formation of a second church in Charlotte had the effect of reducing the membership of First Charlotte sharply, it quickly began to grow again. In 1902, Rev. Chalmers died before he had reached the age of 42.³⁹

He was replaced as pastor of the First church by Rev. J. Knox Montgomery who returned from the UP church. Montgomery's father had been in the ARP church before the Civil War, and the younger Montgomery quickly became an active force in Synod-wide activities as well as a very successful pastor. He assumed the directorship of Synod's young people's work, and his church hosted a Synodical Young People's convention in 1904. He was a leading advocate for union with the UP church in the 1904 controversy, and soon afterwards he left the ARP ranks to assume the presidency of the UP Muskingum College in Ohio.⁴⁰

Another transfer from the UP church, Rev. William Duncan, came to First Charlotte from Ohio. Rev. Duncan was an aggressive pastor, and under his leadership the

church's membership doubled to more than 400. During that year he became embroiled in a controversy with members of the congregation over some letters which he had written and large personal debts which he assumed. A presbyterial commission found that he had acted in an indiscreet and censurable manner, but recommended that for the best interests of the church that he be kept as its pastor. However, in February, 1909, a called meeting of First Presbytery voted 21 to 17 to dissolve his pastoral relation with the church. The Presbytery now found that a large number of the most influential members of the church, including a majority of its officers, had withdrawn from the church because of the pastor.

This trouble and the transfer of many of the members to the new churches caused the membership of the First church to drop by 150 from 1908 to 1910. In October of that year, two mission churches were organized out of the work of the First church, Dilworth (later Chalmers Memorial) and Groveton (later Statesville Avenue). The former was organized with 14 members, but with such bright prospects that the Charlotte *Observer* reported that its friends expected it to have 150 members in a year.⁴¹ The latter was organized in a schoolhouse, and in the following year its congregation bought a lot and built a chapel. Chalmers Memorial canvassed First Presbytery for funds with which it built a substantial new building. Both new churches were aided in building by Synod's Board of Church extension and in supplements to the pastors' salaries by Synod's Board of Home Missions.⁴³

The same day that Groveton (Statesville Avenue) was formally organized, another Charlotte mission church, Villa Heights, was organized out of a Sabbath School conducted from the Tabernacle church. Villa Heights (called Parkwood after 1929) built its first sanctuary from materials taken from the old Sardis church. After only a short time, this building was demolished by a windstorm, and in 1911 the congregation canvassed money for a second building.⁴⁴

The year that the three new churches were organized, the combined membership of the two city churches (no members were yet counted for the new churches) and the

eight ARP churches out in the county was exactly the same, 886. In 1900, 1/3 of the population of Mecklenburg County was in the city of Charlotte, a little more than 1/5 of the ARP's in the county were in the two city churches; by 1910, 1/2 of the county's population was in the city and 1/2 of the ARP's in the county were now in the five city churches.

Of the new city churches, Chalmers Memorial grew most rapidly, and it had 80 members by late 1909 and 116 by 1910 when it hosted the second meeting of the Synod in the city of Charlotte. The first Charlotte Synod, that of 1899, was the first to attract 90 delegates, the second meeting there was the first to draw over 100 delegates, and it was also unusual in the number of elders attending, 41, 26 of which came from the First Presbytery. Charlotte had replaced Due West as the site which could draw the largest number to Synod (Synod met every 10 years at Due West from 1865 on.) In 1910, the Mecklenburg County ARP's numbered about 1800 out of the county's population of 67,000.

Rev. George W. Hanna, like his predecessor a transfer from the UP church, served as pastor of the First Church from 1910 to 1913, and he was succeeded by Rev. W. B. Lindsay who served until 1922. Its membership began to increase again, and by the time of Lindsay's resignation in 1922 it surpassed the 1908 total and numbered 456.⁴⁵

The Tabernacle church was also served by a UP transfer, Rev. J. G. Kennedy, from 1910 to 1914 when Rev. W. W. Orr returned to its pulpit after four years of evangelistic preaching all over the United States. In 1914, a new church at the cost of \$40,000 and a new manse was completed by the congregation. Once again Rev. Orr's leadership helped the church boost its membership to new heights for an ARP church; Tabernacle by the time that it hosted Synod in 1919 had over 600 members and before its pastor's career was ended by death in 1928 it had reached a high of 770 members. The city churches continued to outgrow the rural ones, and at the time of the 1919 Synod meeting they were 50% larger. Synod met in Charlotte for the fourth time in 1928 at the First Church during the

pastorate of D. G. Phillips. At that time the six city churches (Tuckesegee, soon known as Glenwood, was organized out of the First Church by 1924) had a membership of 2258, while the rural churches of the county had a total of 1141. The census of 1930 showed that the city population was also double that of the rest of the county.

The Huntersville Church

If Charlotte's experience illustrated the ARP entrance into the cities during this period, the story of the next point on the strategic rail line, Huntersville, indicates the progress of the church in the small towns. The Huntersville church was organized in 1875, only five years after the town was founded, and its first pastor was Rev. W. W. Orr who served his first pastorate there from 1878 to 1897. The congregation grew steadily until by 1882 it numbered 108 and by 1888 it had 169 members. In 1880, Rev. Orr opened a school in a small building on the church lot, and when it grew it was moved to the church itself. In 1882, a large frame building was built to house the school which was now a boarding school called Huntersville High School. Orr was assisted by Rev. W. M. Hunter and the school was owned by a stock company. The school drew students from throughout First Presbytery, and for some time after Rev. Orr left it to become Synodical evangelist, it was operated as a presbyterial school.⁴⁶

The Huntersville church also was a pioneer in lay involvement. After Rev. Orr took up his work for the Synod as well as serving as College Agent for Erskine, the laymen of the church filled the gap. Even earlier, the Huntersville young men showed their initiative by organizing the first Young Men's Home missionary society in the Synod in October, 1885. Their purpose was to follow the example of the women and children's missionary societies which were organized to support foreign missions. Home missions needed similar support. By the time that the Board of Home Missions was set up by Synod in 1888, the Huntersville society had reached a membership of 38, and it had opened a mission Sabbath school. It called upon other churches to organize similar work.⁴⁷

The new Home Mission Board seized upon these examples to seek to organize the young men of the church to provide funds, manpower, and enthusiasm for their work. In January, 1889, Revs. G. R. White and W. W. Orr, on the behalf of the Board, issued the call. "There is a vast amount of latent power in the young men of the church, unused, unenlisted." they said, and in a paraphrase of Lord Nelson's words at the battle of Trafalgar, they concluded: "The Master expects every man to do his duty, young and old."⁴⁸

By October, nine home mission societies were organized (all in First Presbytery except Due West), and the number doubled in the next few years. For a time in the early 1890's, these societies organized mission Sabbath schools and raised funds for home missions comparable to the totals raised for foreign missions by the foreign missionary societies. In 1891, the Young Men's Home Missionary Societies of First Presbytery held a convention at Huntersville. At that convention, steps were taken to secure an organ for the young men's societies which led to the founding of *The Young Worker*.⁴⁹

During the late 1890's, the removal of some of its members caused the loss of about a third of Huntersville's membership, and in 1900 it joined with the neighboring Gilead church to call Rev. J. M. Bigham as pastor. Rev. Bigham served these two churches for 24 years. At the beginning of his tenure at Huntersville, a new and more adequate church building was erected, and the membership began to increase once again. It reached 200 by 1906 and exceeded 300 by 1919. Through the 1920's it continued to be the third largest (after Tabernacle and First Charlotte) of the dozen ARP churches in Mecklenburg County.

Statesville

Statesville stood at the northern terminus of the strategic line of churches from Winnsboro. The town, the county seat of Iredell County, grew from a little over a thousand inhabitants in 1880 to the status of a small city

with the population of 10,490 in the census of 1930. During the same time period the ARP membership in Statesville grew at an even slightly higher rate.

The ARP's had five churches in Iredell County in 1882 with approximately 550 members, the Statesville church had 63 members. Three of the other county churches, Coddle Creek, New Perth, and New Stirling, were among the oldest and most influential churches in the Synod, and the latter two were the two largest congregations in First Presbytery and were among the six largest in the entire Synod.

Statesville's distinction in 1882 lay not in the size of its congregation but in the liberality of its members. The example had been set by Col. J. S. Miller who gave the lot on which the church was completed, the congregation owed a considerable sum to Miller, but he said, "A church never prospers under a debt. I will just burn it out."⁵⁰ The Statesville church in 1882 had the highest rank among the North Carolina churches in per capita giving and ranked 4th in the First Presbytery as a whole.⁵¹

Statesville's first pastor, Rev. W. B. Pressly, served in churches in Iredell County throughout his ministry, and he began the Statesville church as a mission and served it until his death in 1883. He was succeeded by Rev. D. G. Caldwell, and during Caldwell's tenure the membership rose above a hundred. In 1891, the year in which he resigned its pastorate, the Statesville church was host to Synod.

The following year, the church called Rev. J. H. Pressly who had just graduated from the seminary, and he served it for 54 years (He was one of three brothers who served in the ARP ministry, and he was third in a direct line that ran through four generations of ARP ministers). During the 1890's, the membership doubled from about 100 to above 200, and by the time of the Centennial Synod it was above 300. At that time it was the third largest congregation in Synod, behind only Salem (Tennessee) and Charlotte's Tabernacle. With its increase in size it no longer ranked so high in per capita giving, but in 1899 when a cyclone destroyed its first sanctuary a new one was erected which was exceeded in value by only two others in the presbytery.⁵²

By 1907, the Statesville membership had reached 400, but in December of that year, 37 members were organized into a new church, first known as South Side, which was formally named Pressly Memorial. This was the second "second church" founded in the Synod, and it indicated that, although on a smaller scale, the work at Statesville was enjoying a success comparable to that of Charlotte. Despite a temporary drop in its membership, the First church had reached a total of 400 again by 1914, and Pressly Memorial had 90 members. In 1913, the First church hosted Synod for the second time, and in 1925, Synod met there a third time. (Only Due West had more Synod meetings in the half century (1882-1932), and only Chester hosted as many. The 1925 meeting drew the largest total of delegates (162) of the whole period.)

At the time the combined membership of the two Statesville churches was almost 800 and for the first time exceeded the combined membership of the five ARP churches found elsewhere in Iredell County. By 1932, First church had gained another hundred members, and Pressly Memorial had organized a mission of its own, known as Diamond Hill. The ARP's had almost 900 members in the city where there were 63 in 1882, and during the same period the rural churches of the county had gained about 150 in addition to a new church, founded in 1885 in the town of Mooresville, which had gained a membership of over 200.⁵³ Yet the First church had gained the status as second in the congregations of Synod in enrolled members (Tabernacle was first) and first in active members.

In what was the First Presbytery before the division in 1919, there were three other examples of establishment of city churches and growth somewhat comparable to those of Charlotte and Statesville: Gastonia, Rock Hill, and Columbia.

The Other City Churches of First Presbytery

The church at Gastonia was the second ARP church organized in Gaston County. When it was set up in 1887, its mother church, Pisgah, was ninety years old. While Gastonia had only just over two hundred people in 1880,

the decade of the 1880's saw it begin to grow, and by 1890 it had over a thousand in population. Rev. E. E. Boyce, whose pastorate at Pisgah and Bethany (across the border in South Carolina) would be called "possibly the most successful in Synod," organized the Gastonia church and preached there for six years. Boyce had given up his work at Bethany, and by the time that he left the active ministry in 1893, the new church at Gastonia had 67 members.⁵⁴

The following year, Rev. J. C. Galloway took up the work at Gastonia and Pisgah and during a tenure of 28 years, he led the church to a steady increase in membership. The population of the city of Gastonia increased by over four times during the 1890's, and the membership of the church there doubled. In 1901, Rev. Galloway gave up his work at Pisgah and became full time at Gastonia. During the next decade, while the population of the city grew by about 25%, the church's growth was three times that. By 1911, when Second Gastonia (first called West Gastonia) was organized in the heart of the textile area of the city, First Gastonia had come to equal its mother church, Pisgah, with over 200 members.⁵⁵ In 1920, Gastonia hosted a meeting of Synod, and it proved such a convenient location that the meeting was the first to draw over 150 delegates.

When Rev. Galloway died in 1922, the congregation had reached a total of 275. For the next five years, Rev. E. N. Orr, son of Rev. W. W. Orr, held the pastorate, and by 1928 the membership of First Gastonia had risen to 446. Rev. T. H. McDill, who like Rev. Orr had served at New Albany, Miss., now succeeded him at First Gastonia, and under his leadership the church continued to grow. By 1932, the two Gastonia ARP churches had approximately 550 members, a total exceeded in the cities of the Synod by only Charlotte and Statesville.

Rock Hill

Rock Hill's growth as a city resembled that of Gastonia. It had fewer than a thousand inhabitants in 1880, and had grown to approximately 2,750 by 1890. In the 1890's it gained over three thousand in population, and at that time it gained its first ARP church. Mission work had been done in Rock Hill for at least two years before the church

was organized in 1895, and the ARP's in that year had almost 900 members in eight churches in York County with three of the most substantial rural churches in Synod in Neely's Creek, Bethany and Sharon.⁵⁶

After failure to find a "suitable man" for several years, in 1895 the Home Mission Board sent A. S. Rogers, a Erskine Seminary student there to work between his seminary years. He was well received, rented a hall, and drew large congregations almost immediately. As a result, First Presbytery began to raise funds for a building, and when Rev. Rogers finished the seminary the Home Mission Board with the approval of Synod sent him to Rock Hill for five years.⁵⁷

The Rock Hill church grew from the beginning. In two years the Home Mission Board which supported it as a "special" or city mission reported that it had 50 members, that Rev. Rogers was performing "good and efficient service," and that his efforts had been blessed in that a new church was under way and the money to pay for it had been raised or pledged.⁵⁸ By 1900, the Board could report that the growth of the Rock Hill church was such that it had gained 60% during that year and now had 116 members.⁵⁹ In 1901, Rev. Rogers was installed as pastor (he retained this post until retirement in 1948), and in 1904, Rock Hill was able to support itself. Its membership was now 142, and it was the first of the city missions supported by the Home Board from its beginning to become self-supporting.⁶⁰ By 1932, it had 375 members.

Columbia

In 1890, the city of Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, was a century old and had a population just over 15,000 with a growing number of ARP's, but there were no ARP churches closer than those of Fairfield County. It was to aid "the born ARP's," as well as for the future work with "made ARP's" that members of the Home Mission Board made several investigative trips to the city in 1896. As a result, in July, 1896, it dispatched Rev. J. G. Dale, a recent graduate of Allegheny Seminary, there, and he founded the mission with about 20 members.⁶¹ When Rev. Dale left Columbia to take up a career in foreign missions, Rev.

J. P. Knox moved there from Hickory Grove, S. C. in 1899 and remained there until his death in 1916. A new sanctuary was built in 1902, and because the organization of the congregation was so close to the centennial year of the Synod, it took the name Centennial. Rev. Knox's work there was blessed, and the membership at his death in 1916 had reached 225. He was followed by Revs. R. C. Grier, J. L. Oates, and R. C. Betts, and by 1932 the membership had increased to the total of 415.⁶²

By 1932, the membership in the churches in the area formerly included in the First Presbytery (divided in 1919 into First and Catawba Presbyteries) was four times that of 1882 (from 2,713 to 11,835). Over half of this increase of about 9,000 had been in the five cities over 10,000 in population in 1930, Charlotte, Statesville, Gastonia, Rock Hill and Columbia. Where there had been less than a hundred, there were now over 4,600.

The New City Churches of Second Presbytery

While the increase in the membership during this same period was less spectacular in Second Presbytery, much of the increase came from the establishment of churches in Atlanta, Anderson, Greenville, Greenwood, Spartanburg and Tampa, all of which were cities with above 10,000 population by 1930. None of these places had ARP churches in 1882, and only one, Atlanta, had an ARP church by 1900.

The story of the organization of the Atlanta mission illustrates the role of "born ARP's" in building new churches. The 1890 report of the Home Mission Board said that Chairman R. G. Miller had visited Atlanta in May and that in July, a mission had been begun in that city of 65,000 where some 25 persons of "our faith" were found. At first the Board saw the work as "a mere test", but it believed that "of all the cities within our bounds, none is more promising for a mission than Atlanta."⁶³ Early support for the mission came from ladies benevolent societies about the Synod, and the church at Doraville gave valuable support to the Atlanta work. As might be expected, the work there had some difficulty when it began in a rented building used by such other groups as spiritualists. Strangers

sometimes asked if the Seceders were such a sect.⁶⁴

Although the Home Board was thwarted in its plan to send Rev. J. S. Moffatt to serve the Atlanta mission by the refusal of his Chester church to release him for the work, Rev. J. E. Johnson, who had recently entered the Synod from the UP Church, was the first worker there, and he stayed until June, 1893.⁶⁵ For some time after this, a series of ministers served there for short terms, including Revs. G. R. White, D. G. Caldwell, D. W. Reid, W. L. Pressly, E. P. McClintock, R. L. Bell, and O. Y. Bonner.⁶⁶ Finally, in September, Rev. H. B. Blakely was secured to take over the Atlanta work for seven years.⁶⁷

One of those serving for a short time in Atlanta in 1893, Rev. Oliver Johnson, noted the difficulty of preaching in a large city with such competing attractions as Atlanta. He wrote in the church paper, "It takes a stronger rower to go up the shoals than to cross the pond. So it takes a different type of preaching, or more fire in the old kind, or a different handling of the Ammunition or something else for the city from that of the country."⁶⁸

Rev. Blakely took hold of the work with zeal. At the direction of Synod, he canvassed the churches and raised \$5,000 in cash and pledges, which with funds supplied by the UP church since Atlanta was a cooperative mission was sufficient to buy a lot and build a church in the city.⁶⁹ By 1900, the Atlanta mission had 76 members, and the Board noted "marked progress" there.⁷⁰ When Rev. Blakely left the Atlanta work in 1901, there were 86 members, and he was followed by Rev. D. G. Phillips, Jr., a Georgia native who served the church through 1906 when the membership had reached 109.⁷¹

Rev. James A. Gordon came to the Atlanta church in 1907 from the UP church. The son of a famous UP missionary to India, Rev. Andrew Gordon, he was better known to the Atlanta church as the brother of Elder George Gordon who was one of its most active leaders and a leader in Synodical laymen's work. In 1907, also, the Atlanta congregation moved to a more desirable location in the city and built a medium sized building which was more adequate for its purposes.⁷² At first, the congregation at its new location grew rapidly, reaching a high of 135 in 1909, and developed a mission of its own in the city with

the hope of setting up a second ARP church there.⁷¹ This progress was reversed in 1910 when a serious division occurred in the congregation, about thirty members withdrew, and Rev. Gordon left.⁷⁴

Rev. S. W. Reid took up the work in Atlanta in 1910 and within two years the congregation had regained the level of membership before the trouble, but for several more years removals seemed to cancel out its growth. In 1916, it gained a net of twenty members and reached a total of 159.⁷⁵ That same year it resumed its sponsorship of the former UP mission at Center Hill in the city with the prospect of developing a second ARP church in Atlanta. This hope was unrealized, but in 1917 the congregation became self-sustaining.⁷⁶ Rev. Reid continued in the work until 1923. In that year the church's membership was 160, and a new and larger church was completed in a residential section of the city.⁷⁷

Rev. C. B. Williams took up the work in 1923, and under his ministry and with the new church, the congregation reached a membership of 296 by 1932. At that time the nearby church at Doraville had 214 members, and the churches (six) in South Georgia had over 600. Thus in 1932, there were over 1,100 members in the eight Georgia churches whereas in 1882 there had been only 350 members in the Georgia churches.

The first ARP missions in the four largest South Carolina cities in the territory covered by Second Presbytery were those organized in Anderson and Spartanburg in 1904 and 1905. Both of these cities were growing centers. Anderson's population had increased from less than 2,000 to about 5,500 in the two decades leading to 1900 and doubled that in the next two decades. Spartanburg's population had grown from 3,000 to over 11,000 in 1900, and it also doubled that in the next twenty years.

The Anderson church was organized in July, 1904 with 41 members, nearly half of which came from the Concord church which had been located just north of the city and was now dissolved.⁷⁸ Rev. R. A. Lummus began the work while still a student at Erskine Seminary, and from 1905 to 1910 the congregation was served by Rev. C. M. Boyd. A church building was erected by 1907, and by the end of

Rev. Boyd's tenure the membership had reached 75. From 1911 to 1913 the church was served by Rev. W. B. Lindsay who was succeeded by Rev. J. M. Garrison. During Garrison's service in 1919 the church became self-supporting, and in 1922 when his work concluded, the congregation reached a high point of 134 members. Rev. J. M. Bigham assumed the pastorate in 1924 and served until 1938. In 1932, the church membership stood at 110.⁷⁹

The church at Spartanburg was the result in large part of the efforts of Rev. W. B. Lindsay, pastor of Woodruff church in the lower part of the same county. Rev. Lindsay began to preach in Spartanburg as early as 1902 and organized the church there in 1905. Rev. A. J. Ranson assumed the work during the first year, and by 1906 the congregation had 37 members. A new church building was completed in 1908, and Rev. Ranson continued the work until he went to India as a missionary in 1910. At that time the Spartanburg church had 38 members.

During the next dozen years, Spartanburg was served by Revs. W. A. Macaulay, J. R. Hooten, and S. W. Haddon. In 1922, Rev. G. L. Kerr took over the work, and he continued it for eight years. In 1926, the congregation became self-supporting, and by that time the membership had reached 106.⁸⁰ Between 1930 and 1932, the church was served by Rev. D. G. Phillips and in 1932 its membership had dropped to 90.⁸¹

At the Synod meeting in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1914, the Board of Home Missions and Church Extension (which had been combined in 1910) recommended that Second Presbytery organize missions at Greenville and Greenwood and put Rev. John T. Young in charge of both. It was reported that there were "more than thirty persons of our faith" in Greenville.⁸² In the 1910 census, Greenville had a population of about 15,750 and Greenwood had over 6,600. Two decades later, Greenwood would reach 11,000 and Greenville over 29,000.

Both missions were organized by Rev. Young in November, 1914. He served Greenville during its first year and Greenwood from its inception until 1922.⁸³ The Greenville church was organized with 27 members. Rev. W. A. Macaulay assumed its leadership in 1915 and continued

there through 1935.⁸⁴ The congregation worshipped in several places, but in 1919 it built a new brick church building. Synod funded the acquisition of the lot and aided with the building to a total of \$9,000 with part of this being raised by Second Presbytery in a special campaign in May, 1917.⁸⁵ In 1919 the church had 109 members.

The Greenwood church grew much slower. In 1916, it had 31 members, and Second Presbytery in an experiment launched a campaign to raise \$1,500 to build the congregation "a bungalow church," which could be used to accommodate the church in its early years and then be easily sold as a residence when the membership outgrew it.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, when that soon occurred, the Board of Home Missions and Church Extension did not have the funds necessary to assist with a new building. So the membership rose to 60, but declined to about 40 when Rev. Young left in 1922.

Rev. Fred McGill, who had returned from a short stint as missionary in India, assumed the Greenwood work in addition to that of the small congregations at Cedar Springs and Bradley. By 1925, the work had taken on new life, Synod was finally able to aid with building a new church, the membership reached 64, and Rev. McGill was able to give his full time to the congregation. When Rev. McGill left in 1928, the membership had reached 70. Rev. P. L. Grier served Greenwood for the next three years, and he was succeeded by Rev. W. L. Pressly who was the pastor in 1932 when the membership was 75.⁸⁷ With the exception of the new Florida churches, Second Presbytery gained 2,187 members between 1882 and 1932. 780, or a little more than one third of this increase came from the five city churches of South Carolina and Georgia. Taking the United States Census Bureau formula for defining rural and urban population (urban population is that located in places with a count of 2,500 and above), it is clear that neither Second nor Catawba Presbyteries were as urban oriented as First Presbytery in 1932. At that time, 62% of the membership of First Presbytery was located in urban centers, only 38% of Catawba and 41% of Second Presbytery were so located.

The Decline of the Country Churches

The good news of the growth of ARP city churches was unfortunately accompanied by the bad news of the decline of many of the country churches during this period. Even as early as 1896, Rev. C. B. Betts, pastor of the Neely's Creek and Union churches, in assessing his quarter century at Union (in Chester County) noted that despite over 300 accessions, deaths and removals brought the net increase to less than 20. "It is a struggle for life for the country congregations," he concluded. "The stream of humanity is toward the centers of trade, and Union has representatives in all the neighboring towns and railroad stations, Chester, Rock Hill and Edgemoor."⁸⁸

The example of Cedar Springs-Long Cane shows the effect of the coming of the railroad on one of the oldest and most influential set of country churches in the Synod. In the early decades of the 19th century, waves of immigrants from these churches had gone to both the North and West, but in 1882 the combined congregation of Cedar Springs-Long Cane was the largest in Synod at 301 members. There was a single bench of elders and deacons as well as the same pastor, H. T. Sloan, even though there were two church buildings. (Upper and Lower Steel Creek in Mecklenburg and York Counties had two buildings with a single congregation and pastor until 1883 when a new building was completed midway between the two old ones under the title of Central Steel Creek).⁸⁹

In 1882, Cedar Springs-Long Cane "hived off" some 40 of its members like a colony of bees to form a new congregation at Troy, a new town at the intersection of two new railroads and between the two older churches. The Troy congregation was able to construct and pay for "a neat and commodious" church building and by 1884 secure Rev. R. F. Bradley as its pastor.⁹⁰

Within a few years two more new ARP churches were built at new railroad towns on opposite sides of Long Cane. In 1885, Rev. A. L. Patterson moved from the little farming community of Lodimont to the new town of Mt., Carmel which was set up on the Savannah Valley Railroad, and the following year Gen. P. H. Bradley, for

forty years an elder in the Cedar Springs-Long Cane congregation, began to erect a church at his own expense at Bradley. Bradley was a new railroad station on the Greenwood and Augusta Railroad, and Bradley was president of that railroad. Despite the fear of some that his new building might hurt old Cedar Springs which was nearby, he completed the building and was able to attend three Sabbath services there before his death in 1887. The Bradley church lacked any organization, and was simply used as a preaching station.⁹¹

In 1889, a fourth new congregation was formed in the area served by Cedar Springs-Long Cane when a church was organized at the county seat of Abbeville. With these changes, the congregation of Cedar Springs-Long Cane secured the permission of Second Presbytery to divide into two pastoral charges with their benches of elders and deacons divided between Cedar Springs and Bradley on the one hand and Long Cane on the other. Second Presbytery's committee acknowledged that "to some, it will appear like the removal of an ancient landmark."⁹²

By 1893, Rev. Sloan, who had retired by that time, told a Synodical conference on home missions that as a result of following the principle of building new congregations, his old pastoral charge of Cedar Springs-Long Cane had now grown from 300 members to over 400 in five congregations.⁹³ Troy (152) was now the largest of the cluster and with Mount Carmel (57) had more members than Long Cane (102) and Cedar Springs and Bradley (96).⁹⁴

Sometimes although the church moved to town, its members still lived in the country. In 1900, Rev. R. F. Bradley, who was then pastor of Long Cane and had earlier served at Troy, wrote that it was a mistake to think because a church was located in a village that it was a village church because sometimes it had only a score of members resident in the village and upward of a hundred from the country "who come bringing bread for their dinners made in their own fields and driving plow horses and plow mules." By his count these and other country churches totaled 87 throughout the Synod, while there were 16 "real" village or town churches. He estimated that during the last year the country church bloc had brought in 472

accessions, \$4,256 for Synod's Funds and \$3,153 for Foreign Missions, while the totals for the town church bloc stood at \$4,256, and \$909, respectively. His conclusion was that the strength of the ARP denomination was and would continue to be in the country and to neglect the country churches would mean "disaster." "'On to Birmingham' has a ring to it but a better slogan would be 'Back to the Country'," he argued.⁶⁵

However accurate Rev. Bradley's subjective survey in 1900, a comparison of the Synodical statistics in 1882 with those of 1900 revealed that whereas in the earlier year with the exception of Due West the ten largest congregations in the First and Second Presbyteries were country churches, by 1900 only half of the ten largest congregations in First and Second Presbyteries were country churches. The trend in the ARP ranks was to catch up with the momentum of population movement.

Some pointed to the relative decline of the country churches as directly related to a drop in the number of young men entering the ARP ministry, and predicted that this would be an even greater problem in the future. In 1910, "Se Nex," a correspondent for the *A. R. Presbyterian* wrote of the ministers then in the Synod, "I do not recall a single one who did not come from a country home, or the town of Due West (which goes the country one better in all the elements which go toward making manhood; or it used to be so before they got a railroad.)"⁶⁶ Rev. J. H. Strong reported that his study of the biographies in the *Centennial History* which was published in 1903 indicated that 10 out of 11 ministers in the history of the Synod had come from the country.⁶⁷

It was a mixed picture. Some country churches such as Pisgah, Bethany and Neely's Creek continued to grow during this period. Many others held their membership or gained a little, but lost relative position to the newer town and city churches. Some, sadly, like Hopewell (S.C.), Tirzah or Cedar Springs, had to depend at times upon supplements from the Home Board. In the 1932 statistics, the eight churches from the heartland of the Synod (First, Catawba and Second Presbyteries) which had a per capita level of giving of less than \$7.00 that year were with the ex-

ception of Sandy Plains all old country churches (Elk Shoals, New Sterling, New Hope, Unity, Cannon's Creek, Generostee and Long Cane)."

Chapter II

LENGTHENING THE CORDS

Beyond the bounds of First and Second Presbyteries in 1882 lay vast fields where the Synod of the South had widely scattered churches or clusters of churches and settlers of ARP ancestry who wanted preaching. These fields stretched in a great semi-circle from western Virginia, north central Kentucky, Arkansas and Texas to southern Alabama and Florida.

There were 48 churches on the rolls of the six outlying presbyteries (Virginia, Kentucky, Memphis, Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee-Alabama) with a total of just over 2400 members. Eleven of the churches had their own pastors or supplies, twenty three others had pastors or regular supplies on shared arrangements, and the remaining fourteen were vacancies. Of the 34 ministers on the rolls of these presbyteries, twelve were retired or otherwise inactive. Most of the congregations were quite small, and only four (Salem, Ebenezer, and Bethany in the Memphis Presbytery and Old Providence) had over a hundred members.

The burden of supervising the work at those stations which could not afford either a regular pastor or stated supply, as well as developing new work to strengthen the ARP cause in the West, fell to Synod's Committee on Domestic Missions and to the Superintendent of Missions in each of the presbyteries. The most difficult task at presbyterial and synodical meetings was somehow to allocate the available men to the requests which always exceeded the supply.

Men employed as domestic missionaries came from several sources. Most of the time they were young men who had just finished their seminary training and had never served as a pastor, so service in these distant churches was a seasoning experience. Western congregations were very much aware that they were often used as training grounds for young ministers anxious to get back to the

more promising pulpits of the older presbyteries. As a correspondent from middle Tennessee put it in the church paper in 1893, "We need men to come out West that will stay, not these who have an inborn gravitation back to sand, tar and turpentine; men who appreciate the value of a country whose soil will produce from forty to sixty bushels of corn per acre, and other things in proportion; men who appreciate the liberty of those people who have been disenthralled from the tyranny of King cotton." He admitted that Tennessee preachers did not get a living salary and that "they pay better in the Carolinas."¹

The western churchmen often expressed the view that in comparison to the older, established churches of the East, they were quite poor. For example, Rev. J. S. A. Hunter of New Edinburg, Arkansas wrote the *A. R. Presbyterian* in 1884 that as a general rule "they who come West are poor. They leave the gold in the East with the land holders who crowded them out."² In 1894 "Penstaff" wrote from Cotton Plant, Mississippi that a congregational meeting at the Ebenezer church, the second largest outside of the Carolinas, had finally wiped out the arrearages on the pastor's salary and Synod's Fund, and that some members talked of shouting. "I know you will smile at our present enthusiasm over this matter and perchance you may think us a little silly for mentioning it but if you had been here you would not do either, by reference to our statistics you will see that we are a strong church numerically and almost always have a deficit of some size on Synod's fund, our excuse for this is that we are spiritually and financially weak. The largest portion of our church are people of very limited means."³

If the Western churches had difficulty in paying settled pastors, they could furnish very little aid to domestic missionaries (called home missionaries after 1888), and those men subsisted largely on a per diem and traveling expense supplied by Synod which could rarely be paid on time. In 1882, the Synodical Committee on Domestic Missions paid out \$1,375 to twelve ministers who otherwise had to live off the collections taken at their services.⁴

Perhaps the most serious problem with the Western fields and one which compounded all the others was the

restless spirit of the people. The same spirit which led them to move West in the first place now led them or their children to move again, either further west or not so far away. However, unless they moved in colonies, as many of the earlier immigrants had moved as "psalm-singing colonies" from the older states, they were usually lost to the ARP ranks. As thinly scattered as the ARP churches were, movement usually put them beyond the reach of the denomination in which they were raised. In this and all other problems, the Texas field was the best example.

Texas

In the ante-bellum years, the Synod of the South looked upon Texas as practically a foreign mission field. ARP immigrants drew its attention there frequently. In the early 1870's, while awaiting a call to go to a foreign field, Miss Mary Galloway taught school in Texas, and her "Texas Letters" which appeared in the *A. R. Presbyterian* not only brought her to the attention of the church, but also brought the church's renewed interest to the work in that distant state.⁵

In 1859, Rev. T. J. Bonner moved from Alabama to Freestone County, Texas where his father and brother had preceded him.⁶ Bonner never held a regular pastorate, and he was farming when in the fall of 1865, at the impetus of the Presbytery of Central Texas (Southern Presbyterian) a church was made up of Associate Reformed and Old School Presbyterians. A vote of the members resulted in a majority in favor of designating the church as Associate Reformed, and Rev. Bonner agreed to serve it half-time as a supply.⁷ The church was placed under the care of the Central Presbytery, although Bonner continued to be an inactive member of the Alabama Presbytery. Four years later that presbytery reported to Synod that, although it was willing to aid the work in Texas, it had received no report from Rev. Bonner for several years.⁸

Synod's next contact with the Texas brethren came in 1874 when Rev. W. L. Patterson was sent as its missionary in January. He visited Bonner's church in Freestone County and also a union church in Hardin County where the

ARP's were linked with the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists.⁹ For the remainder of the year he traveled over the Texas frontier looking for sites where ARP settlers promised work, and in 1875, he settled at one of Bonner's four preaching stations, Richland, in Navarro County. This church was organized on September 1, 1876, and a sanctuary was built the following year.¹⁰ Patterson labored there and at Harmony (another of Bonner's stations which was organized into a church in October) and other points in Freestone County until 1880.¹¹

In 1876, a third ARP minister came to Texas, when Rev. J. M. Little, a relative of Patterson and like him a native of Georgia, moved with his large family from Covington County in southern Alabama to Milam County. Like Bonner, he migrated west for the benefit of his family, and, also like Bonner, Little never held a pastorate. In fact, he was 45 years old before he had been licensed to preach following private study. He did not have a college education, but he had practiced law in Alabama.¹²

Bonner, Patterson, and Little with authorization of Synod organized the Texas Presbytery on December 9, 1876 at Harmony church. In its report to the Synod the next year, the presbytery noted only three churches, Bonner's Harmony, Little's at Maysfield in Milam County, and Richland in Navarro County.¹³

The work was slow, for as the first report to Synod noted, "Texas is a very wide field, and the few A. R. people in the State are widely scattered."¹⁴ Two years later, the presbytery could report a total of four ministers (with W. L. Patterson's brother R. E. Patterson now at Lovelady), though Bonner's health had forced him to quit preaching. There were now 107 members in seven small churches with over half of these in the Harmony church which was without a minister.¹⁵

By 1882, the presbytery reported that it was "both encouraged and discouraged." Its optimism arose from the prospects of several congregations of securing "settled ministers." Its pessimism came from "the seeming indifference of some of our people" as well as "the seeming indifference of Synod."¹⁶ Two of the eight small churches in the presbytery had failed that year, largely due to the lack

of preaching, and the largest church, Harmony, had declined in membership since it became a vacancy. W. L. Patterson had been transferred to Arkansas, and only R. E. Patterson was a full time minister.

In the spring of 1882, Rev. J. A. Lowry of Alabama paid a missionary visit to the Texas churches at Synod's request. Lowry also reported mixed prospects for the Texas churches, and urged increased Synod aid.¹⁷ Synod's Committee on Domestic Missions did agree to supplement aid for the pastor's salary at Lovelady, but refused the presbytery's request that Rev. W. H. Millen, who had supplied in Texas part of the previous year, be returned to that field.¹⁸

It was three years before the dream of a self-supporting church in Texas became a reality, and that was when Harmony and Richland united in calling W. L. Patterson back to Texas. While he had been in Arkansas, another of his three younger brothers who had joined him in the ARP ministry had arrived in Texas. Rev. E. E. Patterson, fresh from the seminary, in 1883 came to work as a missionary among the ARP's in Lamar County. In 1884, R. E. Patterson was installed as pastor at Lovelady. Thus by 1885, the three Patterson brothers were preaching at churches which had a combined membership of 150 out of the presbytery's total of 169.¹⁹

Because the Texas churches were over 500 miles apart (from the eastern side of the state where sugar cane and trees grew to the prairies of central Texas) it was difficult to arrange presbytery meetings. For example, the fall meeting in 1884 had to be delayed a day because of the lack of a quorum, and in 1885, the presbytery tried the practice of having only one annual meeting.²⁰

Texas appeared not only ignorant of the ARP church, but indifferent to Presbyterians of any variety. As E. E. Patterson reported from Chicota (Lamar County) in 1885, Presbyterians, "no matter what prefix be joined to the name," were happy to group together as scattered as they were among "the mixed multitude."²¹ Brother R. E. Patterson wrote from Lovelady that "true Presbyterians" were shocked by the Sabbath desecration in Texas. His people, he said, were called "selfish" and "hide-bound"

when they withdrew from the local temperance council because it met on the Sabbath.²²

Late in 1886, W. M. Grier made a trip to Texas to survey the situation. He found four good church buildings, one of which (Harmony) was a union church. Everywhere he heard encouraging reports of new members who had removed from the older states. At Corsicana (in Navarro County) he found four new families from Wilcox County, Ala., at Paris (Lamar County) he found families who had lately come from Bethany, S. C., Prosperity, Ala., and Hopewell, Ga., and at Hardin families removed from Covington, Ala.²³

In 1886, the Texas Presbytery licensed E. P. Stewart, a 48 year old school teacher in Milam County who had studied privately with members of presbytery, but in that same year it lost the services of R. E. Patterson who was forced by his wife's illness to return to Georgia. In 1888, the presbytery was unable to muster a spring meeting, and many of the supplies designated for the vacancies did not materialize. It reported to Synod that it desperately needed another missionary "to assist in cultivating our great field. Our vacancies are dying out for want of the bread of life."²⁴

By the end of the decade, the presbytery still had only three ministers who, E. E. Patterson warned the church, could hardly be expected to do the work of six men.²⁵ E. P. Stewart, the only minister trained by the presbytery, without its approval moved to the Oklahoma Territory (Greer County) to work on his own.²⁶

An example of the pathetic state of some of the work may be seen in the efforts of Rev. J. M. Little in Milam County. In the 1890's he tried to combine his small missions in that county in a centrally located church at Milano. Although that church reached a membership of 36 at one time, it failed because the scattered families could not be brought together, and he suffered the death of his wife and a health break down due to a monthly travel of 140 miles by buggy.²⁷

In 1892, several families who had moved from near Troy, S. C. were organized by Rev. Little in a church at Prairie View. When Rev. Little had to give up this venture

in 1894, Synod sent Rev. Joseph L. Pressly, a recent graduate of the seminary, to take up the work at Milano and Prairie View. The following year Rev. Calvin Pressly was sent to these missions on a short term assignment, and he decided to stay in Texas. Pressly found neither mission very promising. Prairie View had a population, he reported, which consisted mainly of "various nationalities" who were mostly renters and tenants.²⁸ In his own wisdom, he decided to drop the work at these two stations and began to labor at Marlow where he had better opportunities to secure a comfortable home and support for his family. In defense of what he referred to as his "conduct or misconduct," he later explained that he had not received the support promised at his previous posts, and, in any case, it would have represented only 1/3 of the cost of supporting his family.²⁹

In the 1890's, Richland continued to be the strongest of the Texas churches, and Rev. E. E. Patterson's church at Chicota developed into the second strongest. By 1894, Richland had 94 members and Chicota 90. The presbytery was heartened by the evangelistic visits of Revs. W. H. Millen and W. W. Orr, and its total increased to over 300.

Rev. E. E. Patterson set up a thriving academy at Chicota, and in 1894 the Synod recognized the promise of the church by agreeing conditionally to hold its next meeting there. The condition was that the railroad companies agree to allow half fare transportation to Chicota, and when that failed, the Synodical journey to Texas was delayed until 1896.³⁰

In the intervening year, Patterson became embroiled in a controversy with some of his members which led to his resignation.³¹ Certain members of the Chicota congregation had brought serious moral charges against their pastor, but as the presbytery had only two other ministers, one of whom was his brother (W. L. Patterson), the matter had to be referred to a Synodical commission.³² After taking 60 pages of testimony, the commission found that "while these charges were not satisfactorily proven, the evidence in the case justifies the declaration that the accused was very imprudent, and did not act in a manner to maintain the irreproachableness of character which is

essential in a pastor's relation to his congregation and the world.³³

Thus it was that E. E. Patterson, who eleven years earlier when the church was being built had written "this is a great undertaking for ten poor men and a few ladies," was absent in the Synod which met in that church. He had gone on to take up supply work at New Lebanon, West Va., and the ministerial force of the Texas Presbytery was represented by his brother W. L. Patterson and E. P. Stewart. Another sad note was that Rev. J. M. Little, who had presided over the organization of the congregation thirteen years earlier, died four months before the Chicota Synod, and one of its duties was to memorialize him.³⁴

Notwithstanding these circumstances, the congregation proudly welcomed the Synod to this western outpost of the church. As Dodd Vernon has noted, the meeting was "in many ways a great reunion for the members of the Chicota church. They entertained preachers who had been their pastors in other communities. They welcomed kinsmen among the ministers and lay delegates from former residences, to which many of the Chicota members had not returned since their migration to Texas."³⁵ Three elders, T. H. Robinson of Harmony, I. N. Burnett of Milano, and J. L. Gill of Chicota, represented the Texas Presbytery at the meeting. Only once previously had an elder from the Texas churches attended Synod, Robert A. Black of Chicota had attended the 1888 meeting at Potts' Station in Arkansas.³⁷

The Texas Presbytery appeared ready for unprecedented growth. In the fall of 1895 a new and very promising mission was organized at Corsicana in Navarro County by Synodical evangelist W. W. Orr and Rev. W. L. Patterson. Orr spent three months there early in 1896, and, carrying on the work in the local city hall, he could report an increase in membership to 35 by July. On the behalf of the Home Mission Board, he purchased a lot for a new church and a parsonage.³⁸

Corsicana quickly became a kind of Cinderella church. The town was in the midst of an oil boom, and in 1897 the presbytery asked Synod to send Orr to the field full time, because it was "a point of great strategic importance" and

in its opinion he was best equipped for the work there.³⁹ Orr was willing, and he asked Synod to release him from his dual posts as corresponding secretary of the Home Mission Board (also popularly known as Synod's evangelist) and agent for Erskine College. Neither board was willing to spare him. The Home Mission Board agreed that Corsicana was likely to be self-supporting in a few years, but it argued that Orr could do "the most effective service for the Master" in his present job. Synod allowed Orr to take up the Corsicana work.⁴⁰

Orr plunged into his new work with his usual vigor. He had already secured a pledge of aid from the UP church under its policy of cooperation with the ARP's in city missions in the South and West. The Board of Church Extension reported in 1898 that Corsicana had raised \$2,500, and it approved Orr's efforts to seek \$7,500 elsewhere for a new building.⁴¹ Texas Presbytery reported that the Corsicana church was growing "in numbers (up to 59) and in zeal." The 1898 Synod turned back an effort by the Erskine Board of Trustees to regain Orr as college agent.⁴² The Trustees asked that he be released from Corsicana "in order that he may take charge of the College Home and serve also as agent of the college." Synod's Committee on Erskine College recommended against this, "believing that such action would not be for the good of the Church at large."⁴³ The laymen delegates voted by a margin of 3 to 1 (17 to 6) in favor of the college request, outside of the First Presbytery only three ministers (one of them Erskine President W. M. Grier) favored the Trustees' request.⁴⁴

Synod not only granted Corsicana its most effective worker, but also \$1,000 aid per year which was more than any other mission. In fact it exceeded the recommendation of the Home Mission Board which had a limit of \$800 for any one mission.⁴⁵

Only five years after its organization (1900) Corsicana's membership reached 90 which made it the largest in the presbytery. In October, 1900 its "beautiful" new church was dedicated debt free. More than \$18,000 had been raised from Orr's canvass over Synod, the UP church, the Church Extension Board, and the congregation itself.⁴⁶ The following year its membership reached 109 which was

its peak during the years it was an ARP church. At this time, Orr decided to leave and return to North Carolina to take the work at another new church, Second Charlotte or East Avenue Tabernacle.

After this the Corsicana church did not sustain its early prospects. It did not make progress toward being self-supporting, and after the failure of the union proposed with the UP's in 1904, it lost further aid from that source. Rev. A. J. Ranson served the church for three years after Orr's tenure. He had grown up under Orr's ministry in North Carolina and had studied under him at Huntersville High School; he was succeeded by Rev. J. W. Good who had been his student. When Good transferred to the UP church in 1906, he was succeeded by Rev. R. E. Hough. During these years the church situation went from what was at times characterized as "fairly good" to a Home Mission Board report to Synod in 1906 that there were "many discouraging circumstances" in the Corsicana mission.⁴⁷ That year the church sent a memorial to the Texas Presbytery asking that it investigate the transfer of the presbytery into the UP church.⁴⁸ In 1907, Hough reported to the Home Mission Board that "the present condition ... is not satisfactory," and he recommended that the church be relocated at another site in the city. No action was taken.⁴⁹

Even with all these difficulties in the work in Texas, the presbytery in its last years made a short lived effort in the Oklahoma Territory. Rev. E. P. Stewart, after a decade of trying to attract a colony of "Psalm-singing Presbyterians", organized the Hermon church at Martha (Greer County) in 1901. With the cooperation of the UP church, the Home Mission Board put Rev. J. R. Millen in charge of the work in Oklahoma in 1902, and a new mission was opened at Leger. Two years later, with aid from the Board of Church Extension, a new building was erected at that place, now known as Altus, O. T. (Oklahoma Territory).⁵⁰ When the ARP's decided against union with the UP church, the Home Mission Board cut off further aid for both Hermon and Altus and turned over full possession to the UP church since they could be "more economically worked by them."⁵¹

Three years later the entire Texas Presbytery, with similar good wishes from the ARP church, transferred into the UP church. In 1906, the Corsicana memorial to study such a move was dropped "for the present" because of the opposition of "a respectable minority."⁵² In 1908, the presbytery moved to a vote on transfer and approved it by a vote of 7 to 1 among its congregations with the only negative vote being by "a bare majority of the smallest congregation."⁵³

The 1908 Synod accepted this decision without protest, and the *A. R. Presbyterian* probably spoke for most ARP's when in November, 1908 it pronounced the step as a logical one and warned that other outlying sectors of church might be forced to the same move, in the following comment:

In the course of events there has fallen to the Associate Reformed church far more territory than it can work. The only body that has felt excluded by our pre-emption is that which stands for the same principles as we. Our nominal occupation has meant the virtual surrender of the larger part of the South. If our principles are worth-while, let Texas, and Arkansas and Tennessee and other unoccupied regions have them, if need be, under another name.⁵⁴

Arkansas Churches

It was not simply that the church paper mentioned Arkansas as the next place where the ARP's might have to give up territory in the hopes that the UP's might be able to accomplish more. Geography dictated that Arkansas was now the ARP western frontier. Yet any look at the situation in Arkansas in 1908 would reveal that the churches in many ways stood in contrast with those in Texas.

Most important, the churches in Arkansas had experienced visible progress from 1882 to 1908. Whereas earlier the Arkansas Presbytery had only four active ministers, it now had six. Although both the 1882 and 1908 reports to Synod were incomplete, the figures reported in-

icated that the membership had risen from 338 to 859, proportionately more than the Synod as a whole. Three new churches had been founded in the 1890's, Little Rock, Jacksonville and Russellville, and all appeared promising. The 1908 report to Synod showed no vacancies, an increase in giving in all congregations, and a net increase in membership during the past year.⁵⁵

There were also fundamental problems which were not reflected in the official records. Rev. M. T. Ellis described the barriers to "The Work in Arkansas" in 1905 as four: 1)the scattered conditions of the work, the 12 churches were spread over an area some 300 miles by 50, 2)the migratory spirit of westerners, 3)the heterogeneous membership, one church had not one "born ARP" in it, and his churches (New Hope and Prosperity) had members who came from eight other denominations, and 4)the popular prejudice against the ARP's as "peculiar people because of their psalm-singing, educated ministry, and emphasis upon giving."⁵⁶

The Arkansas churches had been greatly strengthened by the aggressive work of the new Home Mission Board. In 1893, Rev. W. W. Orr, the Synodical evangelist, held meetings at Pottsville, Monticello and Russellville which resulted in a net addition of 47 to the ARP churches, and as a direct result of these meetings the organization of a new church at the latter city. During the same year, the Home Mission Board set up a new church at Little Rock, then a city of over 25,000 population.⁵⁷ In 1896, another church was organized at Jacksonville which was worked in connection with Little Rock, and the struggling church at Zion in Yell County west of Little Rock was moved to the town of Havana, a new church building constructed, and new life infused into it.⁵⁸ Little Rock secured a new church a year earlier. By 1908, the three new missions had a combined membership of 231; the older churches, including Zion which was now called Havana, had a total of 630.⁵⁹

In the years immediately after 1908, the Arkansas churches experienced two trends. The country churches went through cycles of gains and losses which resulted in a net decline, while the city churches grew steadily. The Jacksonville mission was absorbed in the Little Rock con-

gregation which by 1920 reached 260 members, and Russellville had 161 members. The city churches now had a total of 421, the country and town churches had dropped to 420.⁶⁰

A dozen years later, in 1932, the Arkansas churches which had merged with the Memphis-Louisville Presbytery, were still following the same trends. Little Rock and Russellville had a combined total of 499 members, the other five churches had risen slightly to 439.⁶¹

Kentucky Churches

The same trends were found in the Kentucky Presbytery during this period. Like the Arkansas Presbytery, this body in 1882 had not recovered from the disorganization and losses of the defections to the Southern Presbyterians in the 1870's. (See Chapter V for a discussion of these losses) The presbytery had three components: the Mt. Zion church in Missouri north of St. Louis, the Louisville mission, and the four churches in the rich Lexington basin in east central Kentucky. The Mt. Zion church had been unaffected in the losses to the Southern Presbyterians, Louisville had been re-organized and had only 27 members, and the rural Kentucky churches had an average of about 18 members. Only the Texas Presbytery was smaller in numbers, but the Kentucky Presbytery in one respect stood far ahead of the rest of the Synod. Its per capita giving was over \$15 which was three times any other presbytery.⁶²

The rural Kentucky churches contributed liberally to the Due West colleges, foreign missions and home missions, especially to the building up of the Louisville mission. For three decades the presbytery maintained a proud record of being the best in Synod for paying its assessments on time, and its importance in the church was out of proportion to its size. The membership of the churches, especially those of the Millersburg group, which is what the rural churches in Kentucky were called, had fluctuations in membership, but little net increase. In 1888, when Rev. D. B. Pressly died after seventeen years of ministering to Hinkston and Mt. Olivet, the presbytery

said that during those years he had been its "life and heart."⁶³ Yet their combined membership had not exceeded 40 members, and it was difficult to secure pastors for such small congregations.

Eli Moffatt Millen, son of Rev. W. H. Millen who was pastor of the Hinkston and Ebenezer churches from 1892 to 1896, in his novel, *Bethel*, wrote of a church set in the blue-grass country on Hinkston Creek which had a small membership which included a few wealthy persons. In the novel, the pastor told a wealthy millionaire who wanted to buy the property of this little psalm-singing church, "Perhaps, some day, if God wills, you may have it for little more than the asking. Let's both wait for that day—the day when God shows us that Hinkston's mission is ended and that we must cut the cords and pull up the stakes for another setting."⁶⁴

In the romantic novel the pastor prevails over the millionaire, but in real life the Hinkston church and the other four had to bend to the view reluctantly stressed in *Bethel* by one of the Hinkston elders who said, "Myself, I don't know but we might's well sell. We haven't been gaining members. Folks laugh at us for being psalm singers and Sabbath keepers—not that I'm ashamed of it or aim to mend my ways—no, siree! We just don't seem to interest the new ones. Then, too, the other Presbyterians have a good-size church in town, and they're beggin' us to come in with them."⁶⁵

In 1914, when the presbytery was merged with the Memphis Presbytery "for the glory of God and the good of the church," these rural churches were dropped from the roll. A series of deaths among their leading laymen, the failure of efforts to move to Millersburg and build a new church, and the inability to attract a pastor brought their abandonment.⁶⁶

The other rural church in the presbytery, Mt. Zion, was the far northwest outpost of Synod. Rev. F. Y. Pressly took its pastorate in 1882 and served the church four years, and this was the pattern. The congregation had three pastors and five supply ministers between 1882 and 1903. From 1882 to 1897, it grew rather steadily at an average of two members per year and in 1896-97 it gained 43 new

members, nearly all at a very successful evangelistic meeting held there in November, 1896. Despite this increase, the congregation could not obtain a pastor, and it was served by a series of supplies until 1905 when there was a bitter internal rift in its ranks. Dissension cut its membership to only a little more than half of the high point of 1897.⁶⁷ By 1914, when the Kentucky Presbytery ended its 113 year history, Mt. Zion had the same membership that it had 32 years earlier, 71. Two years earlier, a second Missouri church, Elsberry had been organized with 17 members.⁶⁸

The one clear success story of the Kentucky Presbytery was that of the Louisville congregation. In 1882 it was six years since the mission had been organized as a result of disaffection within the congregation which had transferred to the Southern Presbyterians in 1870. At first the mission had no building of its own since the Kentucky Presbytery had lost the suit in the civil courts of the state in which it undertook to retain the building which the ARP church had in the city before 1870.⁶⁹ In 1880, a compromise was reached with the Southern Presbyterians which allowed the mission to buy the disputed building for \$3500, the amount which the ARP's outside of Louisville had contributed when it was built. Another \$2500 was raised by canvassing the Synod, and in 1882 young Rev. James Boyce came to the mission where he stayed for 14 years.⁷⁰

Under his energetic leadership the mission grew to 57 members by 1890 when the Synod met at New Hope, its first meeting in Kentucky since before the Civil War. The presbytery could report to Synod that its city mission was in an "encouraging condition."⁷¹ Two new important factors aided the growth of the Louisville church in the 1890's. The new Home Missions Board secured the cooperation of its UP counterpart to furnish equal aid to the Louisville mission, and in 1896, a Synodical commission (Revs. W. M. Grier and G. R. White) secured an agreement from the Southern Presbyterians who had retained the right to acquire the church building for \$3500 if it were no longer used as a sanctuary. The congregation was now given a clear title to the building which made it possible to

mount an effective campaign to raise funds for a new and more adequate building. Rev. Boyce left the mission in 1896, when it had 69 members and new hope.⁷²

Rev. S. W. Reid took up the Louisville work in 1898, a new church was completed in 1899, and there was a steady improvement in the prospects of the mission. Yet when he left the mission to go to the Atlanta church in 1910, and the congregation had to be content with intermittent supplies to 1914, its membership had dropped by that year (when the presbytery was merged with the Memphis Presbytery) to the same total it had a quarter century earlier.

Two important events in 1914 gave it some new life. A new church building was erected in a more favorable location, and a very effective new pastor, Rev. R. C. Grier, took up the work. By the next year the membership rose above 100, and by the time Rev. Grier left for Columbia, S. C., in 1918 it was 117.⁷³ Rev. H. B. Blakely took up the work and served until 1925, and during his tenure, a hundred members were added. Rev. J. Calvin Reid served the church the next five years, and during that time another hundred members were added. By the end of the period in 1932, Louisville and the Missouri churches had over 400 members which even without the lost Kentucky churches was two and a half times the membership of the Kentucky Presbytery in 1882.

The Virginia Churches

The Virginia Presbytery in 1882 was only slightly larger than those of Texas and Kentucky with just over 200 members, in five congregations. Old Providence congregation had half of the total. One of the other four, New Lebanon, was in West Virginia. Rev. S. W. Haddon had come to Old Providence during the preceding year and would serve the church until 1910. New Lebanon had been served by Rev. J. H. Simpson for 15 years by 1882, and he stayed there nine more years. The other churches were served only by short term pastorates or supplies and were often vacant.⁷⁴

The Orr evangelistic meetings in the Virginia churches in late 1889 marked a watershed in the life of the

presbytery. A total of 161 persons were added to the rolls of the churches with about one third each going to Old Providence and New Lebanon. The presbytery reported to Synod, "We have had a revival, and a question is, will we have a survival?" The presbytery called urgently for two additional laborers, since it said that it had been served by only two men for the last four or five years.⁷⁵

During the next dozen years, the presbytery did receive additional aid and was able to hold most of its additions, but except for Haddon at Old Providence, the other churches experienced a constant turnover of ministers and a fluctuating membership. Old Providence's membership rose to 219 by 1900, and it continued to contain about half of the total membership of the presbytery.

During the first decade of the twentieth century the fastest growing congregation was that of Timber Ridge which increased from 40 in 1900 to 130 in 1910. Several ministers served in the early years of the decade and Rev. L. T. Pressly from 1905. A new manse was built and the church property greatly improved.⁷⁶

In 1915, Rev. D. T. Lauderdale came to Virginia where he began his pastoral career at Ebenezer and Broad Creek. He served the latter in 1923 when he went to Lexington. His work there led to a most remarkable example of expanding the ARP field.

Rev. Lauderdale rented an Odd Fellows upstairs lodge room which was over a Negro pool and dance hall. Despite the location, he persevered and the work was blessed. Less than three full years later in 1926, the congregation numbered 155. The people drawn in were not traditional ARP types. As he put it, "The wealthy people of our town are all in the other churches. Not one of our members is well off financially. Only 5 of our 155 members own their homes, and these 5 are modest homes. Our people are rich in faith, and pluck, and babies—we have about 50 on our Cradle Roll."⁷⁷

By 1932, the Lexington congregation had 240 members, and the other two strong churches of the presbytery, Old Providence and Timber Ridge, had grown to the totals of 413 and 224, respectively. The Virginia Presbytery had added a new church at Covington, and its total membership

was over 1300. In sharp contrast to the other two of the three weakest presbyteries in 1882 (both Texas and Kentucky presbyteries had disappeared) it ended the half century period six times stronger than at its beginning.⁷⁸ In 1918-1919, the Old Providence church built a new sanctuary which was one of the most handsome and commodious in the Synod, and it was assisted with a large gift from the widow and son of Cyrus H. McCormick whose grandfather had deeded the land for the church's first building 125 years earlier.⁷⁹ Synod met at Old Providence in 1922 and at Lexington in 1930.

Developments in Tennessee-Alabama Presbytery

In 1882, the Tennessee-Alabama Presbytery had 9 churches with 576 members and six active ministers, including one supply. The presbytery had been formed by the merger of the old Tennessee Presbytery where there were six churches in three middle Tennessee counties and the Alabama Presbytery which represented three churches in southern Alabama. The two clusters of churches were several hundred miles apart, and the presbytery sometimes failed to have a meeting because of the problem of distance.⁸⁰

The two ministers in Alabama were Revs. J. A. Lowry at Prosperity (Dallas Co.) and H. M. Henry at Bethel (Wilcox Co.). Lowry had been at his church since 1867, and he stayed there until his death in 1898. Henry had been at Bethel since 1879, and he stayed there for a total of 54 years. These two churches were the strongest financially in the presbytery.

The senior minister in the presbytery was Rev. A. S. Sloan who had served the churches of Lincoln County, Tennessee for over two decades and now served the small congregations of Bethel and New Hope. The other Tennessee ministers were Revs. J. H. Peoples and C. S. Young who had charge of the two largest churches, Hopewell and Head Springs, and Rev. J. A. Myers who was supplying the other two churches in Lincoln County, Prosperity and Blanche. Peoples had been at the Hopewell church for 15 years, and Young had been at Head Springs for 10 years.

These two churches were in Maury and Marshall Counties which lay just north of Lincoln County, itself on the Alabama border.

Largely because of the controversy over union with the UP church and the activities of Rev. J. A. Myers, the next few years brought serious divisions in the Tennessee wing of the presbytery, and when he left in late 1885, "his following" in the Prosperity and Blanche congregations, some thirty members, went with him into the UP church. The presbytery reported that it regretted the losses, but the result left "the balance united and harmonious."⁸¹

The 1890 presbyterial report to Synod observed that finally "peace and harmony" had been restored to its churches, and said that largely through the evangelistic visits of Rev. Orr to four of its churches, it could report a net of 93 additions to their rolls.⁸²

In 1885, Revs. A. J. Ranson and I. N. Kennedy, who had both just finished the Erskine Seminary, took up the two strongest churches in Lincoln County, Prosperity and Elk Valley. The latter had been formed by the union of the two small churches which had been served by Rev. Sloan, New Hope and Bethel, and with a new building and a new pastor it grew rapidly. By 1900, the combined membership of the Lincoln County churches was 400, and the Home Missions Board investigated the prospects of setting up a city mission at Huntsville across the Alabama border.⁸³

That venture was never tried, but in 1907, the Home Board launched its only city mission in the presbytery at Fayetteville which with a population of over 3,000 was the largest center in Lincoln County. For the next quarter century, Fayetteville became a key point in ARP work in the west. Mostly the congregation was made up of members of the Elk Valley and Prosperity congregations who had moved to the city. In 1917, when Synod met at Fayetteville, the church's membership had grown to 148. In 1919, the city became the location for a new ARP college which was designed to serve the western churches and was named for Lincoln County's pioneer ARP missionary, Rev. Henry Bryson. Bryson College's faculty and staff boosted the membership of the church, and most of its students came from Lincoln County and its immediate

area. The congregation had risen to 230 members by 1922 when Rev. J. R. Edwards resigned as pastor after leading the church for eight years. But when the college began to experience financial problems and had to be closed in 1929, the congregation slumped. By 1932, it numbered 173.⁸⁴

Besides the Fayetteville church, the other notable additions to the roll of presbytery were in southern Alabama. Orrville had developed as an offspring of Prosperity in Dallas County, and it continued as a small outpost. Camden which was developed as an offspring of Bethel in Wilcox County soon grew to become the most influential church in that community. In 1906 it hosted Synod, by 1919 it had become the largest congregation among the ARP Alabama churches, and in 1931 it joined its mother church, Bethel, to host Synod again.

Down on the Florida border in Covington County a little group of ARP families maintained a church known as Salem which had existed since the 1830's with only rare preaching until 1909 when Rev. Joseph L. Pressly became its first regular supply. (Rev. Pressly made a career out of supplying small churches and served in Kentucky, Texas, Arkansas, Georgia, S. C., Tennessee, and Missouri as well as Alabama).⁸⁵ He remained in the area until his death in 1936. With the support of the Home Missions Board, he organized two small churches in the area at Mt. Horeb and Mt. Sinai and aided in organizing Deen's Memorial at Red Level, Ala. His co-worker in this field was Rev. W. M. Willis from 1913 to 1926. These missions were made up from members who had no ARP background and often came from the class of poor tenant farmers. Their addition to the ARP church was chiefly due to the loving example of Rev. Joe Pressly.⁸⁶

The new churches of Alabama and Tennessee, and especially those of Lincoln County, resulted in an increase in the membership of the churches in the presbytery until in 1932 the total reached 1234 which was a little more than double the total in 1882.

The Memphis Presbytery Churches

The Memphis Presbytery in 1882 was the heart of the western work of the ARP Synod. Its 954 members were approximately equal to the combined membership of Tennessee-Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas Presbyteries. Its twelve churches included four of the largest in Synod; Salem (Tipton Co., Tenn.), Ebenezer (Tippah Co., Miss.), Bethany (Lee Co., Miss.) and Troy (Obion Co., Tenn.). Like most of the work in the west, the presbytery was severely handicapped by the great distances between its churches. The Tennessee churches were strung out along the Mississippi River and there were even greater distances between them and the churches in Mississippi and between the churches of north Mississippi and the southernmost church of the presbytery at Starkville. Despite its name the presbytery did not have a church in Memphis until 1902, and it was so known because the connecting railroads between the churches in west Tennessee and their partners in the presbytery in Mississippi all ran through Memphis.

Another problem in the development of the presbytery lay in the fact that most of the members of its churches were small farmers who were only a generation or less removed from migration from the East, and they gave very sparingly to the causes of the church. The level of per capita giving in 1882 surpassed only that of Texas and Arkansas, and the only churches where this level went much above \$4 were those at Troy and Starkville, the two town churches in the presbytery where the level was twice this. This problem persisted into the 1890's. For example, in 1892 at one of the strongest of the country churches, Bethany, Pastor S. A. Agnew found that only 8 members showed up at the annual congregational meeting and they pledged their pastor only \$71. Agnew wrote in his diary, "If things do not change, it looks like Bethany will die—there is a lack of life and love for the church which I do greatly regret to see."⁸⁷

Like the other western churches, the rural churches of the presbytery, especially those of northern Mississippi, experienced a continual tide of emigration westward.

Shiloh in Lafayette County and Mt. Carmel in Marshall County were two Mississippi churches which were disbanded before the First World War. (The Starkville church transferred to the UP ranks in 1891)

Despite these problems some ministers in the presbytery served long pastorates. Rev. David Pressly served the Starkville church for over 40 years, and his son, Rev. T. P. Pressly was the pastor of the Troy church for almost 47 years. Rev. S. A. Agnew ministered to the Hopewell church in Mississippi for 44 years and to Bethany for about 35 years. Rev. J. H. Strong was the pastor of Salem for over 25 years, and Rev. T. G. Boyce served the same church 20 years. During a portion of the ministry of each of these men (from 1888 to 1905) Salem had the largest membership in the Synod.

Rev. Boyce was pastor at Salem in 1903 when the William H. Dunlap family made the gift to Synod which resulted in setting up Dunlap Orphanage, the first Synodical institution in the west. In 1902, Mr. Dunlap had built a chapel at his own expense where when the orphanage was set up Rev. Boyce preached regularly. After the death of Rev. Boyce, this church was organized as a separate congregation which included the staff and children of the Dunlap Home.

By 1903, Tipton County (just north of Memphis) had become the most important center of work in the presbytery. In 1895, the small churches of Bloomington and Mt. Paran had been combined and relocated at the town of Brighton under that name. This church, along with Salem (the largest in Synod), Hebron (the only colored church in Synod), and a new mission at the county seat, Covington, gave the ARP churches of Tipton County between 400 to 500 members when Dunlap was established.⁸⁹

The Home Mission Board founded three city churches in the Memphis Presbytery between 1902 and 1904, Memphis, Covington, and New Albany. In the first of these ventures Rev. S. J. Patterson was sent to Memphis where he reported that he had located about 35 of "our people" by April and the second Sabbath he was in the city he held worship in a rented hall, so "for the first time in the

history of the city of Memphis the grand old Psalms of David were rendered in the midst by a congregation of Associate Reformed Presbyterians."⁸⁹ On June 7th, the church was organized with 31 members, and before the year was out Patterson was forced to return to North Carolina because of ill health, and he was succeeded in the work by Rev. W. B. Lindsay. He served until 1910 when the congregation had grown to 86 members.⁹⁰

Covington which was founded the year after Memphis grew similarly until in 1910 it had 73 members. New Albany, Mississippi which was organized the following year grew much faster. It was the only Presbyterian church in that city which had been set up as a railroad town. Due to the migration from the country churches of Hopewell and Ebenezer, New Albany grew to 125 in 1910 when it lost its first pastor, Rev. J. W. Carson, and had reached over 300 by 1925. Ebenezer and Hopewell lost about a third of their members during this same time.

The fastest growth in the presbytery, however, was that of the church at Memphis. In 1912, Rev. E. P. Lindsay, a Tennessee native took the work and from that time until his death in 1922, its membership jumped from about 80 to 172. He was succeeded in the work by his twin brother, Rev. A. T. Lindsay, who had just closed his institution in North Carolina, Linwood College. This Rev. Lindsay, the third by that name to lead the young church, soon saw the membership rise above 200 and in 1927 when the congregation completed a new sanctuary, it numbered 281 members. The building cost \$75,000, and despite a gift from Synod of \$10,000 and the funds it was able to raise itself, the congregation owed \$48,000 on its building.⁹¹ In 1929 the congregation hosted a meeting of Synod in its fine new building, but three years later with the continuing burden of a debt which seemed beyond the strained resources of the ARP Synod, the congregation (then 410 members) and its pastor transferred to the Presbyterian Church, USA.⁹²

With the loss of the Memphis Church, known as Lindsay Memorial, the churches of the territory formerly the Memphis Presbytery ended the period in 1932 with a total membership of just over 2,000, a little more than double

that of half century earlier. In 1914 the churches of Louisville and Mt. Zion and Elsberry from the old Kentucky Presbytery had been merged with the Memphis Presbytery to form the Memphis-Louisville Presbytery. In 1931 this presbytery was merged with the old Arkansas Presbytery to form the Mississippi Valley Presbytery.

The Florida Churches

The Florida churches would later be under the jurisdiction of Second Presbytery, but their beginnings in the mid-1880's came from a missionary venture from the Tennessee-Alabama Presbytery. Since the Civil War there had been no work in Florida. Before the war there had been two efforts to make a beginning in the "Land of Flowers." In the 1850's Synod had sent Rev. J. G. Miller in response to a petition to Micanopy, Fla. on a mission which was not continued because he was not paid as promised.⁹³ On the eve of the war the Georgia Presbytery had several preaching stations just across the Florida border from Attapulcus, Ga., and they were visited by such domestic missionaries as Rev. W. J. Lowry in 1860.⁹⁴ The war wiped out these Florida stations along with the mission at Attapulcus. Early in 1884, Rev. C. S. Young, pastor at Head Springs (Marshall Co, Tennessee) since 1873, decided to attempt to promote a psalm-singing colony of settlers in Florida like those which others had led to Arkansas. Early in 1884 he resigned his pastorate and went to southern Alabama (Covington County on the Florida border) to fill a presbyterial supply request. The winter of 1883-84 had been severe, and Young noted that the temperature in January was 20° warmer in Alabama than up in Tennessee. From there he set out to visit "the land of Flowers and pass judgment upon its merits." He found Florida in an early land boom, and, after visiting both the state and federal land offices, he decided to deal with a land agent.⁹⁵

During the next several months he published a series of

articles in the church papers under the title, "Florida Sketches," which publicized the opportunities in that developing state. At the same time he ran regular notices of his plan to organize a "psalm-singing colony" to be settled in the coming winter.⁹⁶ The site he chose was in Hernando County in a lake region north and inland from Tampa which was thought to be a citrus growing territory.⁹⁷ He was able to attract the interest of seventeen families, and by 1885 he had moved to Orleans, a new postoffice, where he planned to act as the colonists' land agent. Although some of the expected families failed to show up, he staked out 20 acres for a church, school and parsonage. By the summer, he had begun to hold preaching and Sabbath school twice a month in his own house.⁹⁸

Disappointments plagued Young's venture from its beginning. Fewer settlers came than he expected, and when the winter proved too cold for their citrus plants some of these left. Young was undaunted, and he began to promote vegetable farming as an alternative. By his second summer, on June 27, 1886, he organized a second church at Arlington, five miles north of Orleans, with thirteen members, ten of which were of psalm-singing background. The chief problem which he saw was that those inhabitants who were from that background were settled, in his words, as "from Dan to Beersheba. Concentration is what our settlers need."⁹⁹

In 1888, Young's status was changed from that of a domestic missionary under the Tennessee-Alabama Presbytery to membership in Second Presbytery and his charges were henceforth under the care of that body.¹⁰⁰ In the following year, his venture seemed to be progressing. The combined membership of his two little churches in 1889 reached 29 with the addition of three ARP families, and he organized a ladies benevolent society and laid plans for a new church building at Orleans.¹⁰¹ Late in the year, he reported that he had received gifts from about 60 persons and churches from throughout the Synod with which to pay for the building he was having constructed.¹⁰²

The building was opened for use in the spring of 1890, but not completed for some time. In 1892, it was formally dedicated with special services by Rev. E. P. McClintock,

and in the same year Rev. J. A. Myers held classes there in singing the new *Bible Songs*. Fresh from giving a class at Hickory Grove and Smyrna (York Co. S.C.) where everyone was kin to everyone else, he reported that in this first psalm-singing class in Florida, "scarcely any of the class was akin to anyone else outside of the immediate family."¹⁰³

Rev. Young labored on with little success until the end of 1900 when he finally decided to abandon the field and transfer to the Kentucky Presbytery. To earn his living he also taught school, and for four years he served as county superintendent of education. Through the 1890's he could only report a membership of from 16 to 26, and in the end his members either moved away or joined the Cumberland Presbyterians. Cold winters ruined the orange groves, the syndicates which developed phosphate mines in the area brought in only "foreigners and strangers," and the ARP's would not concentrate within the reach of one church. In the end, he could say "I have spent much time and money and some of the best years of my life in an effort to establish our cause here," but he had to admit failure.¹⁰⁴

Rev. Young's most important work in Florida came when he was called upon to organize a church at Bartow in Polk County some 80 miles below his site in January, 1890. Fifteen persons there had petitioned Second Presbytery for such an organization, and he complied.¹⁰⁵

Bartow

The first services held by the Bartow congregation were in a Methodist church, and then it worshipped in an opera house which was reported as "large and convenient, but the associations are not of such a character as to inspire devotional sentiments,"¹⁰⁶ Synodical evangelist Orr held a meeting there in the spring of 1890 at the courthouse, and he reported that the members there were "among the best element" in the town. He predicted that if the Home Missions Board sent the right man to the place, "in a few years the Second Presbytery or the ARP Synod of the South will hold a meeting there."¹⁰⁷

The first man sent to Bartow was Rev. J. R. Edwards, who was only recently ordained, and he stayed there from November, 1891 to November, 1892. He was followed by Rev. D. G. Phillips, Jr. who was installed as pastor and served the people for four years. Largely through their own efforts, the members built a substantial and well located sanctuary where they hosted Second Presbytery in the spring of 1892. By 1895, the membership had reached 68, and the church had started its own mission at Eloise, twelve miles away.¹⁰⁸

After Phillips left in 1896, the mission was supplied by the Home Missions Board until Rev. E. B. Kennedy became pastor in 1898. In 1901, Rev. Kennedy reported that in its ten years of existence the Bartow mission had enrolled some 107 members, but that losses, mainly through transfers or removal, left the membership at 58. In his view, there were three main difficulties; it was small and suffered by comparison with larger congregations, it was far removed from the rest of Synod and gathered few members by transfer, and the town of Bartow was small and had six churches.¹⁰⁹

Despite his gloomy assessment, the congregation finally began to grow during Rev. Kennedy's ministry, and when he left in 1905 the membership had reached 73. In the 1904 contest over union with the UP church two Bartow leaders played a prominent role in the debate, Prof. William Hood (a former Erskine professor) and his son-in-law, businessman E. C. Stuart. In 1908, Stuart became the first Florida elder to attend Synod, and on his invitation Synod met at Bartow in 1909.¹¹⁰

In 1908 a second Florida church was organized. In the preceding fall the Home Mission Board sent Rev. M. P. Cain to Tampa to preach to "the scattered members of our church in that city." On February 27, 1908 his efforts succeeded in the organization of the Tampa church with 14 charter members.¹¹¹ Almost immediately the congregation began to construct a building, and in September the first service was held in the new building.¹¹²

Also prior to the Bartow Synod meeting a third Florida church was organized in nearby Plant City under the name of Coronet. The name was that of a mining company of

that area. The building was put up and paid for by Elder Stuart of the Bartow church, and Rev. W. D. F. Snipes took up the work there.¹¹³ Rev. Snipes also taught school in the area, and by 1917 he had given up the Coronet work to take other work.¹¹⁴

In 1912 the Bartow church became the first Florida church to become self-supporting, and it was paying its pastor, Rev. N. E. Smith, the second highest salary in the Second Presbytery. Its membership had reached 117, and by 1917, it reached a total of 165.¹¹⁵

Other Florida Churches

Two more Florida churches were organized in 1913, Lake Wales and Second Tampa. The Lake Wales church was built at the same time as the town by that name, and it was located 16 miles from Bartow. E. C. Stuart and Rev. Smith began to conduct worship services while Lake Wales consisted only of a hotel building. Mr. Stuart was one of the founders of the town, and he funded on his own "a commodious and tasteful church" there, and the congregation was organized by him on June 14, 1914.¹¹⁶

Second Tampa (later known as Stuart Memorial) was organized October 18, 1913 with 10 charter members. The church, a parsonage, and the salary for the minister were all donated by Stuart.¹¹⁷ Mr. Stuart also provided Rev. C. B. Williams, the first pastor of the second Tampa church, with a Ford touring car.¹¹⁸

The Lake Wales church, which was part of Rev. Smith's pastoral charge, was self-supporting from the beginning, and in a few years it had approximately 70 members. From 1921 through the period, Rev. S. A. Tinkler served as pastor of Lake Wales, while Bartow and the Tampa churches had a succession of pastors. By 1932, Lake Wales had a membership of 167, Bartow a membership of 174.

The two Tampa churches reached a high point in combined membership of 165 in 1927, and in that same year a fifth Florida church was organized at Lake Placid (called during its first year Lake Stearns). Here, as at Lake Wales and Second Tampa, Mr. and Mrs. Stuart built a handsome church and manse at no cost to the presbytery or Synod.

The congregation quickly grew to 40 members, and the Home Missions Board reported, "Again the old idea that an ARP congregation cannot be built anywhere—there is people—that ARP's must be born and not made is exploded."¹¹⁹

The success of the Florida work meant that whereas a half century earlier there had been no organized ARP work in the state, in 1932 there were five churches with a total membership of 548.¹²⁰ While the cords to the Texas Presbytery, the country churches in Kentucky and some in Arkansas and Mississippi, and the Memphis church had been taken up, in addition to the Florida churches there were now cords to such new ARP strongholds as Louisville, Little Rock, Lexington, New Albany and Fayetteville.

Chapter III

LAST TO LAY THE OLD ASIDE

Robert Lathan closed his history of the Synod of the South with the following assessment of its members: "They are slow to give up old principles and practices, and always regard with a degree of suspicion those who either ignore or remove the ancient landmarks of religion."¹ While other American Presbyterians (with the exception of the northern brethren in the U.P. church) had early become Americanized, alone in the South the ARP's retained the principles and practices of Scottish Presbyterianism.

What were these distinctive features? Most observers agreed with Lathan that it was its views on psalmody and communion which most clearly distinguished the ARP church from other Presbyterian bodies. Synod's attorney in the Louisville church litigation in 1875, United States Attorney General John Marshall Harlan, had cited the same two points as what marked the church from the Southern Presbyterians.²

Exclusive Psalmody

Of these, exclusive use of the Psalms in worship was the most important. In fact, in many areas where the ARP's were not well known they proudly called themselves "the psalm singing Presbyterians." There were serious suggestions that the denomination adopt this as its formal name as late as the 1880's. The principle was considered so basic that ministers who no longer adhered to it were expected to leave the fold.

Two tasks, however, had to be addressed continually. A decent regard for the opinions of other Christians meant that the ARP's must try to explain the reasons for their peculiar stance, and to be able to do this they must be thoroughly grounded in their own faith. To aid in the latter, Rev. R. F. Bradley of Troy, S. C. founded an eight page monthly called *The Psalm Singer* which began in

1885. He gathered an impressive group of corresponding editors from throughout the United States and abroad with the hope that "officers, elders and even ministers will learn through the paper what it is likely they would never learn otherwise. It will be doctrine, doctrine mostly and doctrine continually, until every Psalm singer will be thoroughly furnished with a reason for his faith and practice."³

Two of the ablest young ministers produced clearly written pamphlets which explained the church's position on the question and were widely distributed both inside and outside the denomination. C. E. Todd's *A Question and Its Answer* appeared in 1888 and J. T. Chalmers' *Ten Reasons Why the A. R. P. Church Adheres to an Inspired Psalter* in 1900. Their arguments were well summarized by J. S. Moffatt in his Centennial address in 1903 on "What the Associate Reformed Church Stands For."⁴

The ARP's did not consider themselves as bigots or sectarian; they carefully explained that they were not condemning other Christians on this point. Nor did they consider their stand as one of worshipping any particular version of the Psalms, or the Psalms themselves. While other churches avoided that which was expressly forbidden by the Scriptures in worship, the ARP's considered the best practice to be the use of only those elements specially prescribed in the Bible for worship. They believed with the Shorter Catechism that the Second Commandment forbade "the worshipping of God by images, or any other way not appointed in his word."⁵

ARP's never contended that other songs were forbidden for use in worship, only that they were not prescribed. Also, they argued that the Psalms were given by God, "to be sung in His worship to the end of time," and that the experience of other Christians had proved that when other songs were introduced in worship the Psalms were driven out of use. "Not a few of our brethren" left the ARP church because they considered its Psalmody position too narrow, W. L. Pressly admitted in 1903, but in his view in their new homes they found a praise service just as narrowly limited to hymns of "merely human" composure.⁶

The Psalmody position raised problems in relations

with other Christian bodies. Among the several issues were such questions as whether ARP's who were visiting in other churches could in good conscience sing hymns, and similarly, could ARP ministers take part in services where hymns were used? While the church's position often appeared to forbid both of these practices, its Directory of Worship merely stated that "nor shall any composition merely human be sung in any of the Associate Reformed churches." The language was made more unequivocal in the revised Book of Worship issued in 1899, where it was changed to "nor shall any other songs be used in worship by members of the Associate Reformed church."

The Organ Controversy

While no one in the church publicly questioned its stand on exclusive Psalmody, there was less unanimity on the prohibition of musical instruments in worship. The Book of Worship's ban was clear, but many ARP's could not agree that the Scripture prohibited this practice. As S. A. Agnew wrote in his diary, "I do not think it is an evil *per se* but the influence of instrumental music in divine worship is in my opinion unfavorable."⁸

In 1886, the UP church engaged in a divisive debate on the issue, and the following year it surfaced in the ARP church where a number of congregations had ignored the ban and installed organs. In the spring meeting of Second Presbytery, Elder J. S. Reid of the Cannon Creek church presented a paper challenging the use of an organ in the Thompson Street church at nearby Newberry. The paper was turned over to a committee (Revs. D. G. Phillips, D. F. Haddon and W. L. Pressly) and the committee reported that it was "at a loss" to know what action to recommend to the Presbytery. It agreed that instrumental music was in violation of both its law and custom, "but peculiar circumstances at present seem to your committee to make it very doubtful whether the agitation of the question by Presbytery would be for the peace and edification or the promotion of strife and contention." It was content to urge sessions "to guard against innovations and to study the

things which make for peace."⁹ Presbytery agreed with this judgment, but Reid and two other elders appealed the case to Synod. Synod tabled the issue.¹⁰

Rev. J. C. Galloway undertook to explain the state of opinion in his Synod on this issue when he addressed the UP General Assembly in 1887. He said that if the issue were to come to open debate in his church as it had in the UP church, it would probably reveal that many were "uncompromisingly hostile" to the use of the organ, but the majority would not argue that it was prohibited by the scriptures. As a "matter of expediency," most believed that organs were likely to prove "fatal to congregation singing, and that nothing can compensate for damage on this score."¹¹

D. G. Phillips expressed the views of one who was forced into the question by the Reid petition, as follows, "I have tried to weigh calmly as I could all the arguments for and against use of organs in church. I presume all my brethren have done the same. All have arrived at settled convictions. Yet there is a fixed difference of opinion—some for, some against, some neutral. I have no organ in the church and no partiality for it, and no prejudice against it. And I have to presume that a large majority of our people are like minded.... It is true that our written creed, which was taken from the word of God, forbids it. But that creed was collated by good men—yet men who might err."¹²

In the spring meeting of First Presbytery in 1888, a memorial from the Yorkville (S.C.) church was adopted noting that "some congregations" (said by the *A. R. Presbyterian* to be five or six) were using musical instruments in worship, and asking Synod either to repeal or enforce its law on that matter. Again the question was tabled.¹³

The issue was again raised by the First Presbytery in 1889, and the Moderator's committee to which it was referred recommended that a 12 man committee be appointed to study and present a report on revision of the Book of Worship at the 1890 Synod. This was done, and the committee selected included Revs. E. E. Boyce, W. W. Orr, C. E. Todd, W. L. Pressly, H. T. Sloan, W. M. Grier, J. H.

Strong, S. A. Agnew, W. H. Millen and T. P. Pressly and Elders Joseph Wylie and William Hood.¹⁴ S. A. Agnew was the moderator at the 1889 Synod, and he noted in his diary that the "instrumentation issue" was "a vexed question."¹⁵

It was Agnew's duty at the 1890 Synod to present the Report on the Revision of the Book of Worship. As he recorded in his diary, after its adoption "our organ men made confession. Among them F. Y. Pressly, J. A. Lowry, E. P. McClintock. It was laughable. Mills was among those confessing. He said that as long as the 150th Psalm was in the Bible he had no qualms of conscience."¹⁶ Organ opponents saw this passage and other similar references as referring to worship in the Temple, not the synagogue where instruments were not allowed. They argued that the synagogue was the forerunner of the Christian church.

The question on whether or not to expunge the section in the Book of Worship which forbade instrumental music was overtured to the Presbyteries. Eight of the nine presbyteries (excepting only Arkansas) voted to do so, although the vote in First Presbytery was surprisingly close (22 to 20).¹⁷ John E. Pressly of Coddle Creek was an uncompromising opponent, and the presbytery took the unusual position of permitting him to speak "indefinitely" against it while limiting other speakers to twenty minutes on the subject.¹⁸

When the issue came back up to the 1891 Synod, the vote to expunge passed by a margin of 50 to 22 with 17 of the negative votes coming from First Presbytery. In addition to John E. Pressly, such senior ministers as R. A. Ross, Robert Lathan, and H. T. Sloan were opposed, but the most unyielding opponents were Pressly and Elder J. S. Reid. These two men entered a formal protest on the record of Synod, and Reid angrily charged the majority with "a great want of brotherly love and Christian feeling." W. M. Grier and J. M. Todd who were appointed to answer on behalf of Synod, replied that "what is done in the fear of God can not show a want of brotherly love and Christian feeling."¹⁹

Although this officially ended the matter, some of the opponents could not forget easily. As John E. Pressly

wrote the *A. R. Presbyterian* in 1895, he was "in a strait" as to whether to attend the upcoming Synod. "As I am not in accord with the present doctrine and practice of that church I once solemnly vowed 'to maintain and observe,' it would nearly break my heart and greatly worry me to witness the proceedings of brethren I love so well."²⁰ Pressly wrote constantly to the church paper of his forebodings for his church and on other matters under the initials "J. E. P." The younger ministers such as those associated in the publication of *The Young Worker* referred to J. E. P. and older ministers who opposed change as "graveyard prophets," J. E. P. called them "cradle reformers." To pacify this persistent opposition, some congregations moved very slowly. for example, it was not until almost three decades after musical instruments became acceptable that the Due West session in 1919 authorized choir director D. S. Edwards to solicit money for a church piano.²¹

Sometimes, even though the Book of Worship's provisions were unchanged, the practice of the church was relaxed. Rev. John H. Simpson found in an informal poll among the ministers themselves at the 1890 Synod that "not more than a dozen ministers" were faithful to the prescription that singing psalms be a part of daily family worship. On his motion, Synod passed a resolution that "pastors, elders, deacons and private members be urged to keep up the practice of singing at family worship, and to encourage singing schools in our churches, and thereby improve congregational singing."²²

Psalters and Bible Songs

Repeated efforts to improve congregational singing came during the 1890's with singing schools conducted in the churches by Rev. Simpson, J. A. Myers, R. B. Hunter, and others. The 1887 UP *Bible Songs*, a collection of psalms set to the more popular music of the time, gained a popular following. W. W. Orr and other evangelists used a song leader who introduced the meetings with a song session which featured the *Bible Songs*. A correspondent in the *A. R. Presbyterian* in 1894 wrote that he considered

the Psalter "too large and contains very many tunes which I feel sure are never sung except by some old fogy or someone utterly devoid of musical taste. The *Bible Songs* though containing much fine music yet as a book of praise it is objectionable in that it is, as we regard it, a mutilated copy of the sacred Book of Praise, and it is evident that the Bible Songs are fast taking the place of the Psalter or Psalm Book in any form."²³

Synod was always sympathetic to efforts to secure an improved Psalter, but cautious about any change. In 1895, the UP church launched a renewed effort to make a revision "which will be correct and elegant and conform to the present canons of literary taste in the English tongue," and the ARP Synod appointed James Boyce as its representative on the project.²⁴

In the discussion which followed there was much criticism of some of the new metrical versions which ARP's considered in reality to be hymns. Especially influential was the criticism of Prof. G. G. Parkinson of the Erskine Seminary. Despite their lack of language training, laymen joined in the debate. E. C. Stuart of Bartow, Fla. declared that he was willing to abide by Rev. Parkinson's judgment, because he knew him to be not only competent to judge, but also "sound to the core." Stuart warned against change for in his opinion "our Psalter is sacred to our people as it is. We love it for what it is and we love it on account of long association." He saw no danger that the 1887 version would go out of print, for he foresaw the day when the Synod would have its own publishing house, and then "we will print our own psalm books."²⁵ At the presbytery level, the adoption of the new version (later known as the 1912 version) failed on a vote of 85 to 55.²⁶

For the next dozen years, the ARP church was able to secure sufficient copies from the UP church publishers even though that church adopted the new version. By the mid-1920's both the older versions of the Psalter and the Bible Songs were no longer being printed and their stocks were dwindling. At the 1926 Synod, an anonymous donor offered "ample funds" for a perpetually revolving fund to reprint both volumes. On a resolution by Dr. R. A. Lummus, a permanent Board of Publication with the duties of

choosing from the previous praise books or from "other collections and editions, provided that in faithfulness to the original and in poetical quality they are superior to the versions found in the present Psalter." The board would also compile a special book of praise for the use of young people. The members of the board were named in the resolution and it consisted of Revs. G. G. Parkinson, E. B. Hunter, J. R. Edwards, D. G. Phillips, B. G. Pressly and Messrs. T. H. White, R. J. Hudson, E. D. Ellis and J. C. Reid.²⁷ The only conditions set by the donor (who was E. C. Stuart)²⁸ were that the monies be spent only for this purpose and that in the event that the denomination departed from exclusive use of Psalms the money be returned to him or to his heirs.

The board spent the next couple of years compiling three song books which were based upon the careful selection from the two *Bible Songs* which the UP church had published and discontinued as well as the 1887 and 1912 Psalters, which the UP church had authorized it to use. Despite the ARP rejection some sixteen years earlier of the 1912 version, the committee now selected 58 psalms from the book for use in the new ARP book. Its report to Synod said that it had "not introduced change for the sake of change, nor have we considered age a substitute for merit."²⁹

These praise books were issued beginning in 1931, and the church now seemed prepared to carry out what it saw as the will of God that the songs of David be used in worship until, in the words of the Book of Worship, "the end of time." There were recurring rumors of members and even churches which violated this standard. Erskine Caldwell, in his book about his father, Rev. Ira S. Caldwell, relates how when his father, as secretary of the Home Mission Board, went to the Salem church in Tennessee at the eve of the First World War, he found that a dissident faction of the church had introduced hymn books.³⁰ Such charges were not unknown in earlier times. In 1866, S. A. Agnew recorded that Rev. J. A. Lowry told him that he had "no conscientious scruples against hymns although he loved psalms;" and, although Lowry voted that year for union with the Southern Presbyterians, for the next 32 years he served as an A.R.P. minister.³¹ It

seems that the most common breach in practice came when ARP's worshipped in the churches of other denominations. In 1892, "ARP" charged in the church paper that many church members "would countenance the singing of a hymn in worship to God as quick as they would the sweet song of David."³²

In 1918, the Virginia Presbytery proposed a memorial to change the Book of Government so that the prohibition on ARP's singing hymns would apply only to services in ARP churches, for, as Rev. D. T. Lauderdale of Lexington said, the law as written was not being enforced. He thought it should either be enforced or changed.³³ No Synod was held in 1918 due to the influenza epidemic, but, when Synod met in 1919, it adopted a committee report which said it would be "inexpedient to overture the question involved, inasmuch as the present law expresses what has been the rule of our Church throughout her history."³⁴

Most ARP's throughout this period appeared in sympathy with what lay leader A. G. Brice told the Young People's convention in Due West in 1894 about psalmody in a talk on "Why I am an Associate Reformed Presbyterian." He acknowledged that it was an unpopular view and that it exposed its followers to "the ridicule of the world," but he thought that adherence to the standard had preserved "our church from the laxity in observances found in all other Christian churches of the day."³⁵

The Communion Issue

Even while the church clung steadfastly to its stand on psalmody, it largely abandoned the other distinctive standard cited by both Harlan and Lathan. That standard was its position on sacramental communion, a position known as closed or regulated communion. At its communion services, often held only twice a year, members of other Christian churches were admitted only by application to and approval of local sessions.

During the long series of deliberations with the Southern Presbyterians over union which ended in failure in 1866, inter-communion had been authorized by both denominations. In parts of the church this practice continued, and the Synod was persistently disturbed by the issue. In 1874, a committee composed of James Boyce, R.

A. Ross, J. P. Pressly, J. E. Pressly and J. A. Lowry was directed to define the church's "doctrine and constitutional order" on communion. The committee's report was approved by the 1875 Synod. Its position was that the standard did not allow open communion, only "restricted or regulated occasional communion." Sessions were directed to maintain "our testimony in doctrine, worship and discipline, so as to secure the edification of the church."³⁶

Some sessions and pastors continued to practice open or catholic communion. For example, in the First Presbytery, the Chester church which was organized at the time of the agitation for union with the Southern Presbyterians, never adopted close communion, and even such a traditionalist as Robert Lathan did the same at his Yorkville church.³⁷

Lathan's close friend and neighbor, R. A. Ross, pastor of the Sharon and Smyrna churches, brought a complaint at the fall presbytery meeting in 1879 against "certain brethren (Lathan and Rev. J. P. Marion, pastor of the Chester church) for departing from the usage and order of the church in the matter of sacramental communion, and a committee was appointed to confer with the unnamed brethren involved."³⁸

A few weeks later the 1879 Synod met at the Union church in Chester county, and that body approved a proposal by Ross that the issue of catholic communion be overturned to the presbyteries.³⁹ At the spring meeting on the following year, First Presbytery tabled the Ross complaint (now labeled as against Lathan and Marion) on the grounds that the two ministers were regularly present at meetings and subject to questions at any time and, in any case, the question would soon be settled by the overture.⁴⁰

Only First Presbytery voted directly on the issue of open or catholic communion, and it rejected it on a vote of 23 to 8. The other presbyteries addressed themselves only to the issue of whether the 1875 position was satisfactory, and they all agreed that it was.⁴¹

In fact, some churches continued to hold to the position that the question was left to the discretion of local sessions, and they continued to practice open communion.⁴² The issue virtually ceased to agitate the church, and in the

revised Book of Worship in 1899 open communion was set as church policy. By a vote of 81 to 17, the presbyteries approved for inclusion an invitation to the communion table to "all members of other Evangelical churches in good and regular standing" with the provision that "the session of this church reserving the right to deny the privilege to any known to be guilty of conduct unbecoming a profession of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁴³

It had been the belief by ARP's that their church was more strict in its discipline than other similar bodies which had underlaid its restricted communion policy. In reality, even when its rules were being made more rigid in the 1890's, fewer and fewer cases of discipline were being brought to local sessions. For example, more cases had been brought in earlier times for excessive drinking than any other cause, now even though "mere social drinking" was included under those offenses subject to discipline, sessions declined to implement presbyterial and synodical decrees in this area. Likewise no cases appear to have been made against members after 1899 who sang hymns in other churches (or for that matter in ARP churches. These conclusions are based upon examination of the admittedly very incomplete local records of ARP churches.) First Presbytery had decided that "mere social drinking" would be henceforth subject to church discipline in 1891, and Synod followed by a similar declaration in 1902.⁴⁴

By the twentieth century, cases of discipline became a rarity and had disappeared altogether in most churches by the time of the First World War. As editor T. G. Boyce wrote in the church paper in 1900 out of his experience as a pastor, "it is the most unpleasant of all the duties of the pastor," and he added that he supposed that this was also true for elders. The public, he said, misunderstood its purpose, and often even ARP members saw it as an effort to disgrace those disciplined. He reminded his readers that the practice had two purposes: one, to vindicate the honor of the church and two, to save those who fall into unchristian conduct. While the latter was more important, he declared, the former was necessary for "if those who are guilty of open sins are not called to account how is the church to set an example of uprightness and purity to the world?"⁴⁵

However, the practice was doomed by the resistance of the membership. When members were barred from communion, they simply joined other churches which did not practice such harsh discipline. Thus, the demise of close communion was soon followed by the passing of church discipline.

The result was that at the Centennial Synod in 1903, Erskine Seminary President W. L. Pressly noted that "to one of the present generation it is not easy to see how our fathers got 'close' or what they call 'regulated' or 'restricted,' or 'occasional' communion out of the XXVI chapter of the Westminster Confession of Faith." His conclusion was that "the position and the practice of the church on this subject have been materially modified in recent years."⁴⁶

The Introduction of Revival Meetings

One of the most important innovations in this period was the introduction of revival meetings by the work of Rev. W. W. Orr under the sponsorship of the Home Mission Board. Traditionally ARP churches had special services at communion seasons (two or more times a year), where neighboring ministers aided the pastor in a series of sermons, and it was at this time usually that new members were gathered into the congregation. However, these services contrasted sharply with meetings held in the summer by the Baptist and Methodist churches, and the ARP's disdained what they considered to be the emotionalism or sensationalism of these "big meetings." At the same time, they recognized the popular appeal of such meetings. S. A. Agnew was perhaps typical of the ARP pastors when he noted annually the defections from his two rural northern Mississippi churches during these seasons.

In the late summer of 1889, the newly organized Home Mission Board determined to send its corresponding secretary, Rev. W. W. Orr of Huntersville, N.C., on a preaching mission to the Virginia Presbytery. His itinerary was set to include not only small mission churches, but also older churches with settled pastorates. In the

opinion of the Board, many of the "older and settled congregations" appeared cold and indifferent to the work. The result was what the church paper later called "wonderful," and it declared "so far as our memory goes it is unprecedented in the history of our church." Orr entered the Virginia churches in late July, and over the next six or seven weeks he preached seventy times and received into the churches 158 members (equal to about half of what had been the Presbytery's membership, although some of these went into non-ARP churches). His reception at Old Providence, Va., and New Lebanon, W.Va., was truly remarkable.

At Old Providence, he reported "large audiences attended every service, sometimes the large house was packed, and everything was almost as still as death. God's people went to praying and working, the Holy Spirit came in large measures until when we were closed, fifty-eight souls had been added to the church. Sometimes when we went into the session room we would find it full of earnest, anxious souls. Frequently little boys twelve years old were there sitting side by side with gray headed fathers and mothers, all seeking Christ."⁴⁷

The New Lebanon meeting was even more productive. Though the church's membership was only half that of Old Providence, virtually the same number of converts were gathered in. Its pastor, Rev. John H. Simpson, had prepared the way. Orr reported to the church paper: "I found the iron hot. They were ready for preaching." He preached day and night for seventeen times "straight along" with such effect that "some nights toward the last, the house was so packed that men came in and sat down on the floor, others stood up during the whole service, others pulled their vehicle to the windows and sat in them, others stood in the vestibule until it was full, and then packed up the gallery." Fifty seven were converted.⁴⁸

Bro. Orr (as he was called at the time) and everyone associated with the Virginia revival gave the full credit to the Holy Ghost. The ministers of the Virginia Presbytery as well as Bro. Orr were the human instruments through which He chose to exert His power. The presbytery reported to Synod that "the seed that has been sown for

long, long years has sprung up to the praise of God's glorious grace."⁴⁹ Rev. Simpson later told a story which illustrated the point. Over a year earlier, he had preached at Broad Creek without apparent effect. At that time he was moved to invite those who were members of no church to stay after the service, and he took their names down in his diary with the promise that he would pray for their souls every morning and evening. When Orr came to New Lebanon, he anxiously asked him for his list of the converts at Broad Creek. All but one on Simpson's prayer list were on Orr's convert list. Simpson concluded, "I kept my promise, and God kept his."

Orr's next meetings in Kentucky and in Florida (in early 1890) failed to produce large numbers of converts like his first meeting, but the church was revived in its distant outposts. For the next seven or eight years he traveled over the Synod conducting meetings in churches from the small missions to the larger and older congregations. He was supported by the Home Mission Board, by his own congregation at Huntersville, and by the local pastors and crowds which attended his meetings. Sometimes the number of converts was comparable to the first meeting, as, for example in the New Stirling (N.C.) meeting in 1891 where there were over a hundred converts. At other times the results were less tangible with the chief impact on members who had fallen away from their churches.

Often his visits were among the high points in the life of the congregation. As his approach developed, new features were added. His song leader, his brother-in-law, R. B. Hunter, usually came on the grounds several days earlier and conducted training sessions in using the Bible Songs, and music was a valued aid in the services. Song sessions preceded each preaching session. Often, for the first time in the history of the congregation, non-ARP churches cooperated in the meeting, stores would be closed, and the whole community would join in the meeting.

The ARP Book of Worship said that the pulpit "is very far from being a place for the mere display of scholarship and eloquence; nor is it a place for indulgence in humor or any sensational devices of any kind."⁵¹ Unlike some of his fellow evangelists in other denominations, Orr employed

no devices or tricks (not even his own abundant native wit) in his preaching. His style was plain, direct and earnest. His message was the word of God, and its impact was powerful on his listeners. The drama came from the popular response to his preaching.

Since it was new in the ARP experience, sometimes, as in Yorkville in 1892, the pastor reported that it took three or four days to overcome "the marked prejudice in the minds of our people against all evangelists."⁵² Rev. E. E. Boyce, after witnessing an evangelistic meeting at Gastonia (not Orr's) wrote his young friend Rev. E. B. Anderson that he feared "spiritual dissipation" where "the pastorate is nothing more than wadding in the gun—filling the empty space between times waiting for the evangelist." But he admitted that pastors were themselves to blame, for "we who have been pastors in the age of new born methods—yes with us originated the necessity. We were dead in our daily ministry."⁵³ S. A. Agnew observed Orr's service as his Bethany (Miss.) church drew in a good crowd even on a snowy March day, including many inactive members, and commented "there is much interest, but it may pass away with the passing of Orr."⁵⁴ Rev. Calvin Pressly reported from his century-old Generostee (S.C.) church, which he described as in love with "the old paths, so upright (erect) that she backward inclined," that "the Evangelist captured us lock, stock and barrel, root and branch, an unconditional *capit* or *caputulation*. At an Orr meeting at Bradley (S.C.) in January, 1892, on the second night there was such a crowd in the little church building that the floor gave way, and in the panic shutters were torn off the windows and people jumped out. The horses were frightened, and some ran away. Yet the meeting was adjourned to the Baptist church where it continued as scheduled. There a local correspondent of the church paper wrote, "no excesses were indulged in or excitement allowed. The shout of a colored woman was promptly stopped, and she was taken out."⁵⁶

Orr cut back upon his schedule for the ten years from 1897 to 1907 when he was pastor at Corsicana, Texas and at the Tabernacle church in Charlotte, although he continued some evangelistic work. When in 1907 he re-

entered evangelistic work full time, he increasingly turned his attention to work in UP churches in the North and West and in Southern Presbyterian churches in the South.⁵⁷

Orr's successful evangelism led the Home Mission Board to employ others in a more limited way. In the 1890's Rev. T. P. Pressly and T.G. Boyce labored in Arkansas, Mississippi and Tennessee. In 1910, Rev. John A. Smith, who had served as Rev. Orr's associate pastor at the Tabernacle church, was employed as a full time Synodical evangelist, and he actively pursued the work until his transfer two years later to the Southern Presbyterian church.⁵⁸ Synod hired no full time evangelist, but many ARP ministers carried on part time evangelistic work. For example, in 1916 the ARP churches of Mecklenburg County, N.C. purchased a "gospel tent" with a seating capacity of over 700 for such work.⁵⁹

Sabbath Observance

Another feature which ARP's saw as marking themselves off from even other Presbyterians was their strict regard for the Sabbath. For example, they were conspicuous in their use of the term *Sabbath* in reference to the Lord's Day rather than the popular term *Sunday*. Critics saw them as a sect following Old Testament custom; they saw it as symbolic of their commitment to the Bible. As the historian Lathan wrote of his own mother church Hopewell (Chester Co., S.C.) "Never have I seen any people who so religiously observed the Sabbath day. Parents teach their children that it is a sin to whistle or sing, or engage in levity of any kind, on the Sabbath. They were taught by precept and example that the Sabbath day is the Lord's day. Parents teach their children not to call the day by the heathen name *Sunday*."⁶⁰

At the Centennial Synod in 1903, D. G. Phillips recalled how as a boy in the Ebenezer congregation (Jefferson Co., Ga.) he had seen a man in the crowd at the church door one Sabbath morning whittling on a stick with his pen knife. "I half expected lightning to strike him. And to this good day I'm afraid to whistle on Sabbath," he revealed. In his

own view, "you can't well be too strict in Sabbath keeping."⁶¹ In a similar vein, one of the fathers of the church, J. I. Bonner, wrote in 1858 about a boy near Due West who "was killed instantly last Sabbath, by a fall from a mulberry tree. He fell only ten or twelve feet, but the head striking the ground first, the neck was dislocated. Boys, remember the Sabbath!"⁶²

The Book of Worship declared that the Scripture designated no other holy day than the Christian Sabbath, and neither Easter nor Christmas was observed in ARP homes or churches until near the end of the nineteenth century. John L. Hemphill claimed the distinction of being the first Seceder minister to celebrate Easter in 1894 at his White Oak (Coweta Co., Ga.), and in the same year Rev. James Boyce for the first time encouraged his young readers of the Youth Page in the *A. R. Presbyterian* to write about their Christmas experiences, even while he admitted that there was no warrant in the Bible for observing the day as a holy one.⁶³

The section of the Book of Worship entitled "Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day" prescribed both the duties and prohibitions of the day. No one should read "secular literature," carry on "social visiting," or participate in "sports," "pastimes" or other "worldly words and thoughts. The diet on that day should be so ordered, that no servants be unnecessarily detained from the public worship of God, or any other person be hindered from the proper observance of the day."

Not only should one avoid any thing which would be offensive on the holy day, but in addition to private and public worship, the rest of the day "should be spent in reading the Bible and devotional literature, especially by calling their families to account of what they have heard, and catechising of them; in holy conference; in a prayer for a blessing upon the public ordinances; in singing Psalms; in visiting the sick; in relieving the poor; and in such like duties of piety, charity and mercy, accounting the Sabbath a delight."⁶⁴

Quite naturally, ARP's sometimes found it easier to spot violations of the Sabbath in the behavior of others than in

their own actions. For example, Rev. S. A. Agnew thought the Sabbath was violated several times when agents for Erskine College used his pulpits to make an appeal for money. But, he was even more offended by an incident at the 1888 Memphis Presbytery regarding his own use of the Sabbath. He planned to board his return train a short time before midnight on the Sabbath in order to stop off with his sister in Memphis. When one of his fellows, Rev. W. H. Millen, learned of these plans, he proposed to the Presbytery to consider whether "a brother" should travel on a train on the Sabbath. The motion died for lack of a second, but Agnew noted in his diary that he thought Millen's action "unkind," and he caught the train as he had planned.⁶⁵

There was general agreement within the church that the strict stance of the ARP's on the Sabbath was one of the main reasons they lacked popular appeal and especially in the cities and on the frontier such as in Texas. Yet there was just as widespread a lament by the end of the 19th century that this standard was being relaxed. Almost every year one or more of the presbyteries noted this trend, and it continued into the twentieth century reports. In 1912, Rev. J. Meek White observed that during his twenty years in the ARP ministry there had been a steady decline among "our people" in Sabbath observance.⁶⁶

Decline in Life Pastorates

Other changes during this period greatly affected the dominant influence of the ministers in the ARP churches. One was a widely noted decline in the incidence of "life pastorates." The Scottish tradition was for the pastor to spend most of his active career with one flock, and this was another Old World tradition which had persisted with the Southern ARP's. In the ARP centennial year of 1882 there were 18 living ministers who were above 60 years of age. Six of these had held pastorates of from 31 to 39 years, and five others had held pastorates of from 23 to 28 years. Three of the remaining had never held pastorates due to ill health or other work, and three had held only one short pastorate each. Thus among the ministers who served dur-

ing the middle of the 19th century, there was clearly no hopping around from one church to another.

A quarter-century later the rule had become one of short pastorates. Of the ministers who had served since 1882 only a little more than one-fourth held long-term pastorates, and in most instances they were the older men. Pastorates of from four to six years were now common even among ministers who were considered the most outstanding in the Synod.

Why had this happened? Some critics thought it was due to an ambitious spirit among the brethren who were intent on improving their amenities at a time when most were poorly paid. More likely it seems due to the changing composition of both the ARP clergy and churches. There were more ministers, they were younger, there was more movement in and out of the ministry, and there was more movement in and out of the denomination. The whole field was more fluid. Some new churches were quickly becoming self-supporting, while other older churches were in such a decline that they lost their pastors. There were proportionately fewer strong rural churches which were where life pastorates flourished. Such exceptions as S.W. Haddon at Old Providence, Va., H. M. Henry at Bethel, Ala., E. P. McClintock at Newberry, S.C., G. R. White at Ebenezer, N.C., and J. A. White at Hopewell, S.C. were conspicuously successful, but appeared as an ideal which was fast disappearing.

Threat of Congregationalism

Lathan in 1882 had characterized the ARP's as the least Americanized of all the American Presbyterian bodies with the possible exception of the Reformed Presbyterians. Certainly one of the features of Americanization he had in mind was the tendency toward congregational rule, and the Southern ARP's often faced challenges in this area. Sometimes this was in defiance of both the presbytery and Synod, as in the cases of Chester and Yorkville as well as other unnamed congregations who hewed stubbornly to their own position on communion. There were the churches which used organs despite

the church's clear prohibition of musical instruments. At times congregations appear to have dealt directly with their ministers. For example, in 1876, the Prosperity church (Fulton Co., Ark.) "dismissed" Rev. J. C. McDonald, according to S. A. Agnew, because although "they found no fault with him as a man or Christian...they do not think he edifies them as a preacher."⁶⁷

The most glaring example of a congregation's defiance of the rule of presbytery came in the 1890's in the case of Cannon's Creek (Newberry Co., S.C.) when it adhered to its pastor, W. W. McMorries, instead of Second Presbytery. The trouble had begun in neighboring Prosperity church sometime before 1890 when its members had differed over the location of a new sanctuary. Despite the best efforts of a presbyterial commission, the division only widened and Rev. J. C. Boyd, pastor of the Prosperity church for 32 years, was led to resign. Rev. McMorries got involved when he began to preach to the dissidents at a schoolhouse near Prosperity, and he refused to quit despite the advice of presbytery. He took the position that because some of his Cannon's Creek members were attending the services at the schoolhouse, he was not preaching beyond "the bounds of his congregation," even though the petition which he presented to presbytery for a separate organization at the Excelsior schoolhouse contained no names except those of former members at Prosperity. Presbytery turned the petition down with the recommendation that those persons re-enter the old church.⁶⁸

McMorries continued to preach to the petitioners, and in its fall meeting, Second Presbytery adopted a report from a committee of Revs. D. G. Phillips, W. L. Pressly and J. S. Mills that McMorries be warned that further involvement by him would bring presbyterial censure. Revs. D. F. Haddon and Robert Lathan on the behalf of presbytery wrote the Cannon's Creek congregation "kindly but firmly remonstrating against the spirit of insubordination which they have shown toward this Presbytery."⁶⁹ When McMorries remained unrepentant, the body moved to censure him by unanimous vote. In the 1894 Synod, McMorries' elder from Cannon's Creek, J. S. Reid, brought an appeal from the action, but Synod was also unanimous in

upholding Second Presbytery.⁷⁰

In 1895, when McMorries persisted in refusing to accept censure, he was suspended as a member of Second Presbytery, and although his King's Creek congregation accepted this action, Cannon's Creek continued to support him as its pastor.⁷¹ This state of affairs continued almost a decade. In 1899, W. L. Pressly was directed to meet with McMorries and try to resolve the problem, but McMorries instead wrote "I am willing to forgive the Presbytery and I ask its forgiveness. I thought the Presbytery, and the Presbytery, from the way it has acted, thought me wrong." He offered to submit to presbytery "so long and so far as the Presbytery does that which is agreeable to, and founded on, the word of God."⁷²

Finally, at the spring meeting of Second Presbytery in 1904 at the Prosperity church, a committee from Cannon's Creek came before it. Several resolutions were drawn up and signed by "Bro. McMorries" and the session of that church after which the brother and that church were restored to full privileges of the presbytery. The brethren went over to extend to them the right hand of fellowship.⁷³ McMorries' letter was as follows: "Brethren of the Second Presbytery: I acknowledge having done wrong in refusing to obey the constitution of this Presbytery. I desire to renew my vows of allegiance to Presbytery and receive again the privileges of those vows. W. W. McMorries" Seven elders also submitted a letter, as follows: "We, the session of Cannon Creek church and representatives of the congregation do hereby acknowledge having done wrong in failing to recognize and respect the constituted authority of Second Presbytery." In May, McMorries quit preaching at the schoolhouse near Prosperity.⁷⁴ The firm, if kind and courteous actions of the presbytery had been successful.

There also appeared a tendency toward more popular rule at the congregational level. For example, even in the traditionalist Due West church, the session turned the choice of a new minister in 1890 into a completely popular election. The session made no nomination, the congregation voted by written ballot with only those who received at least three votes being considered on the second ballot.

Each time dropping the name with the lowest vote, the process took six ballots to arrive at the congregation's choice, Rev. J. T. Chalmers. Chalmers declined the offer, and a second election required only three ballots before Rev. O. Y. Bonner was chosen by a margin of 63 to 60 over Robert Lathan. Lathan was serving as the interim pastor and was present at the congregational meeting. At this point, he, in the words of the correspondent of the Abbeville paper, "thanked the congregation for the flattering vote given him" and moved that Bonner's selection be made unanimous.⁷⁵

Elders in Presbytery and Synod Meetings

Another significant change in church government in the latter decades of the 19th century was the introduction of ruling elders into the highest leadership positions in both presbytery and Synod levels. This was accompanied by an increased participation of elders in such church convocations, especially at the level of Synod.

At the beginning of the ARP church's second century, fewer than half as many elders attended meetings of Synod, although a much more equal number attended presbytery meetings. Ministers were usually paid the expenses of attending such meetings, elders seldom were. The result was that only the most wealthy or influential congregations were represented, except for those churches which were near Synod's meeting place. Elders were appointed to some of Synod's committees, usually those dealing with finances. Attendance as a rule varied in proportion to the distance from the main centers of the ARP membership. Meetings in the Carolinas drew from 22 to 29 elders, those elsewhere from 11 to 17 (these figures are from the Synods of the 1880's and 1890's). Only a few elders attended regularly, such as A. G. Brice, Joseph Wylie, and George S. Mower, treasurer of Synod, the Seminary, and Erskine, respectively.

During the 1880's, some elders began to question why they were excluded from presiding in the "ecclesiastical courts." The Book of Government clearly provided that the retiring moderator would nominate two ministers, and

the court was to elect one as his successor. Also, by custom, since the retiring moderator opened the new session with a sermon, it was thought that no elder could be chosen. Yet, as the *A. R. Presbyterian* declared in an editorial in 1886, there was no warrant in the scriptures to exclude elders from presiding, for "if they are *presbyters*, can they not enjoy all the rights of *presbyters*?"⁷⁶

Three years later, the Kentucky Presbytery in its fall meeting found that only two of its four ministers were present along with four elders. On motion it was decided that ruling elders were eligible to preside, and Elder J. B. Spratt was elected moderator.⁷⁷ The *A. R. Presbyterian* reiterated its earlier position that both by the "word of God and the Presbyterian system" ruling elders should be considered equal to teaching elders in all respects. "We trust the Kentucky Presbytery has only anticipated the action of Synod's Committee of Revision in the matter," it concluded. (Largely in response to the organ controversy, Synod had set up this committee, but it was directed to update other sections of the Books of Worship and Government). The paper warned that "it is wisest and safest, however, in all cases to follow the written law of the church while it remains upon the statute books."⁷⁸

The Committee on Revision (Revs. O. Y. Bonner, James Boyce, T. G. Boyce, R. M. Stevenson and C. E. Todd) did not finish its work until 1903. The revision which permitted elders to assume moderatorships was approved by the presbyteries, even though Second Presbytery recommended that that provision be deleted.⁷⁹

The 1904 battle over union with the UP church showed how powerful the elders could be. In the 1903 Centennial Synod, the ministers had voted overwhelmingly in favor of union (by a 3 to 1 margin). In the debate which followed, elders assumed a prominent role, especially in opposition to union, and both sides seemed to assume that the contest was for the support of the laity of the church. In the crucial fall meetings of the presbyteries, elders attended in unprecedented numbers. In the two most important presbyteries, First and Second, they outnumbered ministers by 69 to 50, and they provided a substantial margin versus union.

In 1909, First Presbytery elected its first elder-moderator. Rev. C. E. McDonald, the moderator elect, had recently died, and his brother, Hon. J. E. McDonald, was selected in his place. In 1913, Memphis Presbytery elected its first elder-moderator, C. P. Wilson, and its finance committee was composed entirely of elders.⁸⁰ Despite this, in 1913 a "Layman," writing in the church paper, complained that in presbytery affairs an elder was still treated as a mere "cipher."⁸¹

In 1915, at Synod meeting at Due West the moderator elected for the next year was A. G. Brice, its first lay moderator, Synod's treasurer for a quarter-century and the son of a minister and brother-in-law of two more. Three years later, it chose George S. Mower, long time treasurer of Erskine, as its second lay moderator. Four years after that, W. L. Phillips of Louisville, Ga, was the third layman so honored. In 1927, Synod reached another milestone when E. C. Stuart of Bartow, Fla., served as the fourth lay moderator. His three predecessors had been lawyers who were veterans of state government, Stuart was a self-educated and self-made businessman whose active participation in Synod-wide affairs had prepared him for this task.

Yet, even if the ARP church was willing to give elders a greater role in its affairs, it was not yet willing to expand their ranks by adopting the rotary plan of eldership. In 1924, this was proposed by a memorial from First Presbytery and put to a vote of the presbyteries. Individual congregations would have been given the option of adopting this plan or keeping the system of life elders. The question failed on a vote of 93 to 61 with even First Presbytery voting against it by a margin of 25 to 20. Three presbyteries (Memphis-Louisville, Arkansas and Virginia) favored it, but most of the negative margin came from the always conservative Second Presbytery which disapproved by a vote of 28 to 6.⁸²

The Issue of the Women's Place

In a very limited way, women were accorded new status during these years. At the 1892 Young People's convention

in Due West women delegates were prominent. The delegates were not youth, but young adults who worked with the youth of the church, and, since most such workers were women, about half of the delegates were women. Also, women served on committees and on the program. As O. Y. Bonner, pastor of the host church, observed, "This was the first convention in our church where the ladies were allowed representation. Surely none will be willing hereafter to leave them out."⁸³

Just how far to include them in was now the question. In 1905, Revs. R. M. Stevenson and W. C. Ewart presented a paper to Synod which asked for an interpretation of the scripture passages in I Corinthians and I Timothy concerning the place of women in the church. A special committee (G. G. Parkinson, G. R. White and T. G. Boyce) was set up to study the passages, and their report was adopted by Synod. It held that the scripture cited "forbids the licensing and ordaining of women to the ministry of the gospel or to any position of rule or authority in the church."⁸⁴

Caution Toward Changes

In summary, while the third half century in the life of the ARP church was one of unprecedented change, it was a very restrained change. In 1923, editor R. M. Stevenson could define "The Distinctive Position of Our Church" by asserting that it "stands for the great fundamental principles held in common by the evangelical churches. We stand for every one of them in their purity and completeness...We have not a minister or church that is tainted with modern liberalism, or who calls into question a single one of the fundamental doctrines of our faith."⁸⁵

A more balanced note had been struck by one of his predecessors, W. M. Grier, in an editorial over three decades earlier. On the one hand, he cautioned against an over-zealous opposition to the Darwinian hypothesis of natural evolution. "There is no need to be in haste either in believing or refuting the theories of science. Give them a little time to either settle down or vanish away. It will be time enough to reconcile our faith with them when they are proved to be true," he wrote. In regard to modern

theology, he believed, "while we need not cling to everything our fathers believed, yet in the essential doctrines of the gospel our faith must be the same as theirs...Their form of worship and rules of discipline may be improved upon, but their faith in its essential doctrines is 'the faith that was once—once for all—delivered to the saints,' and even in things unessential, changes should not be made merely for the sake of something new."⁸⁶

It is not surprising then that in 1910 when the first of a series of volumes entitled *The Fundamentals* appeared to counteract liberal theology and philosophy, the *A. R. Presbyterian* commended them to its readers. Two years later, the paper again cited the series as "the historical interpretation of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, as opposed to destructive criticism and other erroneous tendencies of the present day."⁸⁷

Chapter IV

LITTLE BENJAMIN
AMONG THE BRETHREN

Some ARP's looked upon the size of the denomination as a positive feature and took pride in calling their church "a little Benjamin" or "our little Zion." Their view was that the mass of people from Christ's day had rejected a pure gospel, and the more strict a church's discipline and adherence to its principles the more likely it should attract a small minority. Smallness itself was not considered a virtue, but it was an expected result of purity and orthodoxy.

On the other hand, all ARP's considered their church only a part of Christ's invisible church, and they aspired to a harmonious relationship with the brethren in other communions of that body. Some thought this best achieved through cooperation; others, including most of the church's leaders, agreed with historian Robert Lathan's view that continued division among believers was schism and schism was sinful. Despite the indifference of some of the membership and active hostility of others, there were intermittent efforts toward union with such like minded bodies as the Southern Presbyterians and the United Presbyterians.

Union with the Southern Presbyterians

The most serious effort at union with the Southern Presbyterians came during and immediately after the Civil War. The war drove a wedge between the ARP's and their Northern kinsmen, the UP's, and forged a common bond with their fellow Southerners. The two chief barriers which separated the two churches were the issues of Communion and Psalmody. Even though the ARP position on communion was somewhat unclear even to its own members, there was never any doubt that the Synod of the South took a much more strict or restricted view than did the Southern Presbyterians. Yet, this difference was not

insurmountable, for during the negotiations, the Synod of the South permitted inter-communion with the larger body at the discretion of individual sessions.¹

Psalmody was the knotty problem. The proposal of the Southern Presbyterians was that both groups exercise "forbearance" in dealing with the issue, and proponents of union in both churches hoped for an arrangement with a common book of praise which would incorporate psalms and hymns. Thereby individual congregations could hold to their practices in singing praises. Logical as this sounded, it proved quite difficult in implementation.² As the great Southern Presbyterian leader James H. Thornwell reportedly put it, "The Seceders (ARP's) *know* they are right in using the Psalms, we (the Southern Presbyterians) *think* we are right in using other songs."³

The decisive vote came in the Synod of 1866 which met at the Prosperity church, Lincoln Co., Tenn. in September. Both because of the troubled times and the fact that the meeting was held far from the center of the ARP church, the attendance was sparse. The roll of the first day indicated only 24 of the 64 ministers were present along with 7 elders. At least three other elders and one additional minister had arrived by the time that the crucial vote came. That vote was on a motion by Dr. James Boyce of the Erskine Seminary to break off future negotiations, and it carried by a margin of 20 to 12.⁴

Both ministers and elders present favored the Boyce motion; the former by a vote of 12 to 10, the latter by a wider margin of 8 to 2. It seems likely that a larger attendance would not only have produced the same result, but probably by an even wider margin. The strongest presbytery, First, had only one of its 17 ministers present, and it was the least sympathetic to the union. The combined votes of First, Second, Memphis and Tennessee Presbyteries was 19 to 4 against union.

As might be expected, the strongest support for union came from the outlying presbyteries. No delegates were present from the Virginia Presbytery, those who were present from the Alabama, Arkansas, and Kentucky Presbyteries along with 4 of the 5 from the Georgia Presbytery voted against the Boyce resolution.⁵

One of those who had opposed the Boyce motion, Rev. H. L. Murphy, was his Synod's fraternal delegate to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, South which met later in 1866, and he told that body that the question had only been "temporarily postponed" and that the ministers of his church "had progressed (moved toward support of union) far ahead of the members."⁶ One immediate consequence of this situation was a small exodus of ARP ministers to the larger body.

The most serious defections came in the Kentucky and Arkansas Presbyteries. The Kentucky body began its own discussion with the Synod of Kentucky in 1867, and this path led by 1870 to a majority vote (8 to 6) for organic union. Four of its ministers (Revs. Gilbert Gordon, Neal M. Gordon, T. S. Lee, and W. M. McElwee) and nearly all of the Louisville congregation made the transfer. Revs. J. G. Miller and J. A. Myers along with the five smaller congregations remained in the Synod of the South. The remaining loyal members of the Louisville church along with the reorganized Kentucky Presbytery contested the ownership of the Louisville church, and there followed a quarter century of litigation and negotiation about the issue.⁷

No congregations withdrew intact from the Arkansas Presbytery, but such numbers left that Rev. T. P. Pressly on an evangelistic tour of the seven Arkansas churches in 1890 called them "fragments of large congregations that saw proper to leave the ARP church."⁸ By 1869, Revs. J. M. Brown, A. A. Dickson and D. J. H. Kerr had moved into the Southern Presbyterian church, and the presbytery was left with only three ministers, one of whom was inactive and the other two had only come into the state within the last two years. The removals appear to have been relatively amicable, for in the fall meeting of the presbytery in 1869, Revs. Brown and Dickson were in attendance and were invited to sit with the brethren as consultative members.⁹ Courtesy, however, could not hide the bleak condition of the ARP cause in Arkansas after the hammer blows of war and defection.

Elsewhere Henry Quigg of the Georgia Presbytery, J. H. Bryson of the Tennessee Presbytery and W. J. Lowry of

the Alabama Presbytery, all with close ties of blood with the oldest ARP families in the church, went over to the Southern Presbyterians. There were rumors that the Alabama Presbytery as a body had gone over to the larger body, but these proved unfounded.¹⁰

The First Movement Toward Union with the UP's

The removal of those ministers who had advocated union with the Southern Presbyterians along with the reunion of the Old School Presbyterians with the New School Presbyterians ended prospects for union with the ARP's for generations. The turmoil also led the 1869 Synod to adopt a resolution proposed by D. G. Phillips "that we contemplate no union with the UP church, nor with any other, until it shall seem to be in the providence of God for the furtherance of the Gospel and the glory of God in the edification of the church."¹¹ This motion was in response to the charge of the Rev. Gilbert Gordon for the Kentucky Presbytery that "an influential party in our Synod" desired such a union and that group had helped defeat the move toward a Southern body. He cited this as one reason why the Kentucky Presbytery was seeking a more compatible "yoke."¹²

Despite the Phillips resolution and the earlier protest by the Synod of the South against the wartime actions of the UP church, in 1872 that body voted to send a fraternal delegate to the UP General Assembly in Monmouth, Ill., in 1873. The delegate, Rev. E. E. Boyce, was so warmly received that he reported to his Synod in 1874 that "I felt like I was among friends; I felt like every man and woman in that vast congregation was a friend of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South."¹³

As an evidence of that warm feeling, the UP General Assembly in 1873 had unanimously called upon the Synod of the South to set up a committee to work for cooperation in both the home and foreign mission fields with the hope of organic union "as soon as the providence of God shall indicate that the time has come for it." While not yet ready to take the step, the Synod did receive warmly a UP delegation headed by that church's moderator. It also ap-

proved a committee recommendation to enter a cooperative arrangement with the UP church in foreign mission work in Egypt.¹⁴

In 1875, the Synod appointed a committee composed of Revs. J. Boyce, J. I. Bonner, R. A. Ross and Elders P. H. Bradley and J. P. Kennedy to confer with the comparable UP committee on the general subject of cooperation.¹⁵ Political tensions deferred any further action for several years. Finally, in 1881, the committee reported to Synod that after a year of deliberations it was ready to propose what it considered a favorable basis for union. The Synod, "after some interchange of opinion," voted to send the basis to the presbyteries for action.¹⁶

No one seemed to have noticed that the presbyteries were called upon to act on the issue of reunion with the Northern brethren exactly a century after the first successful union between the Associate and Reformed Presbyterian churches in America. In any case, the presbyteries showed little enthusiasm for the proposal. The UP church was in the midst of a heated controversy over the issue of instrumental music in worship and the ARP membership had not forgotten the sectional feeling of the war years and especially that of the Reconstruction years. The UP testimonies against slavery and secret societies rankled many ARP's. No presbytery found it necessary to put the proposal to a roll call vote, and each reported that the division of opinion was so serious that positive action seemed undesirable. Synod took note of the failure of the proposal, but accepted the Committee on Union's recommendation that efforts to reach a more favorable basis be continued.¹⁷

Lathan's Efforts Toward a Reunion of Psalm Singing Churches

In 1882, Rev. Robert Lathan of York, S.C., published his ground breaking history of the Synod of the South which dealt almost as much with the history of the UP church's antecedents. It was warmly received within the UP ranks, and Lathan was given a DD degree by Westminster College (Pa.) even before its publication. The UP *Evangelical*

Repository praised the author's "great minuteness and care" and printed several pages from his work which dealt with the causes which had caused the withdrawal in 1822 of the Synod of the Carolinas from the general Synod, the effort at reunion in 1827, and the position of the slavery issue in the relations between the Synod of the South and the rest of the Associate Reformed church. The journal closed its review by declaring: "It is an accurate and faithful history of a Church that has been and is composed of as noble a body of Christians as were ever set for the defense of the Gospel. The author's style is perspicuous and vigorous, his spirit excellent, and his attachment to sound doctrine manifest throughout the work. To no class of readers will it be found more interesting than to United Presbyterians."¹⁸

Lathan's own sympathy for closer ties with the UP church led him to propose to the 1883 Synod that all Psalm singing bodies in America be invited to a conference with the purpose that "the breaches which exist between these branches of the church be healed." Synod approved his plan and appointed Lathan, Revs. R. A. Ross and E. E. Boyce along with Elders Joseph Wylie and J. E. McDonald to represent it in preparing for such a conference.¹⁹

The conference was held in Pittsburgh in September, 1884, and Lathan and Rev. R. G. Miller attended as representatives of the Synod of the South. Both spoke before the conference and advocated organic unity, but in the end the refusal of the Reformed Presbyterian Church to send representatives seemed to doom the effort to seek an organization incorporating all Psalm singing Presbyterians.²⁰

The Second Effort at Union with the UP's

Despite the failure of the Pittsburgh conference, the atmosphere seemed favorable for a new effort to work out an acceptable basis for union with the UP's in 1885. Four representatives of that body met with seven delegates from the Synod of the South at Due West on the eve of the Synod meeting there in September. The basis was framed on the assumption that the two churches would exercise

"mutual forbearance" with regard to those points on which there were differences in "views and practices." Each would retain its own identity, both would subscribe to the Confession of Faith and the UP Testimonies. The four UP ministers and Revs. James Boyce, R. A. Ross, Mason W. Pressly, and J. M. Todd signed the basis, but Revs. John E. Pressly and C. B. Betts submitted a minority report in which they expressed the belief that the Southern church was not yet ready for union.²¹

When the basis of union was sent to the presbyteries for their consideration, the *A. R. Presbyterian* ventured a few comments in support of union. "We possess a very large territory," its editorial said, "but we cannot occupy it. Our feeble forces are scattered from Virginia to Texas. Yet UP's feel reluctant to enter our territory." Union, it hoped, "will hasten a yearly settlement in our Western congregations of sober, god-fearing, Psalm-singing families from the cold and rigorous North and Northwest."²²

On March 27, a convention representing the ARP churches of Tipton and Shelby Counties, Tennessee, adopted a pro-union resolution, and the Virginia Presbytery took a friendly stand in its spring meeting.²³ The Tennessee-Alabama Presbytery proved divided and postponed action until its fall meeting, and the Memphis Presbytery questioned the sections of the UP Testimony dealing with secret societies.²⁴

W. M. Grier represented the ARP's at the UP General Assembly at Hamilton, Ohio in 1886. He attracted attention in his own right as editor of the church paper and president of the church's college, but it was the spectacle of a wooden legged Confederate veteran come to the heart of the North to plead for union that brought national publicity to his appearance. His natural grace and eloquence heightened the effect. The Synod of the South, in his words, was the UP's "little," perhaps what they might call their "wayward sister." In his own words, he defined his church as "an old fashioned sister which receives with a great deal of caution all changes," and he warned that although sentiment for union was growing back home, "some earnest, conscientious men still say 'the time is not yet'."²⁵

The UP General Assembly indirectly affected the outcome of the union issue when it engaged in a divisive debate over instrumental music in worship. As a result, when the influential First Presbytery took action in the fall, the chief reason cited for turning down the proposal was the continued disturbed state of the UP church.²⁶ The Second Presbytery followed suit and noted as an additional reason the UP Testimony. Only Memphis, Kentucky, and Tennessee-Alabama Presbyteries favored the union basis.²⁷

In assessing the vote in the presbyteries, the 1886 Synod said rejection was due to the opposition of "a respectable minority" to the UP Testimony and to the unsettled condition of the UP church over the instrumentation question. However, on a motion by W. M. Grier, it recorded its continuing belief that union was "desirable" provided an acceptable basis could be worked out.²⁸ The Committee on Correspondence with the UP church was continued with the substitution of Rev. G. R. White for Rev. Mason W Pressly.

Pressly had to be replaced because he had left the Chester church for a UP church in Philadelphia. Some time later the Starkville church (Mississippi) and its adjoining mission station at Mhoon Valley decided to move to the UP church in the hope that Northern immigrants coming into that area might be attracted to their congregations.²⁹ Pressly's removal was part of a continuing movement of ARP ministers into the UP church and there was a comparable counterflow which had been going on since the 1870's and would continue into the 20th century. Pressly later wrote about his decision: "I was an ardent advocate of union while in the ARP church, spoke for and wrote for it, and was a member of the first union conference, and drafted the resolution that framed the Basis first prepared. My interest and ardor carried me into the UP church when union failed. I was attracted by ideas of bigness, attractive location and seeming importance...Some of her great men seemed greater than her Southern brothers. The UP Assembly seemed greater than the ARP Synod, and all problems, processes seemed to be handled by the former in a superior way."³⁰

Despite the disappointment of the proponents of union with the UP's there was no such exodus into that church as followed the breakdown of the union effort with the Southern Presbyterians a generation earlier.

Experiment with Cooperation

The UP's were still anxious for union, but they and their allies within the ARP church were now willing to try a gradualist approach. As their efforts in the South among the white population had been notably unsuccessful, they now offered to supply men and money for work in cooperative missions with the ARP's. As one of their leaders, W. S. Owen, wrote Rev. J. T. Chalmers of Winnsboro, S.C. in 1888, they believed that "such fraternal cooperation as that would be union in fact, and assuredly would lead to union in form."³¹

Cooperation had its pitfalls. Due to an unfortunate coincidence, the UP quarterly, *The Bible Teacher*, which was also used in ARP Sabbath Schools, featured a lesson in which the author compared Jeroboam with Benedict Arnold and Jefferson Davis. The lesson, as it happened, fell just at the time of Davis' death and caused an angry response among the ARP membership. It led directly to a call for the ARP church to produce its own adult quarterly, and the first issue was hurriedly put together and printed by the A. R. Presbyterian Company in March, 1890.³²

By action in the 1891 Synod, correspondence looking toward a new basis for union resulted in a new proposal in 1892. The troublesome testimony of the UP church would be relegated to an appendix with the notation that the Synod of the South dissented from its provisions regarding slavery and secret societies. The *A. R. Presbyterian* somewhat prematurely commented that "In our view it settled the union question for years to come."³³ By now, the other roadblock, the question of instrumental music, had been settled in both churches.

But it soon developed that the problems had not all been solved. The membership was far more divided than the ministers. As the *A. R. Presbyterian* discovered shortly, there were three classes of opinion in the Synod. First,

there were some who said with one of the union leaders, "I am ready for the plunge." The paper described these brethren in the following terms: "These are they who have for years been looking forward to the union with desire. They are weary with negotiations and preliminaries." Second, there were those who were sympathetic with union, but would work for it only if the move carried "the great body" of the church. Its influential editor, W. M. Grier, aligned himself with that position. Finally, there were those who were opposed "on any basis or terms whatever." In the editor's opinion, this last group was a minority and they were diminishing, but he warned, "this class numbers some of the best working elements in the Synod."³⁴

The threat of a church split because the strongest opponents would refuse to go along with a pro-union decision caused the middle group to draw back from action. The 1893 Synod was faced with a memorial from Second Presbytery (center of the strongest opposition) which asked the dissolution of the Committee on Union on the grounds that continued agitation of the subject was a "detriment" to some of its congregations. Following what the paper called "a very animated discussion," Synod decided to continue the committee even though it took the position that union was "impracticable at this time." Rev. W. W. Orr of Huntersville said that although he favored union, he thought the best way to achieve this goal was to quit discussing the issue and proceed with cooperation. The reluctant, he said, would be "slipped into the union before they knew it, and will wake up in the UP church and say 'where am I at?'" W. M. Grier said he agreed with the action of Synod and commented, "the trouble was that while we ministers are in favor of union, we have not got the church behind us."³⁵

While the church was waiting for the cooperative policy to lead the membership to the acceptance of organic union with the UP's, the Southern Presbyterians made an overture toward union. In September, 1898 the General Assembly of that church endorsed an overture from the Columbia Presbytery proposing organic union and appointed a committee to confer with the ARP Synod.³⁶ S. A. Agnew probably expressed the reaction of many ARP's

when he wrote in his diary that the Southern Presbyterians could have such union "if they will discard human hymns and confine their songs of praise to the Psalms."³⁷

Psalm singing was the litmus test of the ARP church at the turn of the century. It deeply troubled traditionalist ARP's when almost annually their church was losing ministers to the Southern Presbyterians. This raised the question of how deeply committed ARP ministers were to the principle of exclusive psalmody when they could so easily move to a church which did not accept it. Without apparent dissent, Synod replied that despite its "esteem and affection for this noble Church of Christ" with which it held "so many things in common," it believed that the ARP's "historic testimony in favor of an exclusive use of an inspired Psalmody" was such a barrier to organic union that it regarded it "unwise to prosecute negotiations to that end."³⁸

Meanwhile, cooperation led to an increased movement of ministers between the two Psalm singing churches. In 1902, while on a visit to Allegheny Seminary to see his brother, B. Frank White, Rev. J. M. White wrote, "So far as we know, UP's who come south are favorite preachers with our people, and we are glad the compliment is returned. It seems our boys are favorite preachers up north. As an evidence of this probably all of them will locate up there. (He was referring to a group of ARP students who had gone to the Northern seminary to study.) R. R. Caldwell has accepted a call to Toronto, Ohio, B. Frank White to Buchanan's Hill and Moundsville, West Virginia and it is thought W. S. Boyce will accept a call to a church in Ohio, that R. B. Miller will accept a call to Beaver, Pa. Dr. Betts' son is doing acceptable work at Braddock, Pa."³⁹

Cooperation extended into many areas. ARP's used church school literature in addition to their own quarterly, and a cooperative publication and distribution center was established at Charlotte, N.C. ARP young people's work was merged with that of the UP church, their delegates attended UP conventions, and they were served by the UP *Christian Union Herald*. The most effective cooperation

was between the Home Mission and Church Extension Boards which was aimed at developing work in Southern cities. Beginning in 1893 with the new mission in Atlanta, the work expanded to include the older mission in Louisville, Ky., and new work at Corsicana, Texas and Charlotte (East Avenue Tabernacle). The UP church matched the supplements furnished by the ARP church for these missions. A similar arrangement was begun in the missions in the Oklahoma Territory.

1904 Showdown Battle Over Union

In 1904, some twenty-nine years of debate and discussion on the issue of union with UP church came to a climax. The Centennial Synod at Winnsboro in 1903 passed a new basis for union overwhelmingly and sent it down to the presbyteries for action in 1904. As R. S. Galloway reported in the *A. R. Presbyterian*, "the union question was the absorbing theme before Synod...The discussion on this subject, from first to last, ran through four sessions and consumed about five hours. Nearly every minister in Synod spoke, some of them a half dozen times. Some very calmly and some with vigor...It was the most live question that has come before the Synod in the 13 years that we have been attending the meetings."⁴⁰

The UP delegate to the Centennial Synod, Dr. H. F. Wallace, writing in *The Christian Instructor*, saw the central issue as "the social question," "These people," he wrote, "are not opposed to our work among the colored people...But they do not want the colored congregations to be incorporated into their presbyteries."⁴¹ To meet this problem, Synod adopted a provision on the basis (authored by G. G. Parkinson of the Erskine Seminary) that UP colored congregations in the South would be merged into the ARP white presbyteries only with the consent of the latter.

In the debate which followed the tone was intense, sometimes even harsh. Even when the two factions agreed on the facts, they often drew opposite conclusions. For example, both groups agreed that the ARP church had enjoyed unprecedented growth during the last decade or so. Yet opponents of union saw this condition as proof that

the church could grow in its separate state, while proponents interpreted this very success as largely a byproduct of the cooperative policy in missions and thus a logical argument for union.

Even though the ministers at the Centennial Synod had voted for union by a margin of nearly 4 to 1, such ministers as E. P. McClintock, I. N. Kennedy, H. B. Blakely, and O. Y. Bonner provided able leadership for the opposition. No longer was the line drawn by age with the young supporting union and old constituting the opposition. As G. L. Kerr, himself a seminary graduate that year, noted, "the decided majority of the students in Erskine Seminary last year, quite a number of the other young ministers are opposed."⁴²

The decisive contest was among the laymen. "The fight is on," said E. C. Stuart of the Bartow, Fla., church, and he contended in the first published attack upon the basis that the question was not a religious one, but only one of business policy. It was, he argued, "suicidal business policy" to disturb the membership which was getting along "peaceably and happily," and the result would be a split in the church.⁴³ His father-in-law and fellow elder, William Hood, put his feelings in these words, "I am now, and always have been opposed to the union of the ARP church with any church. We have our history for the first hundred years of our existence—we will have it until the end, irrespective of the number that may leave us for the other denomination, or who they may be."⁴⁴

On the other side, one ardent advocate of union, Rev. R. F. Bradley, decried the entrance of laymen into the argument on the grounds that their ignorance of theology disqualified them from such discussion. As he saw it, "the flesh and the devil" motivated opponents of union.⁴⁵ In like spirit lay opponents frequently taunted the union leaders with looking for "the loaves and fishes" of the bigger, richer UP churches. Sometimes they even invited those dissatisfied with the small ARP field to move on as individuals.⁴⁶

Rev. E. P. McClintock frankly raised the issue of sectionalism and the Negro. He said that sectional feelings still overruled denominational similarities. Even though

he personally was willing to admit that ARP's were not meeting their duty toward the Negro, he thought the differences between the two churches over this matter presented an insuperable barrier to union. He also predicted that the Parkinson amendment to the basis which would permit the ARP's to preserve racial separation would prove to be constitutionally unacceptable to the UP's.⁴⁷

Even the leading spokesman for the union cause, Rev. J. S. Moffatt of Chester, agreed that McClintock had pointed to "cold, unpleasant facts," but he did not believe that they warranted rejection of the basis. While the opposition centered in the Second Presbytery and in the rural churches of First Presbytery, furthest from direct contact with the UP's, Rev. A. J. Ranson of Corsicana, Texas wrote that the churches of the western field desperately needed the help of the larger church.⁴⁸ Rev. T. P. Pressly of Troy, Tenn. observed, "We are a little Benjamin, brethren go out from us and few come to us." Of those ARP's who had gone over to the UP's, he wrote, "Their name is becoming legion. I know not one that has returned protesting that conditions are unendurable."⁴⁹ Elder O. T. Wallace of Kentucky agreed. "We are on the borderland between the two churches with our congregations widely scattered," he wrote. "We need the help and strength and encouragement that would come from a union with our UP brethren."⁵⁰

The spring presbytery meetings deferred action on the basis until the UP General Assembly would react to the proposed basis in its summer meeting. In that gathering in June, W. W. Orr represented the Synod, and there was no uncertainty about the pro-union feelings that he expressed on that occasion. "For 29 long years we have been courting each other," he said. "Year after year we have interchanged delegates, we have talked love, we have looked into each other's eyes, we have held each other's hands, we have walked side by side to the house of God, preached the same gospel, sung the same songs, and believed the same doctrines."⁵¹

Despite this earnest plea, the UP's adopted a significantly different clause dealing with the relationship between

the UP colored congregations in Tennessee and Alabama and the corresponding ARP presbyteries. It said that any change there, would be in accordance with "Presbyterian law." Although union advocates, such as Orr, called this a mere change in expression, not in substance, opponents immediately labeled it dangerously ambiguous. This division of opinion was well illustrated by the co-editors of the *A. R. Presbyterian* with T. G. Boyce speaking for the union forces and O. Y. Bonner for the opposition.⁵²

G. G. Parkinson was the key figure in this controversy. Not only had he drafted the ARP clause dealing with the issue, but he also taught Presbyterian law at Erskine Seminary. Respected by all sides, he gave his opinion fully aware that it would carry great weight. It was that the phrase "according to Presbyterian law" in the UP basis would have the effect of merging Tennessee Presbytery (UP) with Tennessee-Alabama Presbytery (ARP) in any union. "The location of the colored congregations already established is such that no gerrymandering which a self-respecting ARP would advocate could erect a colored presbytery on territorial rather than racial lines." From his own experience as a Tennessean, he concluded that "the AR Synod has a mission to the white people of the South. Shall it lay this down to take up the experiment of work among the Negroes? The two are not carried on successfully together in this section."⁵³ Parkinson, however, continued to support a vote for the ARP basis, and the union forces pointed out that after a favorable vote for their basis the difference could be negotiated.⁵⁴

Probably the center of union sentiment was in Charlotte and the pastors of its city churches, W. W. Orr and J. Knox Montgomery. Orr secured a letter from the UP Committee on Union which indicated willingness to drop the offensive phrase "according to Presbyterian law" and made his own plea, "Let us not be influenced by any appeal to our prejudices."⁵⁵ Montgomery, who had spent most of his ministry in the UP church and was already scheduled to return there as president of Muskingum College, spoke for those who had served in both churches. Such ministers, he said, found the two the same in practice as well as in doctrine. As to the view that UP's favored social equality with

the Negro, he countered, "This is wondrously a startling revelation to some of us who have been raised in that church. In a recent meeting which I held in the AR church at Wrens, Ga., I preached to more Negroes ten times over than I ever preached to in all my ministry in the UP church."⁵⁵

The foreign missionaries managed to stay out of the debate until J. S. A. Hunter was provoked over the controversy over the racial question at home. In Mexico, he wrote "nearly all shades (of color) are found among our membership. Over in the United States you see on cars 'for negroes.' It just makes one laugh to imagine how puzzled the conductors and porters would be, if all of our members should present themselves at the train for assignment to the apartments." He found no comfort from the arguments of either side, "We need not infringe on Presbyterian law nor adopt a special basis to protect against social equality. The strong antipathy which we have against the colored race will be sufficient protection. We shall not be the honored instrument in their conversion. The souls of colored people shall never sparkle in our crowns. It is a due cause for trembling."⁵⁷ Hunter's rebuke must have found its mark, there was no rebuttal.

In a last ditch appeal, ten union leaders (Revs. G. R. White, J. S. Moffatt, J. H. Pressly, R. G. Miller, J. K. Montgomery and W. W. Orr and Elders J. H. Ross, George W. Pressly, George Brice and C. M. Strong) published a pamphlet, *To the Ministers and Elders of the ARP Church*, which summarized the case for union. O. Y. Bonner, whose Due West church was a stronghold of the opposition, answered their arguments in the *A. R. Presbyterian*. To the assertion that union would strengthen the college and seminary, Bonner replied, "we are convinced that nothing will feel the unfavorable effects of union more than our seminary."⁵⁸

The decision came at the fall meetings of the presbyteries, and unlike the 1886 vote when union approval required a favorable vote in a majority of the presbyteries, the revised Book of Government required a majority vote of the presbyters. This system of voting made the action in the First and Second Presbyteries crucial.

Second Presbytery met first. There was a very full attendance with 42 present out of a possible 48 (only 16 delegates from Second Presbytery attended the Synod meeting in Missouri a month later), and with speech making, the body proceeded to the vote on the union question. Elder William Hood asked for the yeas and nays to be recorded, and the union proposal was soundly rejected by a margin of 34 to 8. Ministers voted 13 to 7 versus union, but the overwhelming margin was among the elders who voted 21 to 1 against union. Only Elder J. C. Neel of Cannon's Creek and Revs. C. M. Boyd, R. F. Bradley, I. S. Caldwell, B. H. Grier, R. E. Hough, G. G. Parkinson and E. E. Strong voted yea.⁵⁹ Even Elder J. F. Wideman who had joined his pastor, R. F. Bradley, in contributing articles in the church paper in favor of union, now cast his vote against it with the explanation that he could not ignore the opinions of 9/10 of the Troy (S.C.) congregation.

First Presbytery met two weeks later, and, although the vote was much closer, even in this stronghold of union sentiment, the margin went against the union proposal by a vote of 37 to 35. The attendance was much larger than any previous meeting in the body's history, and observers thought the atmosphere more like that of a Synod meeting than a meeting of presbytery. The roll was called twice, once for speaking and once for taking the vote. Each delegate was given seven minutes to express his views, and four of the speakers were applauded, "an unusual thing in this Presbytery" in the experience of observer R. S. Galloway. Twenty-one of the thirty ministers voted in favor of union, but this margin was overcome by the 2 to 1 (28 to 14) vote of the more numerous elders present. (The nine ministers in First Presbytery who voted versus union were Revs. J. A. White, C. E. McDonald, J. C. Galloway, J. M. Garrison, J. L. Oates, R. C. Davidson, A. T. Lindsay, W. C. Ewart, and P. A. Pressly.⁶⁰ The presbytery then passed unanimously a resolution expressing its love for the brethren and loyalty to the church and its institutions.

In the two largest presbyteries, not only did the elders strongly oppose the union basis, but they turned out in unprecedented numbers (69 elders to only 50 ministers). The

result was that, although the Texas, Memphis, Virginia, and Arkansas Presbyteries all voted for union, the big margin in the Second Presbytery carried the opposition to a 95 to 90 decision. The seventh presbytery, Tennessee-Alabama, voted 6 to 4 against union.⁶¹

The Aftermath

For a half century "the union question," first with the Southern Presbyterians and then with the United Presbyterians, had never been far from the mind of the ARP church. Some leaders in half-jest called their church "the Union church" because of this continued pre-occupation. Now the church turned a corner, and for the next half century or so the issue dropped out of sight. Why, after such a narrow loss, did the union advocates now, unlike their earlier counterparts, drop the fight?

There were surely several reasons. Perhaps, most important, the union proponents must have realized what would have happened had they won by the same slender margin by which they lost. The temper of the opponents was such that few of them would have gone into union, and the likely result would have been that some of the newer churches, most of the larger ones such as the Charlotte churches, the scattered churches of the West and border states, and perhaps a majority of the ministers would have joined with the UP's while many of the older and rural churches, particularly those in the Second Presbytery, would have become a remnant church like the Associate and Reformed churches after 1782.

Some union supporters followed J. Knox Montgomery into the UP church, others took up new causes such as J. S. Moffatt who began to canvass funds for Erskine and then became its president and W. W. Orr who moved beyond the bounds of Synod to become a national figure in evangelistic work. The Texas Presbytery soon moved with the good wishes of Synod to the UP church. Most of the remaining union supporters busied themselves after 1904 in the ARP church's expanded home and foreign mission programs.

The union struggle of 1904 had marked a coming to the

fore of laymen in the church. To some it appeared that the church was on the threshold of a new era in which laymen would not only play an enlarged role in the activities of the whole church, but there would be a great increase in the resources made available for the church's work. For a quarter century this remained a realistic hope even if an unrealized one. Yet one of the lessons which 1904 had taught the leaders of the church was that the membership at large was not in favor of union.

The more realistic question after 1904 was how best to cooperate with the UP's and other denominations in promoting the gospel. The old special relationship with the UP's in home mission was soon lost. In the Synod of 1904, the Home Mission Board reported its view that one result of the adverse vote was that the UP's should no longer be expected to furnish such aid. Synod's response was that in this matter "the mind of the Board was also the mind of Synod."⁶²

In 1905, the UP General Assembly expressed its continued hope that union might yet be achieved with the ARP's on a new basis which would leave to the approval of the ARP Synod any changes in its bounds or the bounds of its presbyteries. At the same time, it declared its readiness to resume aid under the cooperative home mission program. Although the Home Mission Board was willing, Synod was not.⁶³

Annually thereafter, fraternal delegates from the UP church would share with ARP Synods their church's continuing interest in union, but in 1911 the Committee on Union was abolished by Synod. In 1919, it appointed a committee chaired by J. S. Moffatt to reassess the prospect. The motion setting up the committee noted a "sincere division" of opinion in Synod's ranks over this question and directed the committee to proceed with "Christian charity and caution."⁶⁴

The committee took heed of this advice and limited itself to a letter survey of the congregations asking sentiments on union. Half of them responded, and their views were so mixed that the committee thought it "unwise" to proceed and on its own recommendation was dismissed.⁶⁵

With the door to union with the UP's so firmly closed

perhaps it was natural that there followed a short flurry of interest in union with the Southern Presbyterians. The move came in an indirect way. Rev. W. W. Orr in his wide contacts within the UP church found strong sentiment for union with the Southerners and he so wrote his old college mate, Rev. S. L. Morris of Atlanta. His suggestion was for a conference between the three bodies, UP's ARP's and PCUS (the Presbyterian Church of the United States). Morris initiated the move through the Southern Presbyterian church, but the ARP's in their Synod at Charlotte in 1910 by a twelve vote margin, turned down the invitation as "inexpedient."⁶⁶ Orr wrote that in his evangelistic meetings he found that all the Protestant churches in a community were "united in love, sympathy and in earnest efforts to reach the unsaved. I find the more real Christianity a person has, the more interested in the salvation of the lost and the less they want to think and talk about their church differences."⁶⁷

If union was a closed subject, the Southern Presbyterians were willing to talk about a comity arrangement. On their initiative a committee was set up composed of representatives of the two churches (Rev. D. G. Phillips and J. L. Oates attended for the ARP Synod) which met in Columbia in March, 1922 and drew up rules of comity for the two bodies.⁶⁸ Five years later, in 1927, Synod declined the request of the Southern Presbyterians to appoint a committee to seek closer relations with their church, but in 1929, it agreed to do this.⁶⁹ The following year this committee was made a standing one with the following members: Revs. T. H. McDill, O. Johnson, J. P. Pressly, Judge J. H. Marion and Elder Luther Moffatt. Also, in 1927, Synod accepted the offer from the Presbyterian Historical Foundation at Montreat, N.C. to house some of its records there, and G. G. Parkinson was its first representative to the Foundation.

Synod also proved willing to join in loose affiliation with other Presbyterian bodies even while rejecting organic union. For example, Synod joined the international Presbyterian Alliance in 1892, and although the cost of travel prevented its very active participation, it continued its connection through its Committee on Cor-

respondence. In 1906, W. W. Orr, G. R. White and R. G. Miller represented the Synod unofficially at a conference held in Charlotte to draw up Articles of Federation setting up a Council of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System. These proposed articles were sent to the presbyteries for action by the 1906 Synod.⁷⁰ They were approved by a vote of 81 to 33 (although the conservative Second Presbytery voted against such action by the margin of 19 to 8), and Revs. G. R. White and T. G. Boyce served as the ARP's first members of the Council. The Council worked to aid cooperation in all fields of the churches' activities.

Thus, although rejecting organic union even with very similar bodies, ARP's consistently worked to disprove the charge sometimes made by critics that it was extremely sectarian. Its foreign missionaries frequently both gave and received the help of other Protestant missionaries, it joined in union churches in its frontier missions, its ministers and members actively participated in Bible societies, YMCA activities, and other inter-denominational and community activities.

Chapter V

THE SOCIAL REFORM PRESBYTERIANS

Members of the denomination frequently found that the uninformed had trouble understanding what the initials ARP stood for, and even occasionally were confused by the name *Associate Reformed Presbyterians*. In the 1890's a Texas correspondent reported to the church paper that he had heard people there asking, "Who are these Social Reform Presbyterians?" To the well informed this was a particularly inept rendering since the Southern ARP's tried zealously to avoid social reform issues even in those days of the social gospel and reform.

This posture was a tradition with the church even in periods earlier in the century when the stance had been sorely tested by the bitter struggles over slavery and the civil war. The A. R. Synod of the South never took a position on the institution of African slavery. In part this may have been because many of their brethren who were most hostile to slavery had migrated to the Northwest.¹ Many who were slaveholders considered the institution a "necessary evil," and some ARP leaders took part in the debate over slavery.² But although individual churchmen took part in the debate, the Synod concerned itself with the institution only in its calls for more emphasis upon the spiritual nurture of the servants of its members.

The Civil War Experience

When the storm of war broke in 1861, the Synod did take a position on what its Second Presbytery called "this unholy war waged upon us."³ In an uncharacteristic statement, it unanimously approved a resolution which "heartily" endorsed the cause of the Southern Confederacy, and pledged "to sustain it by all the powers which God has put within our reach." It recommended that "all our people" join with the South "in her struggle for independence...hoping and believing that God will crown her efforts with success."⁴

When the war went badly for the South, casualties were mounting, and the suffering was reaching many families, there were questions about why God was punishing the South so harshly. Rev. John S. Pressly in the *Due West Telescope*, August 8, 1862, wondered what terrible sins had caused such judgment, and his answer was not slavery itself, but the South's mistreatment of its slaves. The sins he cited were those of failure to protect slaves' families and neglect in teaching slaves to read the Bible. When the 1863 Synod met at Ebenezer in Jefferson County, Ga., it approved a "resolution of grave importance" calling for "greater attention to the religious instruction of our servants" and "the enactment of such laws as necessary to render the marriage relation more sacred, and the obliteration from our statutes of all such laws as prohibit them from enjoying the privilege of searching the Scripture."⁵

Early in the war the Kentucky churches were cut off from the Synod, and shortly the Tennessee churches as well. To fill this vacuum, Rev. John T. Pressly, moderator of the UP church, secured an order from Secretary of War Edwin Stanton allowing his church to oversee the occupied churches. Pressly, a native of Abbeville District, S.C., and former pastor of the Cedar Springs and Long Cane churches, was a kinsman of many ARP's, and he had attended the last pre-war Synod in 1860 as a representative of his church. Now his uninvited intervention angered many of his Southern brethren. As S.A. Agnew wrote in his diary, "Dr. John T. Pressly visited the Marshall, Lincoln and Nashville churches in the spring. Father [Henry] Bryson gave him no encouragement. Prosperity and the Ridge did not invite him to speak to them."⁶

It was to the intervention on the behalf of the UP church that the Synod of the South meeting at Due West in September, 1865 responded by calling the act "unkind." It declared that "whereas there seems to be a propensity of the age to blend the political with the ecclesiastical, a disposition upon the part of ministers to expiate upon political topics in the pulpit, to hold church members accountable to the church for their political sentiments." It further declared that it considered itself independent of

the state and expressed its position that no political creed unless immoral should bar church membership and privileges to believers.⁷

Consistent with the 1865 pronouncement, the Synod in 1870 turned down the petition of Rev. John Patrick of Arkansas for "a declaration and testimony concerning the late war between the States." Its response was that it was not the "duty of this Synod to make any utterance on the subject referred to, such action would, in our judgment, involve political questions with which we as an ecclesiastical court, have nothing to do."⁸

While the Synod as a whole sought to avoid political involvement, some of its members felt moved by the extraordinary conditions of the time to enter the political arena. Even during the war itself, Rev. J. I. Bonner, editor of the *Due West Telescope* and president of the Due West Female College, consented to be a candidate for the state legislature. His defeat seemed almost a relief to him, and he declared that he was willing to enter the contest only because of the exigencies of the war.⁹

The Reconstruction Years

In the immediate post-war years ministers were under special pressure to seek office since most were not debarred from such a role because of Confederate service. Thus, Rev. David Pressly of Starkville, Miss. ran and was elected as a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1865, because, in his view, the issue was not "a political one."¹⁰ In South Carolina, Rev. J. N. Young of Due West was the Democratic candidate for the state senate in his county in 1868. Since the position of county superintendent of education was newly created, many considered it acceptably "non-political," and Revs. D. G. Phillips of Jefferson County, Ga., D. F. Haddon of Laurens County, S.C., and Robert Lathan of York County, S.C. were the pioneer holders of that post in their respective home counties.¹¹ Yet, when Rev. S. A. Agnew of Guntown, Miss. was petitioned to seek that post in his county, he took the question to his session. He feared that if he enforced the state law providing for "mixing" of the races this would hurt his

ministry, and he agreed with their advice not to become a candidate.¹²

An example of the dilemma which ARP ministers often faced with the position of their church and political tensions of the time may be found in the lament of Rev. W. R. Hemphill in 1874. While traveling about the Synod on the behalf of the Endowment cause for Erskine College, he found that often the public seemed interested only in politics. "My work is to secure funds for Erskine, and not dabble in politics, though exceedingly anxious that the 'peace party' may prevail, which I persuaded is the Democratic party," he wrote the church paper.¹³

Hemphill's position was widely shared, and in the election of 1876 in South Carolina church leaders were led to reluctant involvement. Erskine professors J. N. Young and William Hood were examples. Young served on the local Democratic executive committee and Hood was a leading campaign speaker and one of the successful Democratic candidates for the state legislature.¹⁴ ARP churches joined other white churches in observing a day of prayer and fasting in conjunction with the 1876 campaign when it was requested by the state Democratic chairman.

The Church and the Freedmen

One of the most troublesome legacies of the Civil War was the new status of the black members of the ARP churches. Some saw the need for special efforts to assist them. W. R. Hemphill, who had defied ante-bellum authorities to teach his servant to read the Bible, in the 1865 Synod proposed "that our ministers be requested to labor among the colored people with increased energy and zeal, and that Sabbath schools be established among them, superintended by ministers, elders, and private members."¹⁵ This was approved, and a year later the results appeared encouraging. As the 1866 Synod reported, "Many who then (1865) were treating the church with indifference and neglect have now returned to the path of duty. We find that considerable attention is being devoted by the Presbyteries to the religious culture of the freedmen."¹⁶

In the 1867 Synod there were calls for "a more vigorous and perserving effort" in this work, and a committee, made up of Dr. Hemphill, D. Pressly, H. L. Murphy and Dr. George W. Pressly, was asked to propose some plan "for the better instruction of the freedmen."¹⁷ That committee presented three suggestions which were endorsed by the Synod, as follows: 1) that all congregations seek to set up schools within their bounds where colored children could receive a common education, 2) that Sabbath schools be established where they had not been for the benefit of the old as well as the young freedmen, and 3) that the gospel be preached to the freedmen in separate congregations, but that the use of "preachers of their own color be discouraged until they are able to instruct and edify their hearers." Hemphill's own view was that God was punishing the Southern people with the burden of Radical rule because of their sins, and the chief among these was their indifference to murder where blacks were the victims.¹⁸

Like their fellow Southerners, ARP's were forced by the new conditions to formulate their ideas about the Negro race. Many probably agreed with "A. R." who wrote a long article on "The Negro" in the church paper in 1868. He discussed the biblical story of the sons of Noah and the prophecy of the lowly position assigned to the descendants of Ham, but he said that he was opposed alike to those who advocated social equality and those who argued that the Negro was "a brute."¹⁹

If there were any advocates of social equality among the ARP's, they were very mute, but in 1867 one of the most honored of their brethren, Rev. D. G. Phillips of Louisville, Ga., published a little book which placed him at the opposite extreme. *Nachash: What is It? Or, An Answer to the Question, Who and What is the Negro? Drawn from Revelation by a Minister* was based upon a theory which the author stated as follows:

I think the Bible teaches very clearly that the negro is a distinct race from man, created before Adam; that he is an inferior degree, rational and accountable, and, therefore subject

of law; that he was at Adam's creation subordinated to him as the head of this world; that he was bound by law, both to Adam and God, which law was written upon his heart as the given law to Adam was first written upon his; that he was first in the transgression in Eden; and that for his offense he was doomed to a condition of perpetual menial slavery to man, which was to be a source of fretful annoyance and disgust to both parties; and that if he become civilized and saved at all, it can only be in and through his connection with man as a slave, not necessarily a chattel slave, but at least a menial slave.²⁰

The reviewer in the *A. R. Presbyterian*, editor Bonner's brother-in-law, J. O. Lindsay, pronounced the argument "fanciful, illogical, and utterly unscriptural." He noted that its whole basis rested upon "a supremely ridiculous" translation of the obscure Hebrew word *Nachash* which in Genesis 3:1 is rendered as "serpent." In Lindsay's view the result was "abhorrent," and "subversive of the essential truths of the Bible." "That is a vandal hand which would wrest many millions of human beings from the place where God's own word clearly puts them," he declared. And he concluded, "And if that word teaches any one truth clearly, fully, unequivocally, and beyond the power of science or exegesis, or any other thing whatsoever to gainsay, that truth is, that all members of the human family, black, white, red, yellow, and every other color, and all shapes and sizes and conditions, of all countries, climates and latitudes, on continent or island—are descendants of Adam, THE FIRST MAN."²¹

Bethany's Blacks

While no other ARP minister seemed willing to follow Phillips' view of the Negro, the church floundered in its efforts to fulfill its obligations to the freedmen. The details of the experiences of two quite different congregations, Rev. S. A. Agnew's Bethany congregation in rural nor-

thern Mississippi and the Due West congregation, illustrate the problems.

In the summer of 1866, Agnew began to preach and hold communion in separate services to his black members, because, as he wrote in his diary, "there is an antipathy between the races and the whites crowd them out of the church and the Negroes prefer having their preaching to themselves."²² The arrangement appeared satisfactory to Agnew. While some whites objected to having black members, Agnew considered such opposition as "not pleasing to God."²³ On the other hand, he was a firm segregationist himself. To a friend in Philadelphia, he wrote in 1871 that "no decent white or black man desires social equality. Those who come among them, eat with them, sleep with them, kiss them and marry them are a disgrace to humanity."²⁴

When the Bethany congregation began a drive to raise money to build a new sanctuary, Agnew was initially pleased with the support of the Negro members. In February, 1872, he noted "the Blacks are taking hold of the new church with the right spirit. I am glad to see such an interest taken in the church."²⁵ However, by December he saw an increase in racial hostility. He commented in his diary, "Some say that in 3 years Negroes will sit with whites at church and push us out of our church. Some want to cut loose from them. It is a delicate question and needs to be carefully met."²⁶

In the same vein at the beginning of the next year he observed that "our Negro members are unsettled," and predicted that before the end of the year the bulk of them will "forsake us."²⁷ In late January and early February, the Bethany session conducted a lengthy and unsatisfactory investigation of charges of adultery and fornication against five black members. Such cases were hardly unknown among the white members, but they had never involved such numbers at one time. Agnew wrote, "It is a nasty affair, and I am sick of it. The plagued Negroes are giving me more trouble than they are worth...The Negro members pay nothing for preaching scarcely, and the session will have to act on that matter, and I expect I will be instructed to make no further appointment for them. If

they so conclude, I am willing." When the cases were concluded, three Negro members were suspended from membership, and all but ten others began to absent themselves from church services.²⁸ After eighteen months of absence, 44 black members were stricken from the roll, and only 12 remained. "What they mean I do not know but I cannot but think that a rooted antipathy of race is the source of this conduct of theirs," wrote Agnew in his journal.²⁹

Most of the remaining black members were ministered to by Peter Bryson, one of their own number, after 1885,³⁰ and in 1889 the last of Bethany's colored members failed to respond to the session's summons in a discipline case, and his name was removed from the church roll.³¹

Due West and Mt. Zion

The Due West church before the Civil War had been notably successful in attracting slave members, and during the war it added some fifty more. In 1865, the black members totaled 140, whereas there were only 90 white members.³² The black members were ministered to by Revs. W. R. Hemphill and J. N. Young, and after emancipation, Rev. Young's former slave, Thomas L. Young, was prepared for the ministry by his ex-master.³³ In May, 1870 the Second Presbytery met at Due West where T. L. Young was ordained. The licensure took place at the college's Lindsay Hall before a large gathering of blacks and whites with Rev. J. P. Pressly presiding.³⁴

One week later, most of the colored members of the Due West church were organized into a new congregation which somewhat later took the name Mt. Zion. The first communion was held when the new officers were ordained. The membership soon reached one hundred, and a church structure was built just west of the Erskine campus.³⁵ In 1877 a small cyclone badly damaged the building, and a few years later another church was erected on a site east of the Due West Female College.³⁶

For the next dozen years, Mt. Zion was Synod's only Negro congregation, and Rev. Young its only black minister. The church continued to depend upon the Due

West church for its support until 1882 when it transferred to the McClelland Presbytery of the Northern Presbyterian church. For years afterwards it received occasional preaching and gifts from the mother Due West church, and it continued to bury its members in the portion of the Due West cemetery set aside for its colored members. The public explanation of why it left the Synod was to seek an affiliation with a body which could supply its pulpit.³⁷

Rev. Peter Bryson and Mount Hebron

After the passing of Mt. Zion, there was no Negro congregation in the ARP ranks until 1887 when Rev. Peter Bryson organized a church for colored people at Mount Hebron in Tipton County, Tenn.³⁸ Some fourteen years earlier, Bryson, then a member of the Bethany church in Mississippi, had talked with his pastor, Rev. S. A. Agnew, about becoming a preacher, and he had gone with Agnew to the fall meeting of the Memphis Presbytery in 1873. The advice which the presbytery gave him was to attend the Mississippi State Normal Institute and prepare to become a teacher.³⁹ Bryson did this and opened a school at his house near the Bethany church. With some help from the church, he began to hold services for the Bethany black members and others at his home which he called "Little Hill."⁴⁰ Memphis Presbytery in 1885 put him under the care of Rev. Agnew as a theological student.⁴¹

Mount Hebron began with a membership of 18, but in a few years it was reported as "progressing slowly but surely" and had reached a total of 28.⁴² For nearly three decades it served as the ARP's only black church. In its early years, the membership fluctuated from 25 to 33, and Rev. Bryson received an annual supplement of \$125 the first year and about \$50 each succeeding year. In its latter years, the membership dwindled to 14, and on his death in 1914, the church was dissolved. Bro. Bryson, as he was usually called, was a regular attendant on the meetings of his presbytery, but was able to attend only one meeting of Synod, that at nearby Rosemark, Tenn. in 1901. At his death, the Memphis Presbytery reported to Synod that "he was a faithful and humble minister of the Gospel, and

lived a life of great usefulness among the people of his race."⁴³

Negro Evangelism

Aside from Mt. Zion and Mt. Hebron, there were a few colored members of the white churches of Synod at the same time. In the year of Mt. Zion's leave taking, 1882, there were 24 colored communicants reported in 9 churches listed in Synod's statistical tables. In 1894, the last year in which the statistics list membership by race, 16 colored members were reported in addition to those at Mount Hebron. They are not broken down by congregation, but Second Presbytery reported ten colored members, First Presbytery five, and Kentucky Presbytery one.⁴⁴

The largest number of colored members in white congregations was at Bethel in Laurens County, S.C. where in 1890 there were eight members of that race. A correspondent in the *A. R. Presbyterian* commented, "They seem to be intelligent people, give close attention to the preaching of the gospel, are decently clothed and evidently are comfortable."⁴⁵ Elsewhere there were a few scattered colored members who chose to continue membership in the churches in which for the most part they had spent their lives. As in all other Southern institutions, they were placed in segregated seating arrangements. For example, when in 1885 a new church replaced the antebellum one at Due West, it had no "slave balcony," and the new pew assignments provided that "Nancy Nelson (colored) be assigned a seat inside of the door of the pastor's study."⁴⁶

Some church members felt regret and perhaps guilt that their church was neglecting its duty to their black brethren. For example in 1889, "Juventus" wrote in the church paper that he thought that work in that area was "a present obligation," and commented that "I know not why our church has stood aloof for so long from this work." He proposed that in return for UP cooperation in white ARP missions, ARP's should in turn offer their aid to the UP colored missions in the South.⁴⁷

The *A. R. Presbyterian* also took note of the UP missions when in 1895 it said that for two decades the ARP

church had lagged in evangelistic work among the Negroes because of two chief factors. The first of these, it thought, was the reluctance of the black people themselves to follow white leadership in religion as in political matters. The other reason it gave was "the liberal, courageous, and persistent efforts of our Northern brethren." However, it now noted that other Southern white churches were stirring to join in this work. For its readers, it left the question: "Have we, as a church, no work to do in this vineyard?"⁴⁸

In 1901, one of the younger ministers, Rev. Ira Caldwell, reminded his fellow churchmen that, "We are not commissioned to preach the gospel to Caucasians only, but to all men." Some say, he noted, that the Negroes have their own preachers, but in his view "the average Negro grievously perverts and emasculates the gospel." The Negro "in his present condition, he wrote, "is a menace of the most threatening kind." His conclusion was, "It is, it must be the duty of white people to elevate the Negro by giving him the gospel. And yet our church has done practically nothing and apparently is not even thinking of doing anything."⁴⁹

The *A. R. Presbyterian* endorsed Caldwell's call. It cited the work of Rev. Neill Pressly in Mexico with a congregation of Negroes in the Tampico area and again asked a question: "Would one of our congregations heartily commend their pastor for doing the same thing? Some would, we believe; some we fear would not."⁵⁰

The troubled conscience of some ARP's who yet found it best to use pseudonyms is well shown by two letters in the church paper in 1903 which called for a Negro orphanage. "A Reader" noted in the first that, "We are trying to build an orphanage in Mexico for a race that is in no way superior to those we are neglecting, who are anxious to accept our religion and who have served us in the past and will serve us in the future. How great is our responsibility."⁵¹ The writer said that she had talked with "some of the ministers" who agreed with her. The following week one of them who signed his name as "A Minister," commended the proposal of "the good woman," but warned that such work would require "some courage and

faith, too," and would raise popular objections. In his belief such a mission would lack the "romance" of foreign missions or the attraction of distant places, yet he was ready to say: "I am persuaded it is the work of the Lord, and he will give his blessing. I am preaching for the Negroes once a month, and find their needs very great."⁵²

These and other calls failed to bring any action until 1907 when the Memphis Presbytery under the persistent prodding of Rev. J. G. Miller memorialized Synod for the beginning of a Negro evangelization scheme.⁵³ That Synod set up a committee (Revs. J. G. Miller and T. P. Pressly, Elders O. T. Wallace of Kentucky, J. K. Morrison of North Carolina, and R. S. Galloway) to draw up a proposal for the 1908 Synod.⁵⁴ In 1908, this committee reported its belief that "the Great Head of the church" favored such a "God-honoring enterprise" and asked that a standing committee be set up for this purpose, but it proposed no definite plan.⁵⁵ Synod did create a standing committee composed of Revs. F. Y. Pressly, S. W. Reid, and J. W. Baird, but the committee reported to the parent body in 1909 that it had "no solution" to propose. Until "the church at large" recognized its responsibility, the committee could only recommend that pastors, sessions and women's societies try to aid the Negroes in their own communities.⁵⁶

Some months later, the *A. R. Presbyterian* gloomily assessed Synod's action as "practically a dead letter," and again it posed a question: "Will banishing the matter from our thoughts and recalling it at yearly intervals for synodical action absolve us from responsibility?"⁵⁷

The agitation did lead to a small effort. In 1911, Synod determined to pay part of the expenses of a man at the colored seminary at Knoxville, Tenn. with the purpose that he be equipped to work among his own people.⁵⁸ Several anonymous donors contributed a total of \$140 which in 1912 and 1913 was used to aid two seminary students at the Knoxville institution. No further gifts came in and when these funds were spent, the venture died.⁵⁹

The ARP church faced a dilemma with regard to work among the Negroes who lived within its borders and in many cases who worked for its members. Few ministers

would disagree with Rev. J. P. Pressly who told his Due West congregation in 1917 that in his opinion the denomination was failing in its obligations in that it had no special work among the colored people.⁶⁰ Yet the membership at best was indifferent toward this task, and even those who were willing seemed to have arrived at the conclusion which was well stated by Prof. G. G. Parkinson in the 1904 debate over union with the UP church. The UP experience in the South seemed to prove that emphasis upon colored missions would raise insuperable barriers to the work among the Southern whites. And that was the major task which the ARP church believed that God had given it.

The race problem was not the only public question which the ARP church tended to avoid bringing to the fore. As the *A. R. Presbyterian* explained in 1910: "Go into any of our churches on Sabbath morning and the staple of preaching will be Christ crucified. If social and political questions are discussed, it will be to bring the principles of the gospel to bear upon them...By preaching the Word, we shall reform more abuses than by discussing politics and economics; we shall contribute more to present human welfare than by dabbling in social science."⁶¹

Some ministers were more willing to bring "the principles of the gospel" to bear on current issues than others. For example, J. S. Moffatt, both as a pastor at Chester and later as president of Erskine, spoke out clearly and forcefully when he saw wrongs. In 1893, on the occasion of a publicized lynching at Denmark, S.C., he declared in a letter to the newspapers, "Negro blood is too cheap in South Carolina. Since I have been in Chester County a poor Negro was arrested for a petty offense, tied securely with a rope, and in a deserted place shot to pieces, and no person was ever punished for it. Surely his blood and the blood of John Peterson (the Denmark victim) cry to heaven from the soil of South Carolina. I believe there is a righteous Judge on high who will avenge the blood of these poor Negroes and all the wrongs inflicted on this and every helpless people."⁶² In 1905 the Synod meeting at Due West adopted a report from its Committee on Reform that "lynching is Murder."⁶³

In 1903, when Lieutenant Governor J. H. Tillman was acquitted by a jury of the murder of Editor Gonzales in Columbia (S.C.), Moffatt wrote the Charleston paper, as follows: "It (the acquittal) means that human life is not worth as much as a hog or dog. The verliest pretext suffices to justify cold blooded murder." He concluded, "It is a call to press and pulpit to lift up their voice and cry aloud and spare not."⁶⁴

Mission to Textile Workers

Some thought that another group toward whom the ARP church had a special obligation were the textile mill people who lived in their midst. A great industrial revolution had brought textile mills into the very towns and cities where ARP's were establishing churches in the quarter century before the First World War. Some members of the church had owned land on which the factories were being built and more owned stock in the new enterprises. Elders Joseph Wylie and J. K. Henry of the Chester congregation were shareholders in the Catawba Mill near their town; they also taught Sabbath school classes among the mill workers in the 1890's in a chapel built there by the Chester church.⁶⁵ From the pulpit of his Yorkville (S.C.) church in 1900, Rev. B. H. Grier spoke out against the child labor in the mills. He spoke of "children employed to work all night in cotton mills—little tots that have to stand on stools to reach their machines in order to earn money for dividends, are dying a slow death, and somewhere there is a hand that commits murder."⁶⁶

Grier's interest in textile workers led him in a few years to call upon his brothers to enter the field of "Mission Work in Cotton Mill Towns" in the church. "Has our church a mission to these people?" he asked, and he argued that even though this mission lacked the appeal of foreign missions, the church needed missionaries who would live among the mill people and identify with them.⁶⁷

Other ARP ministers repeated Grier's call; W.J. Bonner in 1912, William E. Huey in 1913, and John T. Young in 1917. Huey called on his church to follow the example of Christ who ministered to "the whole man," and he con-

cluded that the laboring classes would not listen to the church until it became sympathetic to its "social ills." From his experience as pastor of the Greenwood (S.C.) church, Young had found that the local sheriff had 48 persons in jail, 24 of whom were Negroes and 23 were "mill people." His conclusion was, "Do not these figures show where Home Mission work is most needed in our Southland?"⁶⁸

The church made its greatest effort in this area when Rev. R. R. Caldwell began to preach in a schoolhouse in the textile area of West Gastonia in 1917. In asking the First Presbytery to mount a drive for a new church building there, he conceded that some might say, "Well it is among mill people and is not worthwhile." As an answer he cited John T. Young's recent article in the church paper, and for himself said, "Our Lord did not say, 'Thou shall not be able to evangelize cotton mill people.'"⁶⁹

Caldwell also began work at Bessemer City where he found that some of his most faithful members were what were called "mill people." Even when reporting this, he wrote, "I am exceedingly sorry that such a phrase was ever expressed. That these people need schools no one will ever deny; and the church among them is even more important."⁷⁰

A lot for the West Gastonia church (later called Second Gastonia) was secured in the vicinity of three cotton mills.⁷¹ As Caldwell reported in the church paper, this was land which had been in the hands of ARP's for generations. "It is our territory. It is surrounded by churches of our denomination," he wrote.⁷²

Despite these pleas, the funds for the Second Gastonia church were raised very slowly, and when the new church was built in 1928, Caldwell had been succeeded as pastor by Rev. F. T. White for some six years. Rev. White took the job full time. Like the Presbyterians (Southern), the ARP's were unwilling to take the route followed by some other denominations such as the Baptists and Methodists who set up distinct "mill churches." Second Gastonia from the beginning had farmers and carpenters as well as textile workers on its roll. Rev. White reported in 1926 that he

found the work difficult. "There are plenty of unsaved and unchurched people in this section, but for the most part those who are such are constantly moving from one place to another, making it hard for the church to meet them. The Pentecostal and Holiness sects have a hold on many of the people, who look with suspicion on other evangelistic denominations where 'you have to give money'." Rev. White, however, believed that his church had a mission. "But it is certain that the Second Gastonia church fills a need in this section where there is a tendency to lawlessness."⁷³

Rev. R. R. Caldwell, who had continued to preach at his other station, at Bessemer City, during the same time, agreed with White. In 1928, he estimated that during a seventeen year ministry there he had certified nearly 200 members to other churches. As he summed it up, "This is almost exclusively a cotton mill town and thus we have a floating population and the work is most difficult."⁷⁴

A third effort in a textile town was made at Kannapolis, N.C. where the ARP's could claim to have been the first denomination on the ground when Rev. J. Walter Simpson began to preach there in 1904 at the Gravel Hill schoolhouse. It was even before the coming of the Cannon company which developed there the largest unincorporated textile community in the United States. Like the other churches, the ARP church there received free water and lights.⁷⁵

Although the church entered such textile communities as West Gastonia, Bessemer City, and Kannapolis, it found little success in appealing to the textile workers. Some saw the difficulty in the transient nature of the population, others in the unwillingness of the textile workers to accept the discipline of the ARP's. Perhaps the barrier was that town or city ARP's were nearly all middle class and white collar in social status. In any case, despite the earnest efforts of a few, the gospel did not seem to bridge the distance between the clannishness of the two groups.⁷⁶

Moral Reform

While most of the denomination skirted the "social

gospel," the ARP's were active in promoting what might be called moral reforms. One of these areas was Sabbath observance. Perhaps the best example of the civil laws which the church preferred in this field were the ordinances of Due West, a community uniquely under the control of ARP's. As printed in 1884, these ordinances not only prevented work on the Sabbath, but provided fines for masters who had their servants chop wood on that day, merchants who failed to shield from view the merchandise in their shop windows, and all who made noise or unnecessarily traveled the public streets during worship hours.⁷⁷

In the 1888 Synod a committee of three (Robert Lathan, J. N. Young, and W. L. Pressly, all then resident in Due West) was asked to draw up a program to seek a deliverance from the evil of profaning the Sabbath by the railroads and "other corporations." They asked "our State and national governments to enact such laws as will effectually correct said evil."⁷⁸

During the 1890 Synod a petition was drawn up and signed by all the delegates which was sent to the managers of the forthcoming Chicago World Exposition to protest plans to keep the fair open on the Sabbath.⁷⁹ Many other evangelical bodies joined in the protest, and when the managers backed down under pressure, the *A. R. Presbyterian* drew the lesson that Christian sentiment when well organized could work other reforms. It said, "Can it not stop the 'Sunday' mail and the 'Sunday' newspapers? If it will, it can."⁸⁰ The Synod in 1893 appointed Lathan, Rev. R. F. Bradley, and Prof. J. I. McCain to a standing committee on Sabbath Reform.⁸¹

Sometimes the *A. R. Presbyterian*, because of its support of moral issues such as prohibition and the state Blue Laws, was drawn into state politics. For example, when Cole Blease defeated the prohibitionist C. C. Featherstone in the state gubernatorial contest in 1910, the paper said "the better man and better cause went down together in temporary defeat...The good name of South Carolina has suffered."⁸²

Another time when not only the church papers but a wide segment of the ARP's in South Carolina entered a

political controversy was in 1927 when Governor John G. Richards began a campaign to enforce the state Blue Laws.⁸³ Rev. Fred McGill commended the governor from the Greenwood pulpit, the Due West session and Sabbath School sent messages of support, as did the Woodruff congregation.⁸⁴ When Dr. R. A. Lummus at the spring meeting of the Catawba Presbytery asked that every minister who had preached a sermon in support of Richards to stand, nearly every one did. The Second Presbyterial meeting in Greenville (S.C.) similarly passed resolutions supporting the governor.⁸⁷

Prohibition and the Dispensary

Another issue on which the ARP church moved to an aggressive position in the 1890's was in its opposition to alcoholic beverages. From the ante-bellum days the Synod had opposed "grog shops" and condemned intemperance, and the greater part of the discipline cases handled by local sessions dealt with excessive drinking. In 1891, the First Presbytery boldly advanced to a strict position when it approved a motion by Rev. J. M. Grier which said: "Whereas, there is a great difficulty in enforcing the law of the church against intemperance, owing to the wide difference of opinion as to what is meant by intoxication, and as the drinking of intoxicants as a beverage is the father of drunkenness among church members and ruinous in its effects on those without; now therefore be it Resolved by this Presbytery, that henceforth the drinking of intoxicants as a beverage by a member of the church will make him amenable to the discipline of the church."⁸⁶

In 1893, the state of South Carolina under the leadership of Governor Ben Tillman began an experiment in a state owned liquor system called The Dispensary, and this development confronted the churches of the state, including the ARP ones, with several questions. "Aram," an occasional correspondent for the church paper, put them as follows: "1) Should a Christian man apply for the position of dispenser? 2) If one of our church members applies for and gets this position, will he be liable for discipline as a liquor dealer? 3) Should Christian people sign (endorse)

applications for dispensers?" ("Aram" gave his opinion that the state's Christian people by and large were willing to allow the Dispensary a fair test, but only as a step towards prohibition.)⁸⁷

Publisher R. S. Galloway submitted these questions in a questionnaire to a number of ARP elders in the state. All except one answered "no" to questions 1 and 3, "yes" to question 2. J. K. Henry of Chester alone dissented. He thought not only could a Christian "if moved by the proper motives" take the post, but "under certain circumstances, it would be his patriotic and Christian duty to accept."⁸⁸

After the Dispensary had been in operation for several years and was the center of political controversy, the question became a real one when T. M. Allen, an elder in the Neely's Creek church in York County, was chosen by the state legislature as a dispenser. The selection brought on a debate at the spring meeting of the First Presbytery which met at Gastonia in April, 1896. Rev. Oliver Johnson, as pastor of Neely's Creek, presented a resolution that Mr. Allen had not "violated" the Presbytery standards and had not made himself liable to discipline. After extended discussion, the motion was tabled.⁸⁹

In the fall meeting of presbytery, Rev. J. S. Moffatt of Chester presented a paper which defined the position of Presbytery as opposed to the Dispensary, and said since it opposed the "liquor traffic," it should be willing to discipline any one aiding the system. Judge Ira B. Jones, an elder from Lancaster who had served for years as a prominent state legislator, spoke for the opposition. He argued that the church should recognize the good features of the system and let "good men" take part in it. The Moffatt resolution was adopted by a 3 to 1 vote.⁹⁰

A legislator from a distinguished ARP family, Senator John S. Brice of York, led the successful fight to end the state wide dispensary system. In 1904, he authored what was known as the Brice Bill which allowed counties to vote out the system, and in a short time every county with an ARP church in it did so except Abbeville. The Abbeville Dispensary for several years was the only one operating in the upcountry of the state, and it proved

popular in part because it drew business from a wide area and brought big profits to the county. It was bitterly opposed by the *A. R. Presbyterian* and especially its editor R. S. Galloway who promoted petition drives to put it out of business. Ironically, it was a son of a distinguished ARP minister, R. R. Hemphill of Abbeville (son of W. R. Hemphill) former state senator from the county, who was one of its leading defenders. He answered its critics in the church paper with the argument that the Dispensary was far preferable to "blind tigers," the current term for bootleggers.⁹¹

In October, 1907 the Second Presbytery unanimously asked for the elimination of the Abbeville Dispensary because of its proximity to the Due West colleges, and the Synod that year added its endorsement to this action.⁹² However, the petition drive failed, and the decisive election was not held until August, 1909. In that vote the Dispensary was defeated, and the Due West precinct did its duty by voting against it by the margin of 77 to 12.⁹³

The church also warmly endorsed the national prohibition movement. In 1896 the Synod received a communication from the Anti-Saloon League which asked its cooperation and asked that it send two delegates to its national convention. To deal with this request a special committee on temperance was sent up, and its recommendation was adopted by the Synod. The committee advised against sending delegates since it was "an ecclesiastical body," but it expressed its approval of the objectives of the League and suggested that Synod set up a standing committee on temperance.⁹⁴

The Committee on Temperance began its operation with routine reports until the 1900 Synod when it suggested that the time had come "to take a more aggressive attitude on this great moral question." To that end, the Synod approved its call on "our people to vote as they pray, to be influenced less by party considerations and more by conscience."⁹⁵

In 1902, the Synod took a clear cut stand for abstinence by accepting the stand taken in 1891 by First Presbytery. "To profit by the sale of intoxicating liquor either as a dealer, or state agent or landlord is a sin against God and

the church," it declared. It also stated, "that moderate drinking is a sin against God and the church."⁹⁶

Other Reforms

In 1904, Synod created a standing committee on Reform which was authorized to concern itself with "any matter of interest in Moral Reform." Its first members were Revs. L. I. Echols, W. W. Orr and O. Y. Bonner.⁹⁷ "Moral reform" meant that Synod was widening its concern with public issues beyond its previous interest in Sabbath observance and abstinence from alcoholic beverages, but the reports from that committee indicated very few specific proposals for reform. In 1909, the Synod through this new committee did call for a national divorce law, but a more typical call was the ambiguous one the year before for "such legal enactments as will produce conditions favorable to the propagation of the Kingdom of God."⁹⁸ Synod continued to rejoice as the national prohibition brought state after state in the dry column, and after the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment the emphasis was upon its enforcement.

Several efforts to set up a conference on Reform at a meeting of Synod failed. Perhaps the most ambitious effort to extend the commitment in this area came in 1914 and 1916. In 1913, there had been a proposal from the major Presbyterian bodies in the United States to join with them in a United Declaration on Christian Faith and Social Service. Revs. A. S. Rogers and E. B. Kennedy were appointed as the ARP representatives to aid in drawing up the statement, but unfortunately neither could attend the sessions of the Joint committee. However, the 1914 Synod approved the declaration which declared that in addition to saving men's souls the Christian Church also had "a distinctive work to do in bettering the social relations of men in this present world." It said the Church of Jesus Christ must take its stand "as Christ did against the sins of social injustice and tyranny...even when these are entrenched in the usages of our civilization." It was most specific in calling for a fair return for labor sufficient to support the man and his family, conditions of labor that

are safe and healthy, opportunity to provide against illness and old age, and relief from labor on one day in seven; which lead to movements to secure childhood against forced labor, and woman against conditions degrading to womanhood."

In 1916, the standing committee on Reform, Revs. L. I. Echols, H. M. Henry and J. H. Pressly, proposed the endorsement of the Articles of Creed of the Federal Council of the Church of Christ, and it condemned Sabbath desecration, divorce, Mormonism, white slavery, lynchings, and riots. Synod ratified the creed and asked that its truths "have a place in the instruction of the home, the school and the Church."¹⁰⁰

In 1926, the committee (with Rev. Ira Caldwell having replaced L. I. Echols) viewed the popular culture of the Roaring Twenties with alarm. "Bad Literature in conjunction with whiskey, bad moving picture shows and the automobile is rapidly undermining the home," it declared.¹⁰¹

In 1925, the committee took note of reports of millions of criminal abortions which it called a "horrible warfare against the life of the race." It also called attention to the belief that "Murders, homicides, thefts, banditry, malfeasance in office, criminal accidents, deeds of violence are increasing," and concluded: "We believe in evangelism as the means of converting and reforming individuals, and we just as heartily believe in preaching the kingdom of God to reform or Christianize our social life in all its spheres of activity. God is the Owner and Ruler of all human life, but saving men comes first—environment afterwards."¹⁰²

The Election of 1928

The election of 1928 brought more overt involvement by the ARP church in party and electoral politics than any previous instance in the history of the Synod. In large measure it was an extension of the church's support of the Eighteenth Amendment. In February, the *A. R. Presbyterian* devoted a long editorial to a favorable comment on Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover's opin-

ion that prohibition had had a very beneficial impact upon the economy.¹⁰³ Later that month, Rev. T. H. McDill of New Albany, Miss. warned that "the White House in the hands of the liquor interests would write the doom of the eighteenth amendment boldly across the face of the constitution." He called upon Christians to refuse to support such a candidate.¹⁰⁴ A week later, Rev. W. B. Lindsay of Charlotte, whose wife was president of the North Carolina W. C. T. U., called upon church members to resolve to vote "from coroner to president" who support the Eighteenth Amendment.¹⁰⁵

As the nominating process proceeded, it became increasingly obvious that the Democratic party was likely to select Governor Al Smith of New York as its standard bearer, and Smith was a committed opponent of prohibition. Publisher R. S. Galloway of the church paper spoke for many ARP's, nearly all of whom were Democrats, when he warned in April that if the Democrats nominated a "wet," many would out of "conscience" refuse to support their party's choice.¹⁰⁶ Rev. G. L. Kerr of Spartanburg echoed that feeling by writing to Galloway that "the saloon element is again trying to get a stranglehold on our country. Why should the Democratic party allow itself to become their tool?"¹⁰⁷

In the ARP stronghold of Due West, the local Democratic party held its organizational meeting in late April, and Galloway called through his backpage column in the church paper for women voters to play a decisive role in supporting "dry" sentiments. In his words, "A great crisis is confronting the nation. The women of the country have it in their power to settle this question, for the men are divided, and to settle it in favor of righteousness, sobriety and moral welfare of the country. We urge our women to be present (at the Democratic club meeting) and to discharge aright the sacred obligation they owe to the home and church."¹⁰⁸

The Due West club was solid for prohibition. F. Y. Pressly, president of the Erskine Seminary, opened the meeting with prayer, and the club voted to ask that Rule 32 of the state party which bound voters to support all its nominees be stricken. Later at the quarterly laymen's

meeting at the Due West church, Pressly spoke on "the Christian Citizen," and he declared that it was the duty of the Christian "to steadfastly oppose to the limit any candidate who runs on a wet platform."¹⁰⁹

Later that month, the Synod met at Charlotte. Pressly introduced a resolution at that meeting that "Civil government is an ordinance of God and obedience and submission to constituted authority is a Christian grace. We, as a court of the church of God, would disavow any intention to deal with questions of party politics. But when great moral issues are involved, we deem it right that we should remind ourselves and our church at large that our obligation to God far transcends party loyalty." It was adopted by a rising vote.¹¹⁰

Several prominent ministers expressed displeasure with Pressly's motion in that it did not go far enough. D. G. Phillips, pastor of the host First Charlotte church, said he supported it, but "It's too tame. I want this body to go on record as naming the man it is opposed to. There is no use in obscuring the issue. We do not want Al Smith as the nominee of the party and I would like to have his name called out in the resolution." W. W. Orr, pastor of Charlotte's Tabernacle church, said he also would like to have a more frankly anti-Smith motion. He said, "I have mighty few more years to fight the devil, but I accept the challenge to spend the last few in fighting him in any form in which he presents himself, and specially if in the garb of the liquor interests."¹¹¹

When Smith was nominated by the Democrats, the ARP's were faced with the issue of the conflict between party loyalty and allegiance to prohibition. There were only a few references to Smith's Catholicism. At the Bonclarken conferences that summer publisher Galloway wrote that he heard a couple of ministers say that they knew of no ARP preacher who expected to vote for Smith. He found the politics "had little mention at the sessions, but on one occasion when a speaker mentioned in an aside that he was going to vote for Hoover, there was "instant and hearty applause."¹¹²

R. M. Stevenson was restrained in his editorial treatment of the election. In late September, he printed the

Pressly resolution, a similar resolution by Mrs. John Miller which had been passed by the Women's Synodical Union, and a letter by Rev. E. N. Orr. Orr said that while he recognized "it is a new thing for the majority of our people to vote contrary to the party with which they have been aligned," but he believed that "the rank and file of our people" would vote against any man who wanted legalized whiskey.¹¹³

In October, Stevenson in an editorial entitled "The Political Situation," said he hoped that he would not be labeled as "a political parson." In a veiled reference to Smith's Catholicism, he wrote "those, against whom the religious issue is supposed to be aimed, are those who are working it to the limit and seeking to make political capital of it." He reminded his readers to be civil with those with whom they differed, for "we are brethren and will be neighbors after the election is over."¹¹⁴ In the issue just before the election, he followed with an editorial, "Voting to the Glory of God," in which he reminded his readers that the most important consideration should be "a desire to honor God."¹¹⁵

The Church and the Support of War

Another area in which the ARP's were willing to involve the church directly in public policy was in the American involvement in the Spanish-American War and World War I. For example, in July, 1898 at a union meeting of thanksgiving and prayer at the end of the war with Spain, Rev. J. H. Pressly of Statesville said that he believed "this war was directed by God and was to serve his purpose." Among the benefits which he saw was the abolition of sectionalism and the union of churches of "the same faith now separated by an imaginary line as the results of the last war." He also saw the recent war as a rebuke for the Pope and a boost for American missionary efforts.¹¹⁶

When war broke out in 1914, the church leaders and the *A. R. Presbyterian* consistently supported President Woodrow Wilson's peace policy and limited their involvement in the war itself to such indirect efforts as calls to support Belgian relief. When the United States did enter

the war, the church paper in an editorial "God's Hand in the War," reminded its readers of God's providential intervention into human history.¹¹⁷

In June, Dr. Oliver Johnson of Winnsboro (S.C.) gave "a stirring patriotic address" to the South Carolina YPCU Convention at Due West. He criticized the "false philosophy and morality inculcated by German scientists, which are responsible for the world struggle today, which he regards as fundamentally a religious war."¹¹⁸

The church saw its primary responsibility as a ministry to the young men who were gathered into training camps in its region, and especially to its own young men. Rev. W. A. McAulay of Greenville, S.C. began a "camp ministry" at nearby Camp Sevier, and there were similar programs at Camp Jackson in Columbia, S.C. and at Atlanta, Ga.¹¹⁹ Pastors were released by their congregations for six week stints as "camp pastors." Others entered YMCA work among the servicemen.

The First Presbytery took part in a successful effort by the churches to pressure the Columbia, S.C. city council to drop a plan for Sunday movies. The presbytery at the same time celebrated a "Patriotic Day" with speeches on the war effort.¹²¹

At the 1917 Synod which met at Fayetteville, Tenn. the body approved a proposal by Hon. George S. Mower, the newly elected moderator, to send a letter to President Wilson pledging "its unswerving loyalty to our country in this righteous war for human liberty. May God bless and sustain you in the discharge of the arduous duties of your high office."¹²² In connection with its meeting the Synod conducted a special conference on "Christian Patriotism" which was heard by an overflow crowd. The program featured addresses including Rev. J. P. Pressly of Due West on "The War and the Church," Rev. W. W. Orr of Charlotte on "The War and the Christian Ministry" and Rev. G. G. Parkinson of the Erskine Seminary on "The War and the Nation."¹²³

Even in the middle of the great war, Rev. R. M. Stevenson spoke for his church when he wrote that the war had its "moral and immoral features" and he warned against letting it be the frequent theme of preaching.¹²⁴ No public

issue, however current such as the war, should be allowed to obscure the main message of the church.

During this war as in wartime from the time of the Civil War, ARP's felt their obligation as Christian citizens was to support the civil authorities. When it came to making public policy, they drew a line. In December, 1918 when the Centennial church session (Columbia, S.C.) sent a memorial to First Presbytery that it go on record to the Versailles Conference that the German leaders be put in war crimes trials, that body agreed that there might be merit to the proposal, but refused to endorse it since the presbytery was "a purely religious body" and to take such an action would be "to trench too closely on the field of politics."¹²⁵

In defining the ARP stance on public questions, the primary position of the church was that stated by its committee on Reform in 1925. The church should pursue evangelism to save souls and "just as heartily" preach the kingdom of God "to reform or Christianize our social life in all its spheres of activity," but "saving men comes first—environment afterwards." In this stress on the individual rather than society, issues of moral reform came before issues of social reform, although the line between the two types of reform was not always clear.

Chapter VI

MINISTERS

When Rev. Horatio Thompson died in 1882, it marked the passing of the last minister of the Synod of the South who had been born when it was organized in 1803. Of the remaining seventy-four, five were over 70 and thirteen more over 60.

Some twenty nine of the group had been ordained before the Civil War, and five of those had served as Confederate chaplains. (C.B. Betts, H. T. Sloan, J. A. Lowry, Thomas Turner and J. H. Simpson). Nine others had served in the Confederate forces with several of these still bearing the wounds of that war. Rev. E. E. Pressly carried a musket ball in his ankle which caused him consistent pain, Revs. W. M. Grier and J. C. McDonald had lost a leg and arm, respectively.

At the other end of the scale of age, there were twenty nine who were 35 or younger (the same number as those ordained before the war), and a full dozen of these men were still in their twenties. Rev. J. T. Chalmers, who despite a lack of physical strength had entered college at 15, was the youngest at 22. The average age of the ministers in 1882 was 45.5 years.¹

They were a closely knit group, bound by ties of kinship, marriage, common education and experiences, and loyalty to their denomination. In 1904, Rev. Mason W. Pressly wrote about the church of his fathers which he had left (mistakenly he had come to believe) as follows, "The ARP church is a unit—it is a big family. Its fellowship is a model. Its "brethren" are brothers. Its loyalty and tolerance are unmatched by any church I know, and its loyalty is to the best things and its tolerance is shown in the best way. The assimilation of "the stranger" is a natural process in the ARP church."²

The description of the ARP church as one big family was commonly used by others, and Mason Pressly's own family is a prime example of the role which blood relationships played in the church. The Pressly ministers were in

fact, so numerous and so important to the church that it was sometimes called by observers, only partly in jest, "the A. R. Pressly church."

In 1882, there were eleven Presslys on the ministerial roll of Synod, and all but one were descendants of the Presslys who lived at the Cedar Springs neighborhood (in Abbeville District, S.C.) at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Young Mason Pressly that year took up his first pastorate at Chester, and his older brother Neill served as Synod's only foreign missionary. Their father, Rev. John E. Pressly, served the congregations of Coddle Creek and New Perth (in N.C.) where he had been for three decades, was clerk of First Presbytery, and contributed more articles to the church paper than any other minister in Synod. As a young boy, he had been reared in the household of his uncle, Rev. E. E. Pressly, who was the first president of Erskine, and in 1882 his "Uncle Ebbie's" son, Rev. W. L. Pressly served as pastor of the influential Due West church and taught Hebrew at Erskine Seminary.

The senior Pressly in the Synod was Rev. David Pressly, pastor of the Starkville (Miss.) church for almost four decades by 1882. He had been born in the Cedar Springs neighborhood, was a cousin of the aforementioned E. E. Pressly, and he now had as fellow ministers two of his sons, Rev. T. P. Pressly of Troy, Tenn. and Rev. Calvin Pressly (temporarily sidelined from the ministry because of poor health).

Another pair of Pressly brothers served in the Kentucky Presbytery, Revs. D. B. Pressly at Hinkston and Mt. Olivet (Ky.) and F. Y. Pressly at Mt. Zion (Mo.). They were the sons of Rev. James Patterson Pressly, long time professor at Erskine. The remaining two Pressly ministers were E. E. Pressly, pastor of Shiloh church (Lancaster Co., S.C.), and Rev. W. B. Pressly, pastor of the Statesville (N.C.) church. Of all the Pressly ministers of that time, only the latter does not appear to descend from the Cedar Springs Presslys.

During the half century which followed 1882, ten more Presslys entered the ARP ministry, all sons of ministers except one who was a grandson of a Pressly minister.

Altogether some twenty Presslys served in the ARP ministry during this half century. As a recent historian of *The Pressly Family* observed, the Pressly ministers stressed three things: education, piety, and loyalty to the denomination.³ A number of other ministers descended from the Pressly family, including Rev. J. A. Lowry whose mother was a Pressly, Dr. Katherine Neel Dale whose mother was a Pressly, and Revs. E. P. and A. T. Lindsay whose grandmother was a Pressly.

The only other family which could be compared with the Presslys in its place in the ARP church was the Grier family, even though there was only one Grier on Synod's roll in 1882. This was W. M. Grier, President of Erskine College, teacher in the Seminary, editor of the *A. R. Presbyterian*, and frequent preacher in the pulpits of non-ARP churches in the neighborhood of Due West. During the next half century, there would be a total of 12 Grier ministers in the ARP ranks, including W. M. Grier's brothers, Revs. B. H. Grier and Mark B. Grier (the latter soon moved to the Southern Presbyterians to be able to go to China as a missionary). In 1893, W. M. Grier's son, Rev. R. L. Grier, and Rev. J. S. Grier entered the church's service, and the following year Rev. J. J. Grier was added. Rev. J. M. Grier had been ordained in 1887. Five sons of W. M. Grier's two brothers entered the ministry somewhat later. Three were sons of professor P. L. Grier (Revs. W. P. Grier, R. C. Grier, P. L. Grier), and two (Revs. Joseph L. Grier and Mark Brown Grier) were the sons of Rev. B. H. Grier.

The Griers were less willing to stay in the ARP church, and four (Revs. M. B. Grier, J. M. Grier, J. J. Grier, and R. L. Grier) transferred to the Southern Presbyterians.

Perhaps no other person ever wielded more influence in the whole range of Synod's activities than W. M. Grier did during the 1880's and 1890's. Certainly few have been as universally liked, and his friends ranged far beyond the bounds of the ARP church. Despite the burden of a wooden leg which was the result of a Civil War wound suffered at the age of 18, he was one of the best known public figures in the state and region. He was invited to give speeches on education as far from Erskine as Mississippi

and Tennessee, and he traveled over Synod as an agent for the college endowment. When he died in 1899, there was a debate about a proper memorial and his friends erected an impressive statue of him on the Erskine campus which they believed to be the first statue in the South erected to an educator.⁴

A striking example of the contribution to the ARP ministry of these two families may be seen in looking at the family relationship of Professor P. L. Grier and his wife Effie Pressly Grier. Both of them had grandfathers and fathers who had been ARP ministers (Isaac and R. C. Grier, E. E. and W. L. Pressly). He had three brothers who were ARP ministers (Revs. W. M., B. H. and M. B. Grier) as well as a brother, Livy, a theological student who was killed during the Civil War. He also had three sisters who married ARP ministers (Revs. J. E. Martin, D. B. Pressly, and G. R. White). His wife had three brothers who entered the ARP ministry, (Revs. J. H. Pressly, J. L. Pressly, and P. A. Pressly). The P. L. Griers had three sons who joined the ARP ministers their families had produced (Revs. W. P. Grier, R. C. Grier, and P. L. Grier).

Another example of the importance of these two families may be seen in the opening section of the minutes of the fall meeting of First Presbytery in 1917 which read, "Rev. Pressly Grier was retiring moderator and Rev. Grier Pressly was moderator."⁵

Perhaps the greatest influence of the two families may be seen in connection with Erskine College and Erskine Seminary. The college's presidents during this period were Rev. W. M. Grier until his death in 1899, followed by Rev. F. Y. Pressly until 1906, Rev. J. S. Moffatt (Rev. W. M. Grier's son-in-law), and Rev. R. C. Grier (the second president by that name and the third Grier to occupy the post). The presidents of the seminary during this same time were Revs. James Boyce, followed in 1889 by Rev. W. L. Pressly who was succeeded by Rev. F. Y. Pressly in 1907.

Although neither as numerous or as prominent as the Presslys and Griers, a number of other families furnished several ministers to the church. One, the Pattersons of Burke County, Ga., furnished four sons who served conspicuously in the West as well as in the older states. They

were Revs. W. L. (William Little) Patterson, A. L. (Alexander Lowry) Patterson, R. E. (Robert Emette) Patterson, and E. E. (Edwin Erskine) Patterson. Rev. A.L. ("Sandy") Patterson served a long ministry at Mt. Carmel, (Abbeville Co., S.C.), and his three brothers served the Texas churches as well as elsewhere. Later, Rev. A. L. Patterson's son, Rev. William Strong Patterson, served the church at Lancaster, S.C. for thirty years, and his nephew who was raised by him, Rev. W. C. Halliday, served as a missionary to Mexico.

Two families matched the contribution of the Presslys and Griers in that they furnished three sons to the ARP ministry. They were the John B. Carsons of the Pisgah church (Gaston Co., N.C.) and the W. A. Kerrs of the New Perth church (Iredell Co., N.C.). The three Carson brother-ministers were Revs. R. W. (Robert Watson), J. W. (John Wooten), and E. G. (Erskine Grier); the Kerr brother-ministers were Revs. G. L. (Gilbert Lawson) Kerr, W. C. (William Calvin) Kerr, and R. T. (Robert Torrentine) Kerr.

There were many other sets of brothers in addition to those mentioned, including Revs. E. B. and W. E. Anderson, James and E. E. Boyce, J. A. and R. N. Baird, J. L. and C. M. Boyd, O. G. and R. L. Davis, F. B. and C. E. Edwards, J. B. and S. J. Hood, R. E. and W. E. Huey, E. B. and I. N. Kennedy, E. P. and A. T. Lindsay, A. B. and J. R. Love, J. R. and C. D. McCormick, A. S. and H. T. Sloan, F. T. and J. L. White, and C. S. and J. L. Young. Two ministers had sisters who served as missionaries, Miss Macie Stevenson, sister of Rev. R. M. Stevenson, and Miss Mattie Boyce, sister of Rev. James Boyce. Miss Minnie Alexander, the pioneer ARP missionary in India, was followed in that service by her sister, Dr. Janet Alexander. In the 1917 Synod, there were nine sets of brother-ministers and one group of ministers present.⁵

In 1882, fourteen ARP ministers were sons of previous ministers (six of these were Presslys), which was about 1/5 of the ministers of Synod. By the end of the period, 29 of the 125 ministers in the denomination were sons of ARP ministers.

Some of these "born ARP's" who had grown up in the manse left the fold for other denominations, and they in-

cluded sons of such outstanding ARP leaders as Revs. W. M. Grier, W. W. Orr, R. G. Miller, and R. M. Stevenson. Some did so in part because they had been educated in seminaries other than Erskine, others for other reasons, but in all cases such a loss grieved the faithful. For example, in 1892, when Rev. R. C. Grier's son, Rev. Mark B. Grier transferred to the Southern Presbyterians in order to go as a missionary to China, S. A. Agnew commented in his diary, "I predict he will not do any good anywhere. God will not bless a renegade." When Rev. T. W. Sloan transferred to the Southern Presbyterians in 1902, the *A. R. Presbyterian* quoted the Greenville paper as saying that Sloan had been called by a PCUS church some years earlier but would not leave the ARP church while his father (Rev. A. S. Sloan) was alive. R. S. Galloway, publisher of the church paper, commented on this move, "From our viewpoint, it is the mistake of his life."⁸

Another example of the blood ties of ARP ministers is a study of the descendants of John and Eleanor (Reynolds) Harris who had been married by the famous Rev. Thomas Clark while he was confined in Monaghan jail. They were members of his church, but they preceded him to America and settled in the Steele Creek community in York District, S.C. According to tradition, John Harris went from South Carolina to New York with two horses and brought Dr. Clark back on his first visit south to the Carolinas. By 1891, the lineal descendants of the Harrises included 12 ARP ministers and the wives of 23 other ARP ministers.⁹

"Born ARP's," whether ministers or laymen were often a part of large family connections which prized the family loyalty to the denomination. In 1906, Rev. J. H. Simpson in a memoir on his family and the Union church (Chester Co., S.C.) declared that his father's descendants in the ARP churches were the equal of any other, "if not more numerous." His father's descendants numbered "122 grand, great grand and great-great, grand-grand children" who were living. Two were Methodist and six Presbyterian, and the remaining 118 were ARP's including two ministers. "Only two have ever been drunk," he declared, and added, "All are now living sober lives."¹⁰

As often as ARP ministers were bound by ties of blood, they were connected by ties of marriage. In 1907, at the mid-point of this period a writer compiled some statistics for the church paper on "Ministerial Marriages." Four ministers (Revs. A. E. Ellis, J. L. McDaniel, H. H. Robison and J. H. Strong) had married daughters of J. Lindsay Ellis, and eight other trios of ministers had married sisters. Four of these trios of sisters had been daughters of ARP ministers (Revs. R. W. Brice, R. C. Grier, Charles Strong and J. N. Young), and a fifth trio of sisters who married ARP divines were the daughters of Erskine professor, J. F. Lee. Thirteen other pairs of sisters had by 1907 married ministers of the Synod of the South; twenty other daughters of ministers had married ARP ministers. Seven ministers had married widows of their fellow ministers, and sixteen married sisters of other ministers.¹¹

Very few ARP ministers were bachelors, and ministerial marriages often played a central role in the minister's work. Some married wives who were blessed with property. As a layman wrote in the church paper in 1893, "He (the minister) can marry the richest farmer's or merchant's daughter if he wants to, and he does sometimes."¹²

At times the minister might plan his marriage for the benefit of his work as well as for himself. S. A. Agnew relates his own case in which his plan failed. He had become widowed at the age of 37 with a small son. Through inquiries he found that a Miss Jennie Moffatt of Marshall County, Miss. was a most eligible prospect, so he wrote her to ask her permission to correspond with a view toward marriage. Although he had not met her, he had been told by Rev. H. H. Robison that she was "good looking, intelligent, healthy and pious." He therefore noted in his journal that "She is the most eligible person of whom I have any knowledge and it is my duty to make the effort."¹³

When some time elapsed without reply, he decided that the move had probably been in vain, "but I thought it was my duty to make a venture, and she is the only Associate Reformed girl in this region suited for the position of a minister's wife."¹⁴ Two weeks later, he received a ten-

tative reply from Miss Moffatt agreeing to exchange correspondence. The young lady preferred a personal interview, but Agnew at first agreed only to an exchange of pictures. Later, he agreed to come to see her, and he arranged to visit through Rev. R. L. Grier, her pastor. The visit was only a partial success, since she did not turn him down but could not yet secure her "own consent" to marry him. From the time of the visit, he came to believe that there was someone else involved, and the only surprise was when he learned that the person was his fellow minister Rev. R. L. (Robert Leroy) Grier, also a widower. Agnew had spent the night with Grier when he went to plead his cause with the young lady.¹⁵ Miss Jennie married Rev. Grier the following year, and following his death she became the third wife of Rev. David Pressly of Starkville. Agnew's judgment on her eligibility was affirmed.¹⁶

The College Tie

In addition to ties of blood and marriage, nearly all ARP ministers also shared another bond as members of "the Erskine family." As Rev. John H. Simpson wrote in the church paper, "ARP Synods are like reunions of classmates and college mates. With few exceptions the ministers are all graduates of the same college and seminary, and consequently are more like brothers than any other body of Christians in the United States. If any can sing the 133 Psalm, we surely can."¹⁷

In 1882, two of the ministers of Synod had attended no college or seminary (Revs. John McElroy and J. M. Little), and thirteen others out of the total of seventy four had not attended Erskine College. However, all fifteen of the non-Erskiniens were over 60 years old, and mostly they had attended college before Erskine was founded. None of the group had attended Erskine Seminary.

Another bond which held the ARP brethren in closer fellowship was the knowledge that they shared the essential points of their faith. Rev. W. W. Orr told the UP General Assembly in 1904 that to his knowledge his church had never had a heresy trial (Such trials were being conducted or had been conducted in both the Northern

and Southern Presbyterian denominations). Orr was correct in that although a few ARP ministers had left the fold because of doctrinal differences, there had been no trials or prolonged controversies. Their deviations simply were exceptions which prove the rule.

In 1895, the Virginia Presbytery reported to Synod that "the views of Rev. J. H. Moffatt (pastor of the New Lebanon, West. Va. church) have undergone a radical change with regard to some of the doctrines of Christianity, and especially as expressed in the Westminster Confession of Faith. He had resigned his pastoral charge, however, without teaching his heterodox views. He was led captive by a work known as "The Millennial Dawn." 18

J. H. (Josiah Hemphill) Moffatt came from a distinguished ARP lineage. Despite the well-known eccentricity of his father, Rev. Josiah Moffatt, his defection was startling since he was the product of both Erskine College and Seminary. After due notice and no answer from him, he was deposed by the Virginia Presbytery.¹⁹

Another defector, Rev. R. L. (Robert Livingston) Grier had an even more honored ancestry. He was the son of Rev. W. M. Grier, and the year following his father's death, he informed the Kentucky Presbytery that he had undergone some changes in his views and explained that he could no longer assent to all the doctrines set forth in the ARP Confession of Faith. After thinking the matter over "calmly and prayerfully the only honest cause left for him to pursue was to request that his name be taken from the roll of this presbytery," reported that body. The Presbytery appointed a committee to confer with him and to report back to it.²⁰

Two years later, Rev. Grier told a called meeting of the Kentucky Presbytery that he had come to the view that he "practically agrees" with its standards, and he asked to be enrolled anew and given a certificate of ministerial character in order to transfer elsewhere.²¹ His doubts had concerned the ARP teachings on "Future Punishment and Nature of Atonement," and he now gave written acceptance of these standards and was allowed to transfer to the Southern Presbyterians.²²

The D.D.'s

From ante-bellum days the consistent stance of the denomination was that there was no hierarchy among its ministers. Yet to some the conferring of the honorary D.D.'s (Doctors of Divinity) bordered on such a creation. For example, when Rev. S. A. Agnew of northern Mississippi learned that Rev. W. L. Pressly of the Due West church was being so honored in 1886, he wrote in his diary, "this honor lingers in the East side of Savannah River. There is in the eyes of Due West folks no talent in the western presbyteries. I do not believe there is a D.D. except Dr. Phillips west of Due West."²³

One of Rev. W. L. Pressly's sons, Rev. Joseph L. Pressly, expressed the feelings of those little recognized ministers who served home mission stations. According to the family historian, "Joe" Pressly often said he would never receive a D.D. because he lacked "the two essential qualifications . . . he did not wear a fine coat and make a big sound."²⁴

Poor Salaries

One bond which most ARP ministers shared was that of a low salary scale. In part this was due to the near poverty found throughout the South in the years after the Civil War, but sometimes the lot of the minister seemed unnecessarily severe. As the *A. R. Presbyterian* editor (himself a minister) reminded its readers in 1867, "preachers are willing to suffer, ought to suffer, in common with others. But they ought not to be allowed to suffer more than others."²⁵

To support their families many of the ministers were compelled to take on additional work, usually as a teacher or a farmer. Often they operated schools in connection with their churches until the public high schools became firmly established in the South. Teaching was a congenial work for teaching elders. If they owned farms, this not only brought them supplementary income, but it also provided a bond with many of their members. Both as a cause and a consequence of this outside work in 1884, the annual

pastoral salaries in First and Kentucky Presbyteries averaged about \$500, and in the other presbyteries the level was \$400 or less.²⁶

In 1890, Synod adopted a report from Second Presbytery which proposed a minimum salary of \$600, although it declined to approve an accompanying proposal that the Home Mission Board provide supplements to guarantee this level.²⁷ Second Presbytery had only two pastors who were paid more than \$600 annually (those at Due West and Newberry), and its average pastoral salary was just over \$400. By this time, First Presbytery's average had risen above \$600.²⁸

In 1905, Synod created a committee which it called the Ways and Means Committee with the express purpose of searching for ways to raise ministers salaries. Despite its efforts, mostly confined to greater publicity about the plight of ARP ministers in a period of inflation, it asked to be disbanded in 1911 on the grounds that presbyterial committees were more appropriate.²⁹

The following year, First Presbytery reported that eighteen of its congregations were still paying a salary insufficient for "the comfortable maintenance of their pastors" who were forced to seek additional work.³⁰ The average annual salary in First Presbytery was then about \$800, one-fourth larger than the level in Second Presbytery which was next among the presbyteries.³¹

By 1919, Second Presbytery's average was nearly the same as that of First Presbytery at about \$1,000, but sharp inflation had caused both to fall behind the increase in the cost of living. As a result, the 1919 Synod adopted a memorial which called for a minimum salary level of \$1,200 even though only about a fourth of its ministers enjoyed that large a salary.³²

The Parsonage Movement

The problem of a young, newly married minister in a small, rural congregation is illustrated with the experience of Rev. R. M. Stevenson and the Ebenezer (Va.) congregation in 1885. In May of that year, he was led to tell his session that he had decided to leave because "I have no

home. Am unable to procure or build in Virginia without borrowing capital with no prospect of refunding it soon. And as far as I have ascertained the sentiments of the members privately, nearly everyone thinks the congregation cannot provide a home for me."³³

Nonetheless the little congregation with its thirty-nine members did try to provide a suitable home for their minister. The first house which they secured was in an area subjected to "the chills," and in the words of the clerk of session, R. H. Brown, "after this from time to time other houses were spoken of and efforts made to secure them but just as often objections were offered and the whole thing went from bad to worse until at length the result was that Mr. Stevenson decided to leave and we had no recourse—so go he would and go he did, and we were left as sheep without a shepard (sic) and during the summer of 1886 we have been out in the cold."³⁴

It was to remedy this kind of situation that there was a movement during these years to promote the building of parsonages throughout the Synod. The oldest parsonage in the Synod was at Generostee (S.C.) where on his death in 1823, Rev. Robert Irwin had left the church his home and farm for its use after the death of his wife.³⁵ In 1887, Joseph Wylie had given the Chester church a \$2,500 parsonage, and there were then two other parsonages in First Presbytery (Steel Creek, N.C. and Bethany, S.C.)³⁶

By 1890, there were twelve parsonages in Synod, including three in the Virginia Presbytery (Old Providence, Ebenezer and Bethel), two in Kentucky Presbytery (New Hope and Mt. Zion), two in Memphis Presbytery (Starkville and Bloomington), and one (Bethel) in Tennessee-Alabama Presbytery.³⁷ Bethel's pastor, Rev. H. M. Henry, was Synod's strongest booster of parsonages. In his view, such a fringe benefit was practically a necessity. "Most of our devoted laborers spring from the poor ranks of the church," he wrote in the church paper. He continued, "As school teachers, they make some money, but spend it at the theological seminary."³⁸

It was on the initiative of Rev. Henry's presbytery that Synod created a parsonage fund in 1890. This fund was administered by the Board of Church Extension, and sup-

ported by contributions. Unfortunately, there were too many competing causes in the Synod, and in a few years the venture was abandoned.³⁹ The willingness of the ARP ministers to sacrifice for the benefit of their members and families became well known. One example is that John R. McCormick, a Virginia native who was educated at Huntersville High School, Erskine College and Theological Seminary. He served ARP churches in Virginia and Texas for sixteen years, and when the Texas Presbytery moved to the UP church he moved to that body and later to Illinois. The father of nine children, he moved to New Wilmington, Pa. to provide them with the educational advantages there. When he could find only occasional supply work there, he worked in the coal fields. In 1928, he died when he fell and was crushed under the wheels of a coal wagon.⁴⁰

Another example was the experience of D. T. Lauderdale of Virginia which came in the depth of the Great Depression. In 1931, Rev. Lauderdale submitted the winning entry in a Robert Ripley "Believe It or Not" radio contest with a cash prize of \$2,000. While a student at Erskine years earlier, he had suffered a loss of his eyesight, later miraculously restored. While on a visit to Chicago, he dropped by a haven for the blind and learned about a man who despite the loss of hands and eyesight had taught himself to read the Bible with his tongue. It was this story which won the Ripley prize, and Lauderdale gave half the money to the blind man and the other half to his Lexington church to pay off its building debt.⁴¹

Ministerial Relief Fund

Not until the turn of the century did the church begin to take some action to provide for ministers who were aged or disabled. The church paper pointed up the need for a ministerial relief fund in 1899 with a plea, "Meagre salaries, with no opportunity for laying up any of the world's goods, going where the church bids them to go, and doing what the church bids them to do, and yet, when enfeebled in health, or too old to do effective work, they find themselves unable to make a living preaching the

Gospel, the church makes no provision whatever for them and takes no care for temporal welfare."⁴²

The following year, Professor R. E. Robinson of the Salem (Tenn.) church led a movement for the creation of a relief fund for older ministers.⁴³ Synod responded by setting up a committee which drafted a plan adopted by the 1901 Synod which created a fund which would be based on contributions from congregations and \$1 per year from the ministers.⁴⁴

During the next decade contributions to the fund averaged two or three hundred dollars a year, and payments were made only in cases of dire need. In 1915, the Ministerial Relief Fund was placed under the budgeted funds of Synod, but the total continued to be quite small. In 1923, a new plan for ministerial insurance was approved by Synod. Under this plan, the old basis of benevolence was replaced by a provision for policies of \$2,000 for ministers who were 65 years old on the condition that each one so insured pay the premium on an additional \$1,000 insurance policy. For ministers over the age of 65, Synod would provide the equivalent annual payment which would be derived from a \$3,000 policy.⁴⁵

The greatest earthly reward the ministers received was the love which their congregations bestowed. For example, S. A. Agnew rode 20 miles on horseback for 40 years to serve the congregation of Hopewell in northern Mississippi. On the occasion of his final sermon to that church in 1899, the congregation crowded around him, "men and women bidding me goodbye," he wrote. "There were tears shed by many. I love that people and I believe they love me."⁴⁶ When the Neely's Creek congregation acclaimed its pastor, Rev. Oliver Johnson, "the best preacher in Synod," in 1898, he noted that he personally knew about eighteen congregations who claimed that honor for their pastor.⁴⁷

Chapter VII

A MISSIONARY CHURCH

The Southern ARP's were slow to enter the field of foreign missions for a number of reasons. First of all they were few in number and scattered over such a vast area as to find it very difficult to tend their own home fields. The leaders often called their body "a missionary church," but their reference was not to foreign missions, but to the zeal which led the fathers to send out missionaries to the Indian frontier while the mother churches were yet struggling to support themselves. They also meant that in the ante-bellum years their church had demonstrated its missionary spirit by making a serious effort to maintain a foreign mission in Liberia even though the venture failed.¹ The coming of the Civil War and the disorganized condition of the Synod of the South in the decade after the war delayed still further a foreign mission program.

The Southern ARP's Pioneer
Foreign Missionary

The Synod of the South was 72 years old when it sent out its first foreign missionary, and only one of its ministers at the time of this historic event had been born when the Synod was organized. Ironically this most conservative of church bodies sent as its first representative to a foreign land a thirty-two year old woman. This young woman, Miss Mary Galloway, it is true, was already tested as a teacher in the frontier schools of Texas and even earlier she had taught newly emancipated blacks in the first school for freedmen in her hometown. Synod's Foreign Mission Board which was composed mostly of men who had known her all of her life, deemed her possessed of "eminent qualifications," and the UP Foreign Board not only was willing to accept her, its members had recommended her to her own church. Her "Texas Letters" which she had contributed to the *A. R. Presbyterian* indicated not only her zeal and capacity for such work, but

also her ability to arouse popular support for that work.

The enthusiasm raised by the preparation for Miss Galloway's departure in 1875 was such that Rev. S. W. Haddon later wrote "Perhaps no event in our past denominational history had awakened and called forth so much feeling, or more unanimous and hearty response" than this event.² Synod in 1873 had endorsed the call from the UP church to join with it by sending a worker to its Egyptian mission. The necessary funds had already been raised when Miss Galloway traveled north in January, 1875 along with Rev. J. I. Bonner, secretary of the Foreign Mission Board. Bonner delivered her to the care of the UP board in February, and that same month she sailed for Egypt in the company of two new male missionaries who were UP ministers.³

After a short language study near Alexandria, she began her task of teaching in UP mission schools in the area. In the summer of 1876, she was married to Rev. John Giffen, one of the missionaries who had accompanied her on the voyage to Egypt. About a year later the Giffens were transferred to Asyoot, about four hundred miles up the Nile. There under conditions very unfavorable to her health for the next four years she taught school and raised the three children which were born to the Giffens. She regularly reported her work to the Foreign Mission Board and to Synod and contributed letters to the *A. R. Presbyterian*. In October, 1881 illness took her life and she was buried in Egypt.⁴

The Founding of the Mexican Mission

The dramatic example of Mrs. Giffen's work inspired such popular support that in the remarkably short time of three years after her departure for Egypt the church was ready to launch an additional and independent foreign mission. At the 1878 Synod meeting at New Lebanon, West Va., Dr. J. I. Bonner, speaking for the Foreign Mission Board, proposed resolutions which were adopted in setting up an independent mission in Mexico with Rev. Neill Pressly as the missionary.⁵

Neill Pressly was only twenty-eight years old, the son of

Rev. John E. Pressly of Coddle Creek (N.C.), and himself a newly licensed minister. At the farewell meeting at Due West of Mary Galloway, he had dedicated his life to the mission field. In the latter part of 1878, he canvassed the First Presbytery, both to secure contributions and "to stir up a missionary spirit." In December with his wife Rachel and two children he began the journey which brought him to Mexico City on January 16, 1879. After a year there in the study of the language and customs of Mexico, he and the Foreign Mission Board decided to take up the offer of a new and undeveloped mission field at Tampico on the coast.⁶ The field was offered to the ARP mission by the Northern Presbyterians.

Tampico was one of the two most important Gulf ports of Mexico, the site of a sizeable foreign population, and an important trade center for central and southern Mexico. On January 1, 1880, Rev. Pressly opened the work with a meeting of eight, five of which were children and six of which were Americans.⁷ Pedro Trujillo, a native worker formerly in the Presbyterian mission at Mexico City, joined Pressly in Tampico as a licentiate.⁸

The work was difficult, especially so at the beginning. An old warehouse served as the chapel, and for more than a year the opposition of the fanatical Catholic population prevented any natives from coming to the services. Nearly eighteen months passed before the first convert was baptized, a poor blind lady named Jesus Gonzalez.⁹

On July 1, 1881 a congregation was organized at Tampico which would be known as Christ's church with fifteen charter members, twelve of which were natives. In addition a day school was organized with over seventy pupils.¹⁰ The early years were attended with many problems in addition to the opposition of the Catholic leaders. The Presslys' oldest daughter died, Rev. Pressly suffered serious illnesses, and complaints in the home church about his membership in the Free Masons which led him to offer his resignation which the Foreign Mission Board did not accept.¹¹

After several years of preaching, selling Bibles, and giving out Protestant tracts, there were some signs of progress. Senor Trujillo was ordained as the first ARP native

minister, Pressly began the preparation of the first small Spanish language Psalter, and in 1883 two new stations were added to the mission. These were Chiconcillo, a hundred miles to the south, and Pueblo Viejo, which was only about three miles away from Christ's church. The most promising one was Chiconcillo, a poor community or ranch as it was called by the Mexicans where the Catholic church appeared to lack the control over public opinion that it had in most of the areas. At Pueblo Viejo, he faced such hostility that he had to seek the protection of the civil authorities.¹³

In 1884, the second native minister was ordained. He was Zenon Zaleta, a native of Chiconcillo who had gone to Tampico as a blacksmith apprentice. At Tampico he became one of the converts at the Christ's church mission, and it was largely his influence which opened the work at Chiconcillo where he became that congregation's first ruling elder. After theological study and ordination, he was placed in charge of a new station, Panuco, but this work was cut short by his death in 1888.¹³

By 1886, Rev. Pressly could report that although progress was "not as remarkable as some may desire," the tendency was "upward and forward." The mission and its outstations now had a total of 151 communicants.¹⁴ In fact, the growth of the Mexican mission led Synod to organize missionary societies throughout the churches among both women and young people. Revs. W. H. Millen in the West and Rev. J. T. Chalmers in the East were directed to supervise the formation of the societies. By 1887, there were 40 ladies' societies with over 1300 members and 22 young peoples' societies with over 600 members. During the fiscal year which ended with the 1887 Synod, the Ladies Missionary Societies paid to missions almost \$1,350 and the young people's societies over \$350.¹⁵ These societies provided over a third of the operating funds for the Mexican Mission.

The Hunters and Cuidad del Maiz

In 1887, the Foreign Mission Board secured a second missionary couple, Rev. J. S. A. Hunter and Mrs. (Emma

McDill) Hunter of New Edinburgh, Ark., to send to the Mexican field. Because of their ten years of experience on the home frontier, they were well prepared for the severe life in Mexico.¹⁶ Since Treasurer A. G. Brice assured the Synod that it was in its best financial shape in years, the appointment of the Hunters was unanimously approved, and the funds from the women's societies were designated for Mrs. Hunter's support.¹⁷

After the arrival of the Hunters, on June 29, 1888 the Tampico Presbytery was organized with Revs. Pressly and Hunter and four native ministers (Pedro Trujillo, Zenon Zaleta, Inez Hernandez and Nemesio Arabelo). Despite the problems of the widespread sickness that year, a lot was secured for the Tampico church, and the surplus in the funds of the Foreign Mission Board was authorized to begin its construction.¹⁸

The Hunters were settled inland at Ciudad del Maiz (City of Corn) in the state of San Luis Potosi. This second field proved quite unresponsive at first. For eleven months, Rev. Hunter preached to a congregation which consisted only of his wife and two little girls while fanatical opposition kept the natives away. When a few began to come, stones were thrown through the window of the house in which the services were held, and slanderous stories spread about the missionaries.

When the first converts were gathered, the most important was Guadalupe Cruz. Although quite without formal education, he had learned to read and was an avid reader. Curious about the Hunters' work, he secured a Bible from them and read it through. The reading convinced him that its message and their teachings were genuine, and he and his family were baptized and added to the mission. He immediately began to study for the ministry.¹⁹

Despite the slowness of the work at Ciudad del Maiz, the Hunters soon set up their first outstation at the Italian Colony about six miles away (so called because the community was made up of a cluster of Italian immigrant families.) The director of the colony was friendly to the Hunters, and the Italians proved less hostile than the natives. Guadalupe Cruz took charge of the work there and with the aid of missionary societies at Due West and Salem (Tipton Co.,

Tenn.) secured a chapel and a small following. His daughter, Disideria, taught a boys school at her father's chapel despite the efforts of enemies of the missionaries who hung a dead dog on the school's door.²⁰

When Prof. J. M. Todd visited Mexico in 1893, he brought Senor Cruz's eighteen year old son, Crescenciano, back to the United States where he attended Huntersville High School. During the summers he stayed with members of ARP congregations. Later he attended Erskine College and finished the seminary at Due West and was ordained there in 1898. After five years away from home, he was on his way back to Mexico in the summer of 1898 when he stopped over in Atlanta and decided to visit the Spanish prisoners in the barracks there. According to a sensational story in the *Atlanta Commercial*, he was arrested on suspicion of being a spy because of his fluency in Spanish. Actually he was given official permission to act as a translator by the authorities.²¹

Growth and Additional Missionaries

The new church at Tampico was completed in 1889 and dedicated Jan. 17, 1890. Known as Christ's church, it cost \$5,500 and was the ornament of the Mexican work. While the congregation there grew slowly, only numbering 60 in 1893, Tampico was undergoing a boom with the coming of the railroad and a great expansion of the harbor. Foreigners were drawn in by the work in great numbers, skilled American workers and unskilled laborers from the West Indies. Rev. Pressly preached to large numbers of these newcomers, although with little apparent results. There were always impediments, such as malaria and indifference, and one of his native workers, Senor Arabelo, reverted to Catholicism.²²

In 1890, Misses Mattie Boyce of Sardis Church (N.C.) and Macie Stevenson of Winnsboro, S.C., both recent graduates of Due West Female College, were secured as teachers for a new girls' school at Tampico. After some training on the ground, they opened the new seminary which was called The Juarez Institute in 1893. It was an immediate success and opened with thirty-three girls. It drew

students from the upper classes which had been least responsive to the mission, and it attracted much attention throughout the city.²³

Also, in 1893, the Foreign Mission Board secured Rev. and Mrs. John R. Edwards of the Arkansas Presbytery and Miss Lavinia Neel of Troy, S.C. who went out in November, and Miss Kate Neel (sister of Lavinia) who engaged in training preparatory to joining them as a medical missionary. Miss Lavinia Neel was, like Misses Boyce and Stevenson, a recent graduate of Due West Female College, only twenty-three years old, and she joined the Hunters at Ciudad del Maiz to teach in the day school there. Rev. Edwards and Mrs. (Amelia Brown) Edwards were newly married when they left for Mexico, he had served one year as a home missionary and studied a year at Princeton Seminary since his graduation at Erskine Seminary. The Edwards went to Rio Verde where they opened a new field.²⁴

During the next few years, both Ciudad del Maiz and Rio Verde engaged in building new church buildings which they called chapels. In both towns and in the surrounding countryside there was much distress because of a continuing drought, and the construction provided needed employment.²⁵ Bad times also hit the church at home during these years, and for a time in 1897 missionary salaries went unpaid for several months, although the shortage was made up by the end of the year.²⁶

The Pioneer Medical Missionary

In December, 1898 Dr. Kate Neel arrived at Ciudad del Maiz where her sister lived. The first ARP medical missionary, she was a pioneer also as a woman physician, and her services were so badly needed that she went to work immediately with the aid of an interpreter. As many as forty persons came to see her a day, and they came from miles around. In a short time she was riding horseback to visit those unable to come from distant ranches. In one year she had treated 1,400 patients and called on 900 homes. Always the sick were given not only medicine and aid, but also Bibles and missionary tracts which they car-

ried back to their homes. Sometimes she went out with Rev. Hunter and treated the sick who came to his services.²⁷

In June, 1900 she married Rev. J. G. Dale who had arrived five months earlier. Dale was the fourth male missionary under the ARP church, and a graduate of Erskine in the same year that Katherine Neel had graduated from the Due West Female College. He was a native of Alabama, a graduate of Allegheny Seminary, and he had been the developer of the mission work in Columbia, S.C. under the Home Mission Board. He was given the important task of setting up a boys' training school for Christian workers, or a type of theological seminary, at Rio Verde. The missionaries had long asked for such a school for the church in Mexico needed more native ministers. At last, there were funds for expansion. In 1900, the Mexican Mission received several gifts, the most important being a bequest of \$10,000 from Joseph Wylie.²⁸

Dr. Kate Neel Dale continued her work, although it was now considered voluntary since the Foreign Mission Board did not support wives of missionaries. It did fund some supplies for her medical work, but fees from all except the most poor financed the bulk of her work.²⁹ To aid the medical work, in 1906 the family of her husband, the Dale family of Oak Hill, Ala., in memory of William and Mary Dale, contributed \$1,500 which was used to erect a hospital at Rio Verde. The Dale Memorial Hospital was a comfortable two story building, and it made possible an expansion of the medical work. Daily prayer meetings and the personal efforts of the staff gave an evangelical emphasis to the work.³⁰

Her husband was responsible for setting up a monthly paper which promoted the Mexican Mission. With the gift of a printing press by a supporter in North Carolina, and without cost to the Synod or Foreign Mission Board, he put out a paper from 1908 to 1913. Called *Le Fe Christiana*, it included a Spanish department for the Mexicans and an English department for the home churches. At times the English section was issued under the title of "Our Mexican Mission" and was sent to all the churches in Synod. In 1910, he authored a full length study of the ARP efforts in

Mexico, *Mexico and Our Mission*, which he had printed and distributed by subscription.³¹

If the Dales were full partners in the missionary life, the same was also true in different ways for the Hunter and Edwards families. For example, Mrs. Hunter won acceptance among the apathetic women at Ciudad del Maiz by ordering seeds from the United States which she put in small packets which were inexpensive enough for the poor women. She did the same with sugar bought from a large grower in Mexico which she sold at a low price to neighboring families. Sometimes the purchasers took Bibles and missionary tracts as well. Mrs. Edwards was so moved by the plight of the numerous homeless children that she set up an orphanage for young girls at the parsonage at Rio Verde, and appealed very successfully for support from the young people and women's societies of the Synod. The work was blessed, and a native worker secured to aid in it. In 1901, E. B. Chester of Rives, Tenn. gave \$1,000 to finance a substantial building for the orphanage. He gave it in memory of his deceased wife who "dearly loved this work," and the institution became known as the Hattie May Chester Orphanage.³³

The mass of the Mexican people at the turn of the century suffered under dreadful poverty, illiteracy and superstition. The government of Porfirio Diaz which had been in power for a third of a century was favorable to foreign investors, the powerful Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the aristocratic land holding families, but seemed utterly unresponsive to problems of the masses of the people. They lived barely above the level of subsistence, and when droughts and epidemic disease struck they were helpless. The American missionaries who came out of comfortable middle class backgrounds found that the Mexicans of the upper classes were unwilling to listen to their message, and their hearts went out to the poor who were sometimes willing to listen. The lady missionaries at Ciudad del Maiz each Saturday afternoon would open the gate to the parsonage yard and admit sixty to seventy beggars, and after singing with them and reading and teaching from the scriptures, they would be given a cent each on their departure.³⁴

In 1901, W. L. Pressly, who had served for twenty years as the secretary of the Foreign Mission Board following the death of J. I. Bonner, paid an investigative trip to the mission field. It was a good time for taking stock, the mission was over two decades old, and the Christian church worldwide was entering a new century which some were optimistically calling "the Christian century." Despite the continued trials there was much to be thankful for in the Tampico Presbytery. There were now 16 churches and stations with over 300 communicants, ten ministers (six of which were natives) and four female missionaries.³⁵

Problems

For the next few years, progress seemed arrested. As Neill Pressly wrote the 1904 Synod:

A fact that has impressed me very forcibly in all our stations is the dearth of members after the first organization. God seems to have a certain number in every place. They are soon found. They manifest interest and receive the truth, they suffer reproach and many times lose their work on account of their religious belief, and in a measure are excluded from their recognized circles. They are indentified with the protestants, make a profession of their faith and are received into the membership of the church. If the ranch, village or town has no growth from families moving in, if there is any increase in numbers it is very slow."

Sometimes the movement was backward. The most disappointing story of the whole mission was that of Choncellio. This had been the first outstation from the Tampico center, and although the trip there had been a tortuous hundred miles, Pressly had written in 1886 that "of all our Mexican missions this seems to be the most prosperous. It takes with the people, there being more of a readiness to receive the word."³⁷ By the following year its membership made up 60% of all of Pressly's charges.³⁸ By 1889, it reported a membership of 137.³⁹

However, two years later, Pressly wrote that Choncellio,

"the flower of our work," was undergoing "discouragements and trials." The land there had been held by the community as a whole, but some who claimed the status of the most influential shareholders were having their portions surveyed and privately secured. Although encouraged in this process by the Mexican government as a step toward modernization, this often deprived the poorer families of the land which they had used, leaving them with little or none, and deeply embittered them. Some were forced to leave the community, church members were split by disputes and hard feelings. Four times in one year, Pressly visited them, and each time he stayed from two to four weeks trying to reconcile the brethren.⁴⁰

The land question only accented the depth of the poverty of these people. As Pressly put it later in that decade, "The people in that whole section are very poor, scantily clothed, and in debt. Hungry, poor, and desparate people think more of their physical ills than of their spiritual wants." By the end of the century the membership was down to fifty, the old were moving away, and the youth stood aloof from any church.⁴¹ Sometimes the smouldering land question erupted into violence as in 1902 when a church member was killed and a number of others injured.⁴² Mostly the people of Choncillio, like much of rural Mexico, sullenly awaited the coming of a revolution.

In a couple of areas there were heartening developments within limits. For example, Rev. Dale's school which was set up to train native ministers finally produced its first addition to the ranks in 1909 when Enoc Burton was ordained. But the lack of preparatory facilities had forced Rev. Dale to concentrate on elementary courses which could also benefit teachers and laymen. After more than two decades the missionaries had been able to add only four native ministers to the two who had been formally trained elsewhere.⁴³

Largely because of Tampico's growth as Mexico's leading port and a rail center, the work in the city grew. The Juarez Institute under the leadership of Miss Macie Stevenson consistently attracted over 100 girls, and the Catholics were led to set up an "opposition school" to com-

pete with it. Christ's church congregation grew steadily until its membership reached 103 in 1909. In addition to preaching to that congregation and supervising ten other stations, Pressly conducted bi-weekly services in English for the white and colored newcomers to the city. No effort was made to organize congregations among these mostly colored laborers from the West Indies; for as he explained in his report to Synod, "We have never met a member of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church among the masses that come and go, and not a half dozen that are acquainted with the Psalms of David in religious praise."⁴⁴

Losses and Replacements

The tropical Mexican climate and the rigors of the work were especially destructive to the health of the female missionaries. Miss Mattie Boyce was forced to leave the Tampico school in 1896; four years later that post was filled by Miss Fannie Wallace of the New Hope (Ky.) congregation, a recent graduate of the Due West Female College who had taught in Texas. After only two years, she died of yellow fever in Mexico in November, 1902.⁴⁵ A year later, Mrs Emma McDill Hunter died after fourteen years of service at Ciudad del Maiz. Soon Rev. Hunter remarried, and he brought his second wife, Mrs. Rosema Beamer Hunter, to take up the work at his station and to teach in the school there.⁴⁶ Miss Anna Strong of the Salem (Tenn.) congregation was sent to Mexico in 1904, and after a year of language training at Rio Verde, she took up work at the Tampico school. Three years later ill health forced her to return to the United States, although in 1910 she was able to return to the mission field where she was assigned as a teacher at the Ciudad del Maiz school.⁴⁷

Losses extended to the male missionaries as well. In 1908 it was Rev. J. R. Edwards' ill health that forced him and Mrs. Edwards to come home. In August, 1909, Rev. J. S. A. Hunter died after twenty-two years of service on the field.⁴⁸

To replace these losses, in 1909, Miss Jennie Gettys of the Neely's Creek Congregation, Rev. Henry E. Pressly (son of the pioneer Mexican missionary), Rev. and Mrs.

William J. Bonner of Oak Hill, Ala., and Miss Rachel McMaster of Winnsboro, S.C. were appointed to the Mexican Mission.⁴⁹ Except for Miss McMaster, who was in medical school, the new missionaries went to the field in 1909. She (now a M.D.) joined them in 1910.⁵⁰ After only ten months in Mexico, Mr. Bonner's health failed, and the Bonners had to retire from the field.⁵¹ Early in 1912, Rev. W. W. Boyce of Rock Hill was chosen to join the Mexican Mission.⁵²

The Revolution

Even before Rev. Boyce reached Mexico, the land and all foreign mission work was beginning to feel the effects of the greatest event in modern Mexican history. In 1910, Porfirio Diaz again stood for election as president, a post which he had held since 1876, and he was challenged by a young idealist and reformer, Francisco Madero. Although Diaz "won" the election through his control of the election machinery, popular unrest forced him to resign and seek exile in Europe, reportedly saying "Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States." Madero became president, but his program did not extend beyond political democracy into more basic economic reforms, and the country was faced with disorganization and widespread peasant uprisings. Tampico and the ARP field which extended 150 miles from it was removed from the events of 1911, but "the revolutionists" threatened the region around Rio Verde, and Rev. J. G. Dale wrote in the spring of 1911 that the popular excitement was such that "the people can think very little of spiritual things and in such times there is begotten a spirit of recklessness that is inimical to that which is spiritual."⁵³

In 1912 for a time Tampico was so quiet that Neill Pressly predicted that the people would not join the rebels because they were "of the bandit order."⁵⁴ For a short time in March, some of the rebels seized Rio Verde, and Mrs. Rosema Hunter decided to leave for her home in Pennsylvania. Lawlessness was so prevalent in the countryside that the spring meeting of the Tampico Presbytery had to be cancelled.⁵⁵

As it became more and more clear that the rebels did have much popular support, the missionaries were forced to try to explain the revolution's causes. Miss Anna Strong took a sympathetic view. She noted that the father of three of her pupils at Ciudad del Maiz was manager of a ranch where the workers were paid the equivalent of 9 cents U.S. money per day. "Do you think it strange that they rebelled against such base injustice?" she wrote the *A. R. Presbyterian*. "The land was originally theirs but the rich managed to get it from them."⁵⁶ A more traditional missionary view was expressed by Neill Pressly who believed that the Catholic church was chiefly responsible for their (the peasants) problems.⁵⁷

By the summer of 1913, Pressly reported that the ferment had reached Tampico which now seemed a veritable "storm center." Nearby rebels robbed a train on which Dr. Rachel McMaster was a passenger.⁵⁸ By July, Rev. Henry Pressly wrote that one of the Tampico stations had been taken over and almost burned to the ground.⁵⁹

One of the rebel leaders in the area was Pepe Rodriguez Cabo, at one time a student at Huntersville High School (N.C.) and a product of the mission. He sent word to his former teacher, Miss Macie Stevenson, that he believed that "the Lord was on his side" and a pledge that he "would overthrow the government or die in the attempt."⁶⁰

In the months which followed, all of the personnel of the mission were forced to leave Mexico except Neill Pressly, who was an American vice-consul and had powerful friends in Tampico who might protect him. He also had a strong measure of courage for in the spring of 1914, the city was under siege and endured a four and a half day battle. He continued to carry on uninterrupted services at his church until early January, 1917 when he suffered a stroke which forced him to return to the United States.⁶⁰

Aftermath of the Revolution and the Low Point of the Mission

It would be difficult to overestimate the loss of Rev. Neill Pressly to the Mexican Mission. For nearly four decades, through times of growth and barren times, he had been the anchor of the missionary force. His loss was even

more tragic in that it came at a trying time for the mission.

Rev. J. G. Dale was quickly appointed to replace Pressly in Tampico, and in March, 1917 he returned to Mexico after a three year absence to find the field in complete disarray. Outside of Tampico all of the native ministers had been forced to flee their stations as violence threatened. At Rio Verde, his old post, he found that the chapel was not damaged, but the printing press had been taken over and the hospital was in ruins. His boys' school and theological seminary was in the saddest shape with holes knocked out in the walls where horses had been stabled. As for pupils, he wrote, "Where are they? Some in the ranks of the revolutionary army, some killed, some at work, some scattered over the land, we know not where. We can locate a half dozen of the sixty."⁶²

Dale did see one hopeful outcome. He believed that the Revolution had thoroughly discredited the Roman Catholic power in Mexico. In his assessment, some 96% of the evangelicals had supported the cause of revolution, and now he believed that many new opportunities lay before them.⁶³ In July, he returned to the United States to make a complete report to the Foreign Mission Board.

Two problems stood in the way of seizing those opportunities to restore and expand the mission. First, the post-revolutionary economy was hit with severe inflation which made it unlikely that the Synod could send a full force back to Mexico even if all other conditions could be met. And, ironically, the very strict anti-Catholic provisions of the new Mexican Constitution of 1917 which were applauded by Rev. Dale also applied to the evangelical churches. These provisions prohibited foreign born ministers, religious control over schools and instruction in them (private as well as public), and church ownership of property. Dale reported that "The facts are, that the President and the government authorities insist, when we talk the matter over with them, that the laws are not meant for us at all, but for the Roman Catholic church, and that we need not fear any hurt from them. They say that they couldn't make an exception of evangelical work in the letter of the laws, but in the enforcement that exception will be made."⁶⁴

In practice, the government did not prove friendly to the ARP mission. In Tampico, the absence of Rev. Pressly after thirty-eight years caused the congregation of Christ's church and its native pastor, Senor Trujillo, to introduce hymns and in other ways to stray from the ARP practices. In 1918, Misses Stevenson and Neel returned to take up the girls school, but no male missionary was able to do so even though Synod had asked Rev. Neill Pressly's son, Rev. Henry E. Pressly, to take charge of the Tampico work.⁶⁵ The result was that Rev. Pedro Trujillo, the loyal co-worker with the senior Pressly for nearly four decades, was given legal charge of the Christ's church building by the government, and he soon began to operate it as an independent church.⁶⁶

When J. G. Dale returned to Tampico in June, 1919, he found that Trujillo and "his leaders" were carrying on a campaign appealing to the anti-American feeling then current, and had "told the ignorant members that the Americans were trying to do with them just what the Americans had tried to do with the negro in the states—enslave them—and called on the people to assert their independence." Dale attempted to persuade them to use only Psalms and to submit to the authority of the Presbytery and the Foreign Mission Board. When this failed, he had the Tampico Presbytery convene, and the presbytery asked that all presbyters sign a pledge of allegiance to the body, but Rev. Trujillo and his elder refused. After this Dale sought the aid of Mexican officials such as the governor of the state, but everywhere he was heard with sympathy without action. Out of deference to the wishes of the other evangelical churches in Mexico who feared the outcome would not only go against the ARP's, but would lead to a more strict enforcement of the constitutional bans on all churches, Dale and the Foreign Mission Board did not take the case to the courts.⁶⁷

Only three members of the Tampico church remained loyal to the ARP's, and Dale had to begin again with meetings in the rooms of the girls school. There and in a Tampico suburb, Dona Cecilia, the membership in 1920 had risen to 20. Despite the deteriorating condition of the old school building, the Juarez Institute quickly began to

prosper again, and Dr. Katherine Dale carried out an effective medical work in the home.⁶⁸

Synod's Committee on Foreign Missions in 1920, which was made up entirely of ministers, considered the report of the Foreign Mission Board and came up with a majority report which noted the "deplorable and discouraging condition" of the Mexican work and "the flourishing condition" of the work of India, and proposed that the Board "be instructed to make the most advantageous sale possible of our property (in Mexico), and withdraw our leaders." Three members of the committee, Revs. H. M. Henry (the Moderator), R. A. Lummus, and W. W. Boyce, Jr. (who had spent two years on the field), presented a minority report which proposed that this question be left to the judgment of the Board, and Synod adopted the minority position.⁶⁹

The Board faced a difficult decision. Due to defections, there were only five native ministers and no school to train others. To make matters worse, the revolutionary constitution made growth or even sustenance dependent upon native workers. Rev Dale vigorously advocated that the ARP's enter a co-operative plan with other evangelical churches to support joint efforts such as a theological school. In early 1919, he contributed a series of articles to the *A. R. Presbyterian* advocating entrance without reservations into cooperation.⁷⁰ Rev. F. Y. Pressly, chairman of the Board since the death of W. M. Grier in 1899, disagreed, and he was forced to spread his differences with Dale in the church paper in six articles answering Dale's arguments.⁷¹ Others entered the debate with Rev. J. S. Moffatt and Thos. H. McDill agreeing with Dale, and Elder E. C. Stuart and Rev. J. P. Erwin taking Pressly's position.⁷² The issue came before Synod in 1919 with a majority report backing the Pressly position that cooperation should not include theological training, because of the fear that such training of native workers would inevitably lead to the loss of an ARP identity for the mission. Synod adopted the report by a 2 to 1 margin.⁷³

In 1921, one of the native ministers had to be suspended, and in view of what Dale called "a crisis in our missionary history," he asked that Prof. G. G. Parkinson as secretary of the Board be sent in company with "a prominent

business man of the church" to survey the mission on the field and recommend future action.⁷⁴

This did not prove possible for several years, and the Board pursued what Dale impatiently called "watchful waiting" as a policy with the hope that the government could be induced diplomatically to restore the Tampico church property. Both Dale and the Board feared that potential donors for badly needed buildings would be reluctant to provide funds for properties which might simply be taken from the ARP mission as the Tampico church had been. In 1923, Rev. and Mrs. Henry E. Pressly and Miss Janie Love were sent to Mexico, and in the following year, Rev. and Mrs. W. W. Boyce followed. Only two of the five, Miss Love and Mrs. Boyce, were new to the field.

Reorganization

With the strengthening of the missionary force, the field was reorganized into three distinct centers of operation: Rio Verde which included the old charge of Cuidad del Maiz which after a decade of inactivity was being revived and a new church at Cardenas all under Rev. Boyce, Tampico and its adjoining stations which were under Rev. Dale, and a new area of work in the region between the other two centers which would be worked by Rev. Henry E. Pressly at Valles.⁷⁵

In December, 1924, G. G. Parkinson and E. C. Stuart (along with Stuart's son William) finally were able to make the investigative trip to the field which Dale had sought earlier. They brought back a surprisingly cheerful report. As Stuart wrote in the church paper, he had gone with a skeptical view and "entertained very serious doubts as to the wisdom of our continuing to do what one brother termed 'wasting the church's money in Mexico.'" But the visit changed his mind completely, and he was "amazed at the wonderful foundations that have been laid and the marvelous extent and results of our efforts there."⁷⁶ He called on the Synod to fund new buildings such as the Juarez Institute and the Tampico Church. He himself was very generous with gifts such as those which he gave to

build new chapels at Valles and Guerro.⁷⁷ His enthusiasm for the work led to a second trip to Mexico in the spring of 1926. This time he went with Rev. Dale to Mexico City along with a Mexican lawyer to try to get the ban on preaching outside churches and by non-Mexicans lifted, but the mission was of no avail.⁷⁸

Even with the handicap of having to worship in the old school building, the Tampico church grew steadily and totaled 222 members in 1926.⁷⁹ In November, 1925 Miss Rachel McElroy was sent to Mexico as a teacher, and Rev. W. C. Halliday and Mrs. Halliday were sent to Rio Verde in February, 1926 where he became a teacher in the boys' school.⁸⁰ In 1925, the Bible Songs were issued in a Spanish edition under the title *Cantos Biblicos*.⁸¹ As the fiftieth anniversary of the Mexican mission approached in the late 1920's, worsening economy in the home churches kept Synod's support of foreign missions at an uncertain level.⁸² G. G. Parkinson feared that one of the three missionaries (Dale, Pressly, or Halliday) might have to be recalled. Yet the mission reported more communicants than ever before. In 1929, Dale's six churches in the Tampico field had 987 members and four native ministers, Pressly's field at Rio Verde had 295 members in 5 churches with three native ministers.⁸³

In March, 1930 the Tampico Presbytery celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the ARP mission in Mexico with six days of services. Synodical visitors present included Rev. R. M. Stevenson, representing the Foreign Mission Board, Rev. T. H. McDill, representing Synod, Rev. J. M. Bigham, Supt. of the YPCU work and Rev. B. G. Pressly, son of the founder of the Mexican mission. The meeting was held in a mountain retreat and featured bible study as well as commemoration.⁸⁴

The following year, the Mexican mission began its second half century with three forward steps. At their own request, the Dales were permitted to join the work among the Huasteca Indians in the mountains of San Luis Potosi. Three years earlier, the ARP's had entered this type of work when one of the converts at Tampico, Martin Mendoza, was ordained to work among his fellow Indians. Rev. Mendoza was a bold, striking looking man who had been a chief among his own tribe before he left the moun-

tains for Tampico. Rev. Dale accompanied him on his return home, a journey of 150 miles by horseback to the far edge of the ARP territory. Dale was quite impressed with the challenge of the work, the great need of the Indians and the problems of work among them. Mendoza in the next few years had occasion to show his courage, twice in 1929 a mob broke into the house where he held services and tore up its benches and organ, threatened his life with guns, and pressured the owner of the house to refuse its use. Mendoza continued to ride his pony through mountain passes where he might be ambushed and gained the protection of the governor of the state of San Luis Potosi.⁶⁵

The Dales' decision to join in this work with the good will of Synod, but without its promised backing was the result of several factors. He had chafed for a decade with the prohibition on his preaching, and Synod had made Rev. Henry Pressly the evangelist over the whole field because Pressly, as a native of Mexico, was allowed to preach. Among the Indians, his verbal skills could be employed in translating the gospel into their language. In Tampico, he had frequently complained that he actually found the liberal spirit displayed by the urbanized, more educated city people less receptive to the gospel than the fanatical Catholics he had encountered before the Revolution inland. Fanatics were rarely converted, but once converted they made aggressive converts. Liberals were more tolerant and willing to listen, but they were not really interested in religion. He thought the more simple-minded Indians better prospects. Finally, Mrs. Dale found that Tampico doctors saw her as competition, and they used political influence to halt her practice. And, after all, as the Dales said, there were many doctors in Tampico, there were only herb doctors among the Indians.⁶⁶

The other two forward steps of 1931 were the granting of self-government to Tampico Presbytery and the movement toward self-support. Native workers were now placed under their own presbytery and no longer considered employees of the Foreign Mission Board. They were now considered the equal of the American missionaries. Also, from henceforth congregations that paid as much as one half of the support of their ministers were given the right to call their own pastors. Rev. Dale wrote the church paper that the Tampico Presbytery accepted its new status as "a great step forward." In his own opinion it was "the most significant step in the history of the Mex-

ican mission."⁸⁷ It was an ARP counterpart of the American policy begun in the same year of what a couple of years later would be called "The Good Neighbor Policy." Both were at the beginning more of a promise than a reality.

The Decision to Open a Second Mission Field

In late October, 1905, the Foreign Mission Board meeting in Due West received a brief note from Miss Minnie Alexander of the faculty of the Due West Female College. It read in its entirety, "God has called me to India. I am anxious to go. Will you send me?" The Board's response was to decide to postpone consideration of her proposal until the meeting of Synod which was scheduled for Due West the second week in November.⁸⁸

The prospect of opening a new mission field had been before the church for some time. When, three decades earlier, the church had sent out its first foreign missionary, its total membership was only 5,700 and its expenditures for all causes reached only \$34,000. Yet only a few years later, it had the boldness to open a second field in Mexico. From the death of Mrs. Giffen in 1881, there were intermittent calls for a new field.

In the 1890's when the church experienced a surge of growth, there were more specific proposals for a new mission field. In May, 1891 a "Minister" proposed a joint stock company to sponsor work in India. His plan, endorsed by the *A. R. Presbyterian*, was for 200 persons (50 ministers and 150 laymen) to purchase \$15 shares in the enterprise. The paper agreed that "Our Synod ought to have a hold on heathen soil. India, China or Japan, any of these lands offers an inviting field. Suppose we say, India. Brethren it is a good time to open the books."⁸⁹ Two weeks later it began to run a box report on those offering to purchase shares with two shares taken by Kentucky laymen and three by Rev. H. B. Blakely. After running the feature three months, only a sixth share was taken, by Rev. T. G. Boyce, and the idea had to be abandoned.⁹⁰

In the spring of 1893, publisher R. S. Galloway sent out 275 circulars to ministers and prominent laymen asking the question, "Shall we establish another mission?" Nearly all who responded thought the Mexican mission needed all the resources available, but a small minority of young

ministers, including Revs. C. E. Todd, J. M. Garrison, R. M. Stevenson, T. W. Sloan and Oliver Johnson, argued strongly for a new venture.⁹¹

In 1898, the war with Spain left American involvement in Puerto Rico and Cuba, and the chance to work under the American flag appealed to some. Rev. J. S. Moffatt's resolution to approach the UP church about a cooperative work in one of these islands was endorsed by the 1898 Synod. Unfortunately, the UP Foreign Mission Board replied that its hands were already full, and the proposal failed.⁹²

Some elements of the church, however, cherished the dream of entering a more "distinctively heathen" field than Catholic Mexico. Hugh Wilson, editor of the *Abbeville Press & Banner* and a sometime ARP, expressed this feeling in its most extreme form in a pamphlet attacking the Mexican mission. His contention that Mexico was already a Christian nation was vigorously denied by the church leaders. Small amounts of money were donated for work in a non-Mexican field before 1905, and in that year "a considerable sum" was offered for a new work.⁹³

With both the offers of new support and Miss Alexander's call, the 1905 Synod instructed the Foreign Mission Board to receive funds offered for the new field, and when such monies became sufficient, to plan to send out a missionary (or missionaries) to India on a cooperative plan with the UP church, or independently as the Board decided was best.⁹⁴

Early in 1906, the Board conducted an informal canvass. As the *A. R. Presbyterian* noted, assurances were sought not just for current support, but also for permanent funding. In the paper's view, "A seeming call from God does not justify us in disregarding the dictates of common sense and prudence. Rather, will God's will be revealed to us through these." The canvass secured pledges of \$1,200 with \$950 to be available annually. Although this was not enough for an independent work, or even for a new station in the UP territory, it was decided to send Miss Alexander as a part of the UP force.⁹⁵

The new missionary was plagued even before her arrival in India with bouts of ill health, but by 1909 her work

seemed to be going well, and Synod raised its funding to \$1,200. At this time, Rev. A. J. Ranson, pastor of the Spartanburg church, offered himself and his wife for service in India, and the Foreign Board asked Synod to consider setting up an independent mission in the northern Punjab in a territory offered by the UP church.⁹⁶ Synod accepted the proposal on the grounds that such a move "would not greatly interfere, if indeed it would hinder at all, our work in Mexico."⁹⁷

Rev. Ranson went out in February, 1910, and while he was acquiring language proficiency, Miss Alexander continued to work in the UP mission. In 1910, Synod agreed that the new work in India would "be supported as is that in Mexico," that is, out of the general Foreign Missions funds.⁹⁸

Before the end of the year Rev. Ranson and Miss Alexander were located in the territory chosen for the ARP field in India. The site was Montgomery District which was about 100 miles inland from Lahore in northwestern India (later West Pakistan) in an area about 50 miles by 50 miles. Because of arid conditions, the population was sparse, but the British government was already in the process of constructing a network of irrigation canals which would open new lands for colonization in 1914. The area was considered one of the "ripest" for missionary work. In November, when Synod was in session at Charlotte, Rev. Ranson cabled the body a terse message, "Montgomery occupied today."⁹⁹

The UP mission gave the new venture two of its native workers, and by the end of the year the ARP mission there employed nine native workers. On Christmas Day, 1910 a congregation with 32 members was organized in the city of Montgomery. R. C. Banerji was chosen as its elder and B. A. Shariff as its pastor. Both had previously been in UP work, and like them, the members of the congregation were also a legacy of the UP mission. The city donated a lot for a church to be built later.¹⁰⁰

Under Miss Alexander, the Zenana or "woman's" work employed native Bible women who visited in homes, and although neither ARP missionary had medical training, a dispensary was set up in the Ranson home to provide sim-

ple medicines for the needy. Three schools were organized for both low and high caste boys and girls. And by the winter of 1910-1911 the missionaries conducted their first camp work which Ranson called "the real work of the missionary in India."¹⁰¹

During the next synodical year of 1911-12, the Indian mission was allocated almost \$8,500 which was over half as much as went to the long established Mexican work.¹⁰² More than half of this was due to special gifts to build a mission house in Montgomery, and the regular operating budget for the Indian mission was still about 1/4 that of the Mexican mission.¹⁰³ That year Miss Mary Lesslie of the Neely's Creek church (which already had a missionary in Mexico in Miss Jennie Gettys) was sent to India under the sponsorship of the Women's Missionary Union of First Presbytery, and Rev. Jay Ranson, member of the East Avenue Tabernacle church (Charlotte) and cousin of Rev. A. J. Ranson, sought unsuccessfully to secure support for his wife and himself to go.¹⁰⁴

The work was gradually expanded. Already baptized Christians from the UP mission field and others who were somewhat acquainted with the gospel were coming into Montgomery District because of the prospects of irrigated lands. A second congregation was organized at Village No. 40, where the mission also had its largest school, and another dispensary was opened at Pakpattan which was at the opposite side of the district from Montgomery.¹⁰⁵

Early in 1913, the mission was strengthened with the addition of Rev. Jay W. Ranson, graduate of Muskingum College and Allegheny Seminary, and his wife, a native of Ohio. His own church, Charlotte's Tabernacle church, provided the larger share of his support.¹⁰⁶ The new missionaries arrived in India in March. After language study, the new Ransons were given the work at Pakpattan, and in January, 1914 they were blessed with the birth of a daughter, Grace, the first ARP baby born in India.¹⁰⁷

In the winter camping season of 1913-14, the missionaries pitched camp seventeen times, visited 143 villages and baptized 143 persons.¹⁰⁸ In the next few years their camel caravans reached about two hundred villages each season.

In the summer, the harsh, hot, dry weather made it necessary for the wives and young children to spend several months in "the hills." The ARP's mostly went to Simla over 400 miles north in Kashmir. There they boarded at the homes of British officials. The male missionaries joined them for six weeks vacations which were staggered through the summer.¹⁰⁹ For an account of the lives and work of the missionaries see Minnie Alexander, *ARP's in India* (Charlotte, 1912).

In 1914, two important events shaped the work. The irrigation canal reached Montgomery, and the missionaries acted as agents for the Christians among the natives who received land allotments. The new settlers found the prices too high and frequently the water was available too irregularly to produce good crops. The canal also brought malaria, but the population grew rapidly. And the newly settled low caste Hindus and outcastes were willing to listen to the missionaries. The other development in 1914 was the coming of the First World War. The British government was forced to reduce its subsidies to medical and educational work which had benefitted the missionary efforts in those fields. And since Turkey was a German ally in the war, there was a constant fear that the Indian Muslims would be friendly toward their fellow believers. Happily, this did not happen.¹¹⁰

At home, S. W. Dandridge of Charlotte informed the Foreign Board in 1914 that an unnamed friend of the Indian mission offered \$2,500 for the erection of a hospital in Montgomery provided that a similar amount was subscribed by others. Mr. Dandridge undertook a canvass to raise the matching funds, and at his suggestion the proposed hospital was named the Nancy Fulwood Hospital in honor of Miss Minnie Alexander's mother, Mrs. Nancy Fulwood Alexander. He succeeded in raising \$1,900 for the cause, and the YPCU of South Carolina pledged the remaining funds.¹¹¹

The Synodical YPCU also provided the support for Miss Lucy Hamilton, a trained nurse from Virginia, who joined the mission in 1915. Also that year Dr. Margaret Whiteside was secured to go to work in the Montgomery hospital. The great service offered by the new hospital was enhanc-

ed by the addition of a lady physician since the customs of India prevented women from entering public hospitals or submitting to treatment by male physicians. The government and even the non-Christian population rejoiced in the promise of the Nancy Fulwood hospital.¹¹²

The education program of the Indian mission showed similar progress. Montgomery boasted boarding schools for both girls and boys (the latter was called the Knox House and was built in 1920). In 1915, a boys boarding school was set up at Pakpattan, and Miss Esther Strong was secured as a teacher for that school.¹¹³

The success of the India mission by 1915 contrasted with the problems in Mexico and for several years there would be calls in the Synod for the transfer of the Mexican staff and support to India where the opportunities were clearly outrunning the resources available. Even before the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution, the missionaries in India had a far more favorable situation. Both the British government and local authorities were friendly, there was less resistance from religious organizations, and there was a complementary element not found in Mexico in the nearby UP mission field.¹¹⁴ In noting the help of the UP missionaries in annual special services, the 1917 report to Synod appreciatively said, "How and when shall we get the UP's paid for their help to us?"¹¹⁵

The Nancy Fulwood hospital was completed in February, 1917. It was a cluster of buildings with separate wards for Muslims and Hindus.¹¹⁶ Dr. Janet Alexander, the sister of Miss Minnie Alexander and daughter of the person the hospital was named for, joined the mission in 1920, and Dr. Margaret Whiteside resigned her appointment and returned to the United States. (Earlier ill health had forced the return of Miss Hamilton in 1916 and of Miss Strong and Mrs. Jay Ranson in 1917). The same year Miss Mary Kennedy and Rev. and Mrs. Fred McGill were also added to the work. Miss Kennedy was a teacher, and Rev. McGill prepared to open a third mission station at Chichawatni.¹¹⁷

On the last day of 1918, the Montgomery Presbytery was organized with three members, Revs. A. J. Ranson, J. W. Ranson, and Elder R. C. Banerji. The latter was chosen

moderator, and a visiting Presbyterian elder was chosen as clerk protem. On the following day, the Ransonabad (one of the numbered villages which the British officials had named in honor of Rev. A. J. Ranson) congregation was organized, and shortly afterward another at Sikandar-pur.¹¹⁸

The mission now had four organized congregations and twelve unorganized centers of work with a total of between 6,000 and 7,000 Christians. The desert separated the work at Pakpattan from that near Montgomery. To facilitate the travel between the centers, Rev. Jay Ranson appealed to the imagination of the folks back home with his Ford Fund campaign which enabled the mission to secure three cars and a truck to replace the camels.¹¹⁹

In 1922, illness forced the McGills to go home, but Rev. and Mrs. B. L. Hamilton were able to join the mission. The Jennie Anderson Kennedy Home was built to house the lady missionaries. The Gandhi campaign for native non-cooperation which was aimed at getting the British to leave India was of some hinderance to the missionary cause since the missionaries were somewhat associated with the British in the minds of the natives. Yet there was steady growth. The new congregations at Sikandarpur and Ransonabad became self-supporting, and the latter became the largest Christian community in the district.¹²⁰

By the time of the addition of Rev. and Mrs. B. Dale White to the mission in early 1923, Synod's support for the India Mission reached \$21,368 while the support for the Mexican mission during the same year was \$16,900. Much of the expansion of the mission since 1919 had been the result of a greatly increased expectation of support based on the early success of the Forward Movement. Pledges for that Campaign for funds for such church programs as foreign missions had doubled its original goal in 1919, but by the mid-Twenties bad economic times throughout the Synod threatened the continuing expansion of ARP foreign missions. In 1924, the foreign missions budget had to be cut by Synod by about \$10,000, but supporters of foreign missions raised this deficit themselves by a special drive called the Self-Denial Campaign.¹²¹

Despite the stringent financial times, in 1925, the India

mission began a new venture when Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Moore of Virginia joined the work. Mr. Moore came as an agricultural expert (he held a graduate degree from Virginia Polytechnic Institute), and Mrs. Moore came as a teacher of home economics.¹²² Moore organized men and boy's clubs which promoted planting of trees along the canals, crop rotation, improved seeds and row cropping. He found that the farmers were unwilling to agree to formal rules and were suspicious that he was trying to take over their lands. Budget cuts in the mission work by the end of his term caused his assignment to the supervision of the Boys' School at Montgomery.¹²³ Perhaps the most valuable service the missionaries were able to perform for the Indian Christians had been to convince the British authorities that they had been given too little land (12½ acres) at too high a price per acre to pay taxes and water costs and still subsist.

Rev. A. J. Ranson was able to get the price reduced and the land allotment raised to a more reasonable level.¹²⁴

Rev. and Mrs. E. Gettys were welcomed to the field in 1924, but they and the Moores would be the last recruits for years. In 1925, the Foreign Missions Board reported to Synod that the work was growing faster than the funds available. It said that it had applications from more approved workers, but thought it "inexpedient" to send them out until the money for their support could be assured.¹²⁵

The budget cuts forced the India mission to reduce its native workers by half, as well as the students in the boarding schools such as the Knox Home, and when the Rev. Jay Ransons went home on furlough in 1929, they could not be returned¹²⁶ (the A. J. Ransons had returned to the United States in 1924 and left the missionary work).

Lack of money also forced the mission to push the India church into a more self-reliant status. In the fall of 1926, the India church reached a milestone when one of the pioneer elders of the church, R. C. Banerji, represented it at the Synod which met at Due West.¹²⁷ The same year, Rev. Gettys noted October 23 as "a red letter day in the history of the Montgomery Presbytery and the ARP church in India." On that day, members of presbytery

pledged enough money to support their home missionary, and a Home Mission Board was appointed to raise funds and supervise "the work of Indians by Indians and for Christ."¹²⁸

To pressure members into the habit of giving, the India church set a rule that a Christian who failed to contribute a minimum of one rupee for three consecutive harvests would no longer be recognized as a member unless other members could prove his inability to contribute.¹²⁹ The following year members were encouraged to give wheat at harvest time, and when sold, the grain brought more than the contributions of money had the previous year.¹³⁰

Even with these extraordinary efforts, the India mission was suffering from the lack of support from America at the end of its first two decades. In 1929, Prof. G. G. Parkinson described its status as "marking time." There were some blessings. Native unrest resulting from the Gandhi led movement for independence from British rule was more of a potential threat to the work of the American missionaries than a present detriment, and in 1931 the Foreign Mission Board could take heart in that with nine organized congregations on a self-support basis, the India church probably surpassed the home church in proportion to number.¹³¹

The spirit of self-sacrifice of the missionaries was inspiring to the whole church in its time of depression. The B. Dale Whites asked to be released temporarily from their obligations to the Foreign Board in order to take other work and save funds for the mission. The E. Gettys family was on furlough in the United States in 1931, and he took a teaching job in South Carolina to relieve the Board of his family's support.¹³²

The ARP India church and the missionaries met the emergency as best they could, but at a cost. The India mission was at a low point until better times would come.

Thus both ARP mission fields ended the first half century of the church's work in the foreign fields on the same note, austerity, with reduction in both missionaries and paid native workers, and with a new emphasis upon self-support and self-government. The Mexican mission was nearly twice as old as its Indian mates, but it had ex-

perienced such a collapse during the Revolution, that it had for practical purposes to be rebuilt after the Indian work was fully organized. Yet by 1932, the two fields were at about the same stage. Perhaps the church recalled Neill Pressly's observations in 1904.

Chapter VIII

A BUSY CHURCH

In a symposium on "Why I Am An Associate Reformed Presbyterian" at the YPCU convention at Due West in 1894, A. G. Brice described his church as "a small body with many large enterprises on foot."¹ While others would agree with that description, they would also have agreed with Rev. Ira Caldwell who expressed his view as field secretary of the Home Mission Board that what his church was trying to do until it had increased its base was "to stand a pyramid on its apex."²

As conservative as ARP's were, they never seemed able to set priorities and to defer their other plans until they increased their numbers and means. Good causes were always competing with one another, and systematic budgets were not even attempted until the second decade of the twentieth century. Synod made assessments only for home missions and foreign missions, and, although some congregations regularly subscribed in full, others rarely ever caught up with their payments.

As a result of the denomination's limited size and its incapacity to fulfill its pledges, a tradition grew up whereby supporters of new enterprises simply sought the blessing of the Synod (officially and unofficially) and by the efforts of their own boards sought to raise funds. Support was usually sought and often found from among the ranks of non-ARP's who sympathized with these ventures.

Erskine College

None of its enterprises claimed more of the church's attention than its college. ARP's sometimes spoke of it as their "first born," and as a result of this fact they would say that it was due all the rights and privileges of "primogeniture." Erskine provided two essential services for the church. In 1874, a committee of Synod reminded the church that "the chief design (of Erskine) was and is to educate young men for the ministry."³ A decade later President W. M. Grier asked for Synod's increased sup-

port for its college because "the work of the churches requires, for its highest efficiency, not only an educated ministry, but a well trained, intelligent membership."⁴

The ARP centennial year also marked the tenth anniversary of Rev. Grier's presidency, and he noted several significant developments. Through the efforts of a number of canvassers and the liberality of the ARP congregations and alumni, the permanent endowment had been raised to \$80,000 from only \$13,000 a decade earlier. Also, in 1882 two senior faculty members, J. N. Young and E. L. Patton, whose primary training had been in theology, were replaced by the college's first instructors who had post-graduate academic study. These new professors, John H. Miller of Alabama and J. I. McCain of Tennessee, had taken graduate work at John Hopkins, and in a few years McCain brought the first earned PhD (from Princeton) to the college faculty.⁵

The college was constantly involved in the spiritual nurture of its young men. Students were required to attend chapel exercises each morning, take Bible classes each Sabbath, and worship at the Due West ARP church unless their parents gave them permission to go to nearby churches. In 1883, Bible was introduced for the first time as an academic course.⁶

In the 1880's those churches outside the First and Second Presbyteries were little involved with Erskine, and several efforts were made to involve them. In 1885, the number of trustees was increased to 40, but the only apparent effect was that during the next two years trustee meetings drew only about one third of the members. As a result, in 1888, Synod reduced the number of trustees to fifteen and apportioned them among the presbyteries roughly according to size: 7 for First, 3 for Second, 2 for Memphis, 1 for Tennessee-Alabama, 1 for Virginia and Kentucky, and 1 for Arkansas and Texas.⁷

President Grier visited churches from Virginia to Texas canvassing for students and endowment funds. The results were sometimes unusual. For example, Grier reported in the church paper in 1886 on a trip to the churches of east Texas where he "took occasion, in a quiet way, to say that the hall of the YMCA of Erskine College needs furnishing.

We asked them for ten steers to do it with. We hope to get them."⁸ A month later, he reported a receipt of \$100 from Texas for the YMCA hall with a request from the donor that he remain anonymous and that Grier "just say this is one of the fruits of your visit to Texas."⁹

In 1889, the college celebrated its semi-centennial. Six speakers made commemorative addresses in Lindsay Hall which was decorated for the occasion with a huge banner which proclaimed "Hitherto Hath the Lord Helped Us, 1839-1889."¹⁰ During the alumni association meeting which was held in conjunction with this event, plans were made to replace Lindsay Hall with a more commodious commencement hall.¹¹

The Removal Controversy

When the campaign to raise funds for a new building met limited response, some of the aggressive leaders of First Presbytery decided that the college's future would be served by removal to a site more centrally located in Synod. First Presbytery contained more than 40% of the ARP membership, and its city churches were the fastest growing ones in Synod. The move was led by such ministers as J. T. Chalmers of Winnsboro, R. G. Miller of Sardis, W. W. Orr of Huntersville and such lay leaders as W. J. Roddey of Rock Hill and J. K. Henry of Chester. The proposal, in the opinion of the *A. R. Presbyterian*, was "one of the gravest, most serious questions that has come before our church since the organization of the institution."¹²

The Erskine Board of Trustees was sharply divided. When it brought the issue to the Synod of 1890, Rev. Orr successfully moved to have the Board secure bids from all parties interested in relocating the college and to report those bids to the next Synod without recommendation. After a reconsideration, however, Synod amended the proposal and left the decision to the Board.¹³

For the next six weeks, the contest was waged between the two factions in the church. W. M. Grier, the faculty, the Due West community, and most of the alumni strongly argued that the college remain in Due West. Sentiment

favoring the removal came almost entirely from First Presbytery. As the controversy threatened to divide the church, the *A. R. Presbyterian* warned the participants, as follows, "Larger denominations can survive division and dissension. They can suffer loss and live. To us, division is death."¹⁴

In November an important conference of interested church leaders and alumni met in Charlotte in the heart of First Presbytery. Supporters of removal dominated the meeting, and a Chalmers' resolution favoring the removal of the college to "a more central location" was approved by a vote of 21 to 5. A central committee of six was appointed to canvass the Presbytery for proposals.¹⁵ A short time later, Chalmers summarized the case for removal for the church paper of which he was a co-editor. He suggested that for success a college needed four things; "brains, boys, books and bricks," and he concluded that "Erskine college has the brains, she has a few books and some bricks, but if she is to keep pace with sister colleges, and especially with the other enterprises of the Synod she must have more boys."¹⁶

As the debate proceeded, however, it became apparent that the overwhelming majority of the churches and alumni favored keeping the college where it was. The decisive Board meeting which was held in December in Chester was almost anti-climatic. The meeting was held in an atmosphere of resolute Christian courtesy. Four propositions were presented to the Board: R. G. Miller for the Sardis church, W. J. Roddey for Rock Hill, J. K. Henry for Chester, and R. S. Galloway for Due West. W. M. Grier reported for the church paper that "these convictions were as honest on the one side as the other," those advocating removal "heartily believed it was for the best interests of the college and the good of the church." By a 4 to 1 majority, the Board deemed it "neither wise nor expedient" to move the college, and Rev. Chalmers moved that the decision be made unanimous. The body in a harmonious spirit turned to plans for a new building in Due West.¹⁷

Two years later the main college building was lost by a disastrous fire, and the drive for a new building, originally expected to replace Lindsay Hall, was now concluded with

the building of a new main building which included a large auditorium. With brick from the old Lindsay Hall and a loan from its own endowment funds, the college constructed its first dormitory in 1895. Many congregations responded to an appeal to furnish the rooms in the new dormitory which was known from its beginnings as College Home.¹⁸

Even before the dormitory was built, the church and loyal alumni had responded to appeals from President Grier and his son-in-law, Rev. J. S. Moffatt, to pay off the debt left from the new building. The *A. R. Presbyterian* proudly pointed out the example of the Due West congregation which alone subscribed 1/5 of the entire debt despite its lack of wealthy members, the fact that a large number of its members were widows, and that it annually carried the burden of hosting commencement, "the biggest thing in Synod."¹⁹

With the death of Rev. J. McClintock Todd, professor of Latin at Erskine from 1883 to 1893, the faculty had only one remaining minister, President Grier. As a result, the 1893 Synod chose as two new professors, Revs. D. G. Caldwell and F. Y. Pressly. The *A. R. Presbyterian* reported the Synod as determined to place more ministers on the faculty. At that time, ten of the fifteen Board members were ARP ministers.²⁰

The Coeducation Question

A second controversy about Erskine which disturbed the church erupted late in the 1890's over the question of coeducation. It was an issue which was agitating both denominational and state colleges at the time. It was provoked at Erskine by events both on and off the campus.

In 1894, a student at the privately operated Due West Female College was allowed to take classes at Erskine because of her desire to study Greek which was not offered at the Female College. The trustees of both colleges approved, but a schedule conflict made it necessary for her to take all of her classes at Erskine. In January, 1895, the Erskine Board decided to recommend that the college become a coeducational institution, and in the fall of that year a second coed was admitted.²¹

Supporters of the Due West Female College strongly objected, and its president, Rev. C. E. Todd, and the pastor of the local church, Rev. O. Y. Bonner, led a vigorous campaign against coeducation at Erskine. J. P. Kennedy, a former president of the Female College, stated the case for the opponents; he contended that the Female College had served the church well without any cost to it and warned that "of course the adoption of coeducation carries with it the extinction of the Female College."²² Rev. J. A. Lowry somewhat less seriously warned that if Erskine continued with coeducation, "look out for love scrapes, runaway matches, and matrimonial escapes which shall disturb the quiet and equilibrium of good old Due West, and in imagination, I see the professors under whip and spur trying to overtake the fleet-footed lovers, 'ere the knot is tied. The parson's house is reached, two hearts are united, and they smile at the tardy professor."²³

Under this pressure, the Erskine Board retreated somewhat. By a vote of 7 to 6 it took a compromise position that the college would admit young ladies, but "without any solicitation."²⁴ Synod itself approved the principle of coeducation for Erskine on a vote which saw the ministers in support by a margin of 36 to 26, the elders in opposition by a vote of 12 to 8.²⁵

The more aggressive advocates of coeducation were unwilling to accept the compromise. As W. W. Orr later related it, he and others who agreed with him decided that Erskine needed a dormitory for young ladies, and they approached Joseph Wylie, the church and college's leading benefactor at that time, for his support. In Orr's words, "after we had stated the case and shown him the need and the magnificent results it could accomplish, he thought a moment and said, 'I want to thank you gentlemen for having sufficient confidence in me to ask me for this amount (\$15,000). I will take a very great pleasure in giving it.'"²⁶

Wylie was not a delegate to the 1897 Synod, and he made his offer in a letter to that body. He made the offer he said because he thought that while the ARP church had made commendable provision for the education of its sons, it should make comparable provision for "our daughters." He also asked that the limitation on soliciting

young ladies be removed. Synod accepted his offer, later voted to reconsider its action, and then on the same day reaffirmed its acceptance.²⁷

The coeducation controversy raised the question of whether the college trustees or Synod itself should make policy decisions regarding the college. The 1897 Synod overruled the Erskine Board when it accepted W. W. Orr's request that he be relieved of his commitment as College Agent to take up work in Texas (See Chapter III, page 40 for an account of this action). Almost every year, Synod concerned itself with issues which might well have been left to college authorities or perhaps dealt with by the Trustees. For example, in 1896, it heard a petition from Erskine students asking that intercollegiate athletic contests be permitted. Synod approved a resolution by J. T. Chalmers that the college football and baseball teams be allowed the privilege of one trip each during the 1896-97 year "provided there is no serious interference with college work" and that the trips be confined to the state and the teams be accompanied by faculty members.²⁸

In 1899, W. M. Grier died, and Synod chose F. Y. Pressly as his successor. President Pressly sought to increase church support for Erskine by proposing a drive for a Twentieth Century Fund, a fund for \$100,000 dedicated to Christian education. As approved by the 1901 Synod, one half would be for Erskine, one fourth for educational work in Foreign Missions, and one fourth for the Due West Female College if that institution could be brought under the management of Synod.²⁹ Rev. C. E. Todd, an ex-president of the Female College, was appointed to direct the campaign and to act as the college agent. Unfortunately the illness and untimely death of Rev. Todd soon led to the demise of the campaign.

The Due West Female College

The proposal in 1901 that the Due West Female College come under the management of Synod was favorably received by many of its friends. The entire faculty of the college subscribed to the Twentieth Century Fund, and its

alumnae association presented a plan for the college to become a church institution. Since its founding in 1859, it had been owned by a joint stock company with the shareholders largely in the local area. Most of them were ARP ministers, and the school had always been operated by presidents who were ARP's, as were nearly all of its faculty, staff and students. It served the denomination unofficially for decades, educated missionaries and teachers for it, and by 1905 had supplied eighty five wives for its ministers.³⁰

The stock holders of the Female College with but few exceptions quickly donated their shares to Synod, and by 1905 a special committee had purchased the remaining shares with money from the Twentieth Century Fund.³¹ Synod directed the new president, Rev. James Boyce, to canvass the congregations for funds to renovate the college buildings.³²

President Boyce, with the support of the alumnae association, embarked on an ambitious effort to expand the college facilities. He secured a \$10,000 pledge from Andrew Carnegie for a new dormitory, and supporters of the college raised \$15,000 which was used to complete the building by 1907.³³

In 1909, Synod at the request of the alumnae association changed the name the college to that of the Woman's College of Due West.³⁴ The following year the college marked its semi-centennial with a sad note, the death of its young president, and a hopeful one with the launching of a drive to raise funds for a Memorial Hall with an auditorium.³⁵

E. C. Stuart, the college's leading patron, led the drive and a wide segment of the Synod contributed. As the college trustees reported to the 1913 Synod, "the college looks to the church to provide the means for this growth."³⁶ Memorial Hall was completed by January, 1914, and Rev. R. L. Robinson, who had succeeded Boyce as president, conducted an additional canvass among the churches for equipping the building.³⁷

Linwood College

The Due West college was not the only ARP venture in

educating young women. In 1900, First Presbytery agreed to sponsor a school which had been in operation as Jones Seminary since 1883 at All Healing Springs, N.C., a mineral springs at Crowder's Mountain midway between Gastonia and King's Mountain. The presbytery promised no funds, and it agreed to operate the school as a junior college which would supplement, not compete with the Due West Female College. It chose Rev. A. G. Kirkpatrick as principal of the school. Two thirds of its 70 plus boarding students were ARP young ladies.³⁸

Rev. A. T. Lindsay, pastor of the nearby Pisgah church, succeeded Kirkpatrick as the school's principal in 1903, and in the following year he bought the facilities and renamed the school as Linwood College. He operated the buildings in the summers as a resort, and Linwood was the site of the first summer Bible conferences for the ARP Synod. Although the college continued to draw no funds from the church, about half of its staff and most of its students continued to be ARP's, and the young ladies attended Lindsay's services at Pisgah. As president of the college, he reported in the *A. R. Presbyterian*, he conducted worship services on the campus in conformity with ARP "principles."³⁹

In 1913, Lindsay added a boys' department and sought to expand his school, but this effort soon had to be dropped, and he had finally to give up the school in 1919.⁴⁰

Erskine Theological Seminary

Even closer to the hearts of most ARP's than the Due West colleges was the theological seminary which had been located there since 1837 and had operated under separate management since the 1850's. Despite the fact that it operated under its own board of directors, it had no facilities of its own and shared most of its faculty with the college.

In 1882, the seminary was at a low ebb with but three students, one full time or "permanent" professor Rev. James Boyce, and little in the way of an endowment. Synod in that centennial year appointed a committee to suggest ways to strengthen this vital institutuion which

ARP's called "the school of the prophets."⁴²

The following year under the energetic leadership of J. T. Chalmers, Synod began a drive to raise a permanent endowment of \$30,000 for the school, and Rev. Robert Lathan was chosen as its second full time professor. Also, in 1884, its funds were greatly strengthened by a bequest from Rev. Robert MacMillan of San Francisco of \$13,000 as a fund to be used for "the education and maintenance of young men for the ministry."⁴³

To insure the future loyalty of the Seminary faculty, its directors in June, 1885 set up a committee (James Boyce and H. T. Sloan) to draw up a "formula" which would be signed by the professors testifying to their adherence to the doctrines of the ARP church.⁴⁴ This formula was approved by the 1885 Synod which also passed a resolution declaring the Erskine Seminary "free and open" to students of other denominations provided they conformed to its rules and regulations.⁴⁵

The formula not only dealt with allegiance to the church's traditional standards, but also stated "that we also agree not to indulge in mere speculations of science, not give countenance to any of the New Light theologues and heresies of the present day such as Agnosticism, Evolution, the Fragmentary Theory of the Bible or any other form of belief or speculation, which would not be conducive to sound doctrine and the power of godliness."⁴⁶

Public interest in the Seminary sometimes delved into matters other than theology. In 1886, the *Prosperity* (S.C.) *Press and Reporter* reported that it had learned that the ten Hebrew students at Erskine, including the six theological students at the Seminary, did not use tobacco. It then asked, "Can the four professors of the Seminary (this included the two part time teachers, W. M. Grier and W. L. Pressly) say as much about not using tobacco as the students"? The local editor of the *A. R. Presbyterian* wryly answered that in respect to the Hebrew professor, he could not "tell tales out of school," but that, as for the Seminary faculty as a whole, "two do, and two do not."⁴⁷ More seriously, the Synod of 1891 adopted a resolution by John H. Simpson that the presbyteries "advise and urge" their theological students not to use tobacco in any form.⁴⁸

Throughout these years and on into the twentieth century there were continuing complaints that ARP students were attending other theological seminaries. Synod declined to say that presbyteries should forbid its students from attending other seminaries of "like faith and order," but it frequently expressed its concern about the problem.⁴⁹ Principally, the concern was that students who went to seminary elsewhere would stay outside the denomination. For example, Professor G. G. Parkinson noted in 1902 that only one of the five young men of ARP background who had just finished Alleghany Seminary had returned to the ARP church. In his opinion, if the group had attended Erskine Seminary, the reverse would have been true.⁵⁰ Some years later in 1916, F. Y. Pressly, who had succeeded to the presidency of the seminary with the death of W. L. Pressly in 1906, counted about twenty of "our young men" who had taken their seminary training elsewhere, and he found that only three were laboring in the ARP field.⁵¹

The enrollment fluctuated sharply, from four in 1884 up to fifteen and ten graduates in 1898, back to four in 1904, but up to fifteen in the following year. Two funds proved essential to the support of the theological students. In 1924, G. G. Parkinson reported that during the last twenty-two years the MacMillan Fund which he directed had aided 113 young men not counting those still in college. Of these, eighty seven or 77% had entered the ministry, and all but six of these were still in the ARP Synod.⁵² A more restricted fund was that set up in the Memphis Presbytery by a bequest in 1891 by John Adams of the Salem congregation (Tipton Co., Tenn.). This fund of \$1,000 had been increased to \$1,200 when it was officially chartered and during the next two decades it aided thirteen candidates for the ministry, and eleven of these young men had entered the ministry by 1915.⁵³

Bryson College

The growth of the western presbyteries led to a strong drive by the time of the First World War to have a Synod sponsored college in the West. In 1917, the Synod which met at Fayetteville, Tennessee created a special commit-

tee to study the establishment of a co-educational junior college in the West.⁵⁴ This committee which was headed by Rev. J. R. Edwards, pastor of the Fayetteville church, found much favorable response, but faced a stumbling block when Synod was unable to meet in 1918 due to the influenza epidemic. Edwards instead appeared before the 1918 meetings of First and Second Presbyteries to report that his committee had an option with the deadline of mid-January, 1919 to purchase the property of the Morgan School at Fayetteville.⁵⁵

The 1919 Synod approved the purchase of the Morgan School property and authorized the funding of a new junior college at Fayetteville under the name of Bryson College (in honor of the pioneer ARP missionary in the West, Rev. Henry Bryson) as a part of a coordinated synod wide fund raising drive.⁵⁶ This drive was known as the Forward Movement, and its goal of \$250,000 was planned to be distributed to Erskine (\$25,000), Bryson (\$75,000) Woman's College of Due West (\$100,00) with the remainder to be divided between home and foreign missions.⁵⁷

Rev. H. B. Blakely was chosen as Bryson's first president, and the new institution began in 1920 with the enthusiastic support of the Fayetteville community and gifts from throughout the Synod. By 1922, the Bryson trustees reported to Synod that the new institution had made "encouraging" progress, it was graduating its first class, and ten of its young men planned to become ministers.⁵⁸

From its beginning, the prospects of Synod support for Bryson had been tied to the success of the Forward Movement. That drive began auspiciously. By the end of 1919, it nearly doubled its original goal of \$250,000, but the next few years saw a continuing depression hit the rural South, and by 1924 it was clear that the drive would net only slightly more than the original goal, and the money which came in was greatly depreciated in value.⁵⁹

The 1926 Synod received a report from Catawba Presbytery asking that Bryson be disposed of with the funds used to strengthen Erskine and Due West Woman's College which was suffering from the economic crunch and from lack of accreditation.⁶⁰

The Accreditation of Erskine

Since 1923, the friends of Erskine had been working toward the goal of accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges. Low enrollment and limited endowment funds were the chief barriers. In 1924, with the approval of Synod which had appointed a commission directed to coordinate its educational institutions, the Seminary was merged with little difficulty with the college. Its endowment strengthened that of the college.⁶¹

The disposition of the Woman's College was a more thorny question. Its supporters pushed for retention of the institution as a coordinate school merged with Erskine. The Southern Association resisted this plan. Not until the summer of 1928 was the issue resolved, and the result was the complete integration of the Woman's College into the older institution. Few distinctive reminders of the Woman's College survived other than its separate campus and the provision in a new administrative setup at Erskine which made ex-president R. L. Robinson the college's vice president and dean.⁶²

In 1929, Bryson was disbanded, and Erskine launched a vigorous endowment drive to raise \$350,000. A distinguished alumnus, Julian Miller who was the son of Rev. R. G. Miller and a Charlotte newspaper editor, headed the drive. Another alumnus, James Ross McCain, son of Professor J. I. McCain and president of Agnes Scott College, played a key role in persuading the Southern Association to accredit Erskine. He gave the chief credit to R. C. Grier, president of Erskine since 1921 and grandson of the college's second president. In support of the endowment drive, McCain wrote in the church paper that "As a devoted son of the ARP church, I have no hesitation in urging the development of Erskine as the greatest contribution the church can make in the coming of the kingdom."⁶³

Dunlap Orphanage

With the passing of Bryson, the churches in the West retained one of Synod's most important institutions, Dunlap

Orphanage in Tipton County, Tennessee. The William H. Dunlap Orphanage dated from the early years of the twentieth century.

The first ARP effort in that field was at Hickory Grove in York County, S.C. in the 1890's. There were simultaneous calls in the *A. R. Presbyterian* and the *Young Worker* in the 1894 for an ARP Orphan's Home. When a Due West donor offered a site for such an enterprise, Rev. J. P. Knox, pastor of the Hickory Grove church (York County, S.C.), good naturedly wrote the church paper, "We are not going to let Due West have the orphanage. Hickory Grove is the place for it. We have a good man who will take charge of it and two doctors (ARP's) who will give their practice and a heap more to it. We have nearly 1,000 ARP's in York County."⁶⁴

Two years later Knox's congregation sent a memorial to Synod proposing an orphanage, and despite Synod's refusal to sponsor its plan, the Hickory Grove orphanage was organized in 1897. The orphanage had its own board of trustees, and they secured Rev. John H. Simpson to take charge of it. It began with only a frame house, a garden and one milk cow. It survived through the voluntary efforts of Rev. Simpson and some helpers from the community, and twice before Rev. Knox left Hickory Grove for the Columbia church in 1899, Synod rejected pleas to take over the work.⁶⁵

Finally, in 1900, Synod agreed to appoint a new board of trustees and take over the orphanage if a more suitable location could be secured.⁶⁶ In 1902, Mrs. Elizabeth Spain of Tipton County, Tennessee offered a farm of about 100 acres, but there were no suitable buildings or funds to erect buildings. A year later, Mrs. Spain's niece, Mrs. R. W. McDaniel, deeded to Synod a 245 acre farm with valuable buildings to be set up in honor of her father as the William H. Dunlap orphanage. It was to be primarily for ARP children, but open for others. Synod gratefully accepted the gift (as well as Mrs. Spain's adjoining tract).⁶⁷

The Dunlap property contained a 14 room house, and in 1904 three children were taken there under the temporary management of Rev. and Mrs. J. P. Erwin.⁶⁸ Rev. Simpson was directed to take the Hickory Grove children to the

Dunlap site where in January, 1905 he became its first superintendent.⁶⁹ Simpson brought fifteen children from South Carolina. One year later, he resigned the post and re-entered home mission work.⁷⁰

The Dunlap board of trustees could not secure a replacement for Simpson until 1909 when Mr. and Mrs. Kerr Oates took over the work. Oates had been raised himself as an orphan, and he proved to be a successful administrator who also ran the farm effectively. He and his wife began with 9 children, but by 1916 they had 44 children who filled the house to overflowing. Before the Oates family left Dunlap in 1918, they had helped organize the Sharon, Tennessee congregation which served the orphanage.⁷

The Associate Reformed Presbyterian

No ARP venture more directly served all the activities of the church than the *Associate Reformed Presbyterian*. Like the Due West Female College, the paper was a part of the legacy of J. I. Bonner.

Bonner founded the paper in 1867 as a privately owned enterprise with the approval of Synod (before this he had published and edited the *Due West Telescope*, first called the *Erskine Miscellany*, from 1851 to 1862). The Bonner family continued to own and publish the *Associate Reformed Presbyterian* after J. I. Bonner's death in 1881 until 1889 when its publication was taken over by the A. R. Presbyterian Company which was organized by R. S. Galloway of Due West.

Bonner was succeeded in 1881 as editor by W. M. Grier who accepted the job with the following generous declaration, "Recognizing the fact that free discussion is the best aid to the discovery of truth and its only wise defense, honest dissent will always receive the respectful and candid consideration of those who love the truth more than they love any church name and who seek it rather than the glory of any denomination."⁷²

In 1884, John B. Bonner, the current publisher, began the back page local department which was continued as a regular feature after R. S. Galloway became the publisher

five years later. In 1882, Rev. J. M. Todd succeeded E. L. Patton as an associate editor, and served until his death; in 1885, J. T. Chalmers became co-editor and served until 1891. In 1892, T. G. Boyce was secured as an associate editor by the A. R. Presbyterian Company for three reasons; editor Grier needed help, Boyce was from the West (Tennessee), and he was well qualified.⁷³

On Grier's death in 1899, T. G. Boyce became the senior editor and O. Y. Bonner the paper's junior editor. In 1905 G. G. Parkinson, a Seminary professor, assumed the editorship and continued in the work until 1910 when he resigned due to the demands of his teaching assignment. T. G. Boyce and R. M. Stevenson succeeded Parkinson, and Stevenson was chosen by a Synod committee to become the paper's first full time editor in 1911. He served in this capacity until 1940.⁷⁴

All the ministers throughout Synod served as agents for the paper, and most at some time during their careers contributed articles or notes to its columns. During the extended discussions of such issues as the debates over union, the removal of Erskine, psalter revision, foreign mission policy decisions, and the organ question, the paper kept its pages open to all sides. Rarely did any churchman question its fairness.

Bonclarken

In July, 1903, the first ARP summer Bible conference was held at All Healing, N.C., at the Linwood College campus. The conference was first suggested by Charlotte's J. Knox Montgomery at an all day conference of First Presbytery as an opportunity for "as many as possible of the brethren of Synod may come together for the deeping of the spiritual life."⁷⁵ Some thirty five ministers attended from four presbyteries, and the meeting was such a success that another conference was held the following summer.⁷⁶ When a third conference could not be arranged, there was a lapse of a decade before the Linwood conferences resumed, but by 1919 the summer assembly drew 224 delegates.⁷⁷

When Rev. A. T. Lindsay was forced to close his college

in 1919, he offered Synod the property for use as an orphanage or school with the assembly grounds available for the summer conferences. First Presbytery endorsed the idea of church ownership, for, in the words of D. G. Phillips, Linwood would make a good "Seceder Montreat."⁷⁸ Yet by 1921, it was clear that Synod's committee on the matter was unable to reach a satisfactory settlement with Rev. Lindsay.⁷⁹

In August, 1921, this committee, which was led by E. C. Stuart and R. S. Galloway, found an alternative site for a denominational assembly grounds near Hendersonville, N.C. at an estate known as Heidelberg Gardens. A stock company was organized under the title of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Assembly Grounds, Incorporated with Stuart and Galloway as president and secretary, respectively, and with Rev. W. B. Lindsay and Eugene Morrison as vice president and treasurer. After a contest which was designed to secure popular support, the company named the site Bonclarken and began to develop the property as a summer resort. When Synod proved either unwilling or unable to assume the ownership of Bonclarken, the company continued through this period to maintain it for a variety of church uses.⁸⁰

Ira Caldwell's warning in 1913 that even ARP's could not stand a pyramid on its apex proved not completely true. Somehow the small denomination kept a variety of enterprises going even in difficult financial times. It was unable to enter all fields proposed. For example, in 1906, Miss Mary S. Gilfillian of the Sharon congregation (York County, S.C.) donated \$1,000 to First Presbytery as a nucleus for the establishment of "the Gilfillian Home for the Aged" in honor of her sister Elizabeth. Presbytery set up a committee which failed in its campaign to raise sufficient additional funds.⁸¹ Yet perhaps the most impressive evidence that ARP's took their commitment to Christian service quite seriously was found in the full range of the church's enterprises which it carried on during the years from 1882 to 1932.

Footnotes

Introduction

¹A fire at the manse at Back Creek (Mecklenburg Co., N.C.) in 1906 destroyed this library which was then in the hands of Rev. T. B. Stewart, his son-in-law. *Associate Reformed Presbyterian*, May 30, 1906 (hereafter cited as *ARP*).

²Minutes of First Presbytery, Sept. 5, 1881. Also, see Lathan's introduction to his *History*.

³The Synod resolution endorsed his work as "an accurate history of our church" and also asked all ministers to send him biographical sketches as well as histories of congregations to be put in a second volume of "his historical works." *Minutes of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South*, 1883, p. 22 (hereafter cited as *MS*).

⁴*ARP*, Oct. 16, 1884.

⁵*MS*, 1882, 1932, statistical reports.

Chapter I

¹T. M. Lowry in a memoir, *ARP*, Feb. 21, 1923.

²*MS*, 1875, pp. 42-43.

³For example, see the statistics of the Synod of 1900 which indicate that only Chester surpassed Winnsboro in contributions to Synod's Fund and only Chester and First Charlotte exceeded its per capita giving, p. 511.

⁴*The Centennial History of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Charleston, 1905), pp. 94-96.

⁵*ARP*, April 23, 1913.

⁶*MS*, 1882, 1902, 1906, 1926, statistical reports.

⁷*ARP*, July 11, 1900.

⁸*ARP*, May 12, 1887, Feb. 16, 1898.

⁹At the time of his removal, only two other *ARP* pastors had served the same people for over half a century, R. A. Ross and Horatio Thompson, and neither had remained hale and active to the end as had White. Later, H. M. Henry joined this distinguished list with the completion of 54 years of service to the church at Oak Hill.

¹⁰*ARP*, Jan 20, 1926.

¹¹*ARP*, Nov. 1, 1867.

¹²Rev. J. G. Miller was an exception in that he stayed two years, but his frequent sicknesses were such in his second year that he submitted claims for only a short part of the year to

Synod's Committee on Domestic Missions. *MS*, 1858, p. 185.

¹³*MS*, 1855, p. 46, 1856, p. 30, 1857, p. 13.

¹⁴*MS*, 1858, p. 38, 1859, p. 13.

¹⁵*MS*, 1858, pp. 52-53.

¹⁶*MS*, 1859, p. 8.

¹⁷*MS*, 1860, p. 28.

¹⁸*MS*, 1861, pp. 22-24.

¹⁹*MS*, 1868, p. 7, 1869, pp. 19-20.

²⁰*MS*, 1869, p. 24.

²¹*MS*, 1870, pp. 19, 33.

²²John S. Henry, "History of the ARP Church, Louisville, Kentucky," *ARP*, June 6, 1901; *Centennial History*, pp. 509-510, *MS*, 1855, p. 33, 1856, p. 25, 1859, p. 12.

²³*ARP*, Nov. 15, 1888.

²⁴*MS*, 1874, pp. 45-46.

²⁵*ARP*, May 7, 1874.

²⁶Minutes of First Presbytery, Sept. 3, 1882.

²⁷*ARP*, May 27, 1931.

²⁸*MS*, 1886, pp. 24-25.

²⁹*ARP*, Nov. 15, 1888.

³⁰*ARP*, July 25, 1889.

³¹*MS*, 1890, p. 168.

³²*Centennial History*, p. 441, *ARP*, June 22, 1892.

³³*MS*, 1899, pp. 259, 362-363.

³⁴*MS*, 1899, p. 277.

³⁵*ARP*, Dec. 19, 1906; *MS*, 1900, p. 429; *Sesquicentennial History* (Clinton, 1951) pp. 568-569.

³⁶*MS*, 1902, p. 725.

³⁷*ARP*, Dec. 5, 1906.

³⁸*Sesquicentennial History*, p.569.

³⁹Never strong physically, the only one of nine children to live past infancy, he had suffered serious illness intermittently for 8 to 10 years. *ARP*, March 13, 1902.

⁴⁰*Sesquicentennial History*, pp. 216-217.

⁴¹*ARP*, Feb. 10, 1909.

⁴²*ARP*, Nov. 18, 1908.

⁴³*MS*, 1909, p. 67.

⁴⁴*ARP*, Oct. 7, 1908; *MS*, 1909, p. 67, 1910, p. 64, 1911, p. 52.

⁴⁵*Sesquicentennial History*, p. 419. For statistics see appendixes of *Minutes of Synod*.

⁴⁶*ARP*, Feb. 10, July 28, 1887.

⁴⁷*ARP*, Dec. 15, 1887, March 8, 1888. The first to heed this call was Due West with the aid of the young men of the Erskine Seminary in the spring of 1888. They opened three mission schools, one of which, Groggy Springs, was organized into Bethlehem church which was admitted into Second Presbytery within a year. *ARP*, Oct. 25, 1888; *MS*, 1889, p. 112.

⁴⁸*ARP*, Jan. 10, 1889.

⁴⁹*ARP*, Aug. 20, 1891, June 22, 1892.

⁵⁰*Centennial History*, p. 586.

⁵¹The South Carolina churches apparently had either more wealthy or generous members since Statesville was the only North Carolina church in the top eight in the presbytery. Amity, which Rev. W. B. Pressly served in addition to Statesville, reported the lowest per capita giving in the presbytery, only 10 cents per year. *MS*, 1882, p. 49.

⁵²*MS*, 1899, p. 363.

⁵³*MS*, 1932, statistics.

⁵⁴*Centennial History*, p. 65.

⁵⁵*MS*, 1911, p. 148.

⁵⁶*MS*, 1895, pp. 769, 818.

⁵⁷*MS*, 1895, p. 769, 1896, p. 885.

⁵⁸*MS*, 1897, p. 29.

⁵⁹*MS*, 1900, p. 462.

⁶⁰*MS*, 1904, pp. 228, 298.

⁶¹*MS*, 1896, p. 885.

⁶²*MS*, 1932, statistics.

⁶³*MS*, 1890, p. 179.

⁶⁴*ARP*, Sept. 17, 1891.

⁶⁵*Centennial History*, p. 182; *MS*, 1891, p. 294.

⁶⁶*MS*, 1894, p. 636. When the Board asked Bonner to leave the Due West church to take charge of the Atlanta mission, his session objected strenuously on the grounds that disruption of his work there might "cause divisions in the congregation." Six months later to show the support of the Due West church for home missions, the session agreed to hire Rev. D. G. Caldwell of the Erskine faculty to fill in for Bonner for six months while he served the mission at Little Rock and Russellville, Ark. Minutes of Session, Due West Church, June 6, Dec. 12, 19, 1894.

⁶⁷MS, 1894, p. 633.

⁶⁸ARP, June 28, 1893.

⁶⁹MS, 1895, p. 768.

⁷⁰MS, 1900, pp. 462, 512.

⁷¹MS, 1906, p. 660.

⁷²MS, 1907, pp. 739-740.

⁷³MS, 1909, p. 142; 1908, p. 55.

⁷⁴MS, 1910, p. 63.

⁷⁵MS, 1916, p. 71.

⁷⁶MS, 1916 pp. 72-73.

⁷⁷MS, 1923, statistics.

⁷⁸*Sesquicentennial History*, pp. 336-337.

⁷⁹MS, 1932, statistics; *Sesquicentennial History*, pp. 337-338.

⁸⁰*Sesquicentennial History*, p. 560, MS, 1926, statistics.

⁸¹MS, 1932, statistics.

⁸²MS, 1914, p. 44.

⁸³Rev. Young was the son of Rev. J. N. Young of Due West, and he had a special zeal to work with textile workers. He developed a mission at Panola Mill in South Greenwood in 1916. MS, 1916, p. 160. See also ARP, March 21, 28, 1917.

⁸⁴*Sesquicentennial History*, p. 432.

⁸⁵ARP, May 9, 1917; MS, 1919, p. 62.

⁸⁶ARP, May 31, 1916; MS, 1916, p. 71.

⁸⁷MS, 1932, statistics; *Sesquicentennial History*, p. 434.

⁸⁸ARP, Jan. 15, 1896.

⁸⁹ARP, Jan. 17, 1884, March 19, 1885.

⁹⁰MS, 1882, p. 26, 1884, p. 32.

⁹¹ARP, Sept. 1, 1887.

⁹²ARP, Nov. 12, 1891.

⁹³ARP, Nov. 1, 1893.

⁹⁴MS, 1893, statistics.

⁹⁵ARP, Dec. 19, 1900.

⁹⁶ARP, July 6, 1910.

⁹⁷ARP, Feb. 2, 1927.

⁹⁸MS, 1932, statistics.

Chapter II

¹ARP, Dec. 20, 1893.

²ARP, March 27, 1884.

³ARP, May 9, 1894.

⁴MS, 1882, pp. 21-22.

⁵J. C. Galloway, "A Pioneer Missionary," *Christian Union Herald*, reprinted in ARP, Dec. 23, 1896.

⁶ARP, Oct. 21, 1896.

⁷ARP, Dec. 13, 1867.

⁸MS, 1869, p. 30.

⁹ARP, June 4, 1874.

¹⁰*Centennial History*, p. 561.

¹¹*Centennial History*, p. 275.

¹²*Centennial History*, p. 198.

¹³MS, 1877, pp. 49-50. Little's church was known as Lebanon, and, although it never exceeded a membership above a dozen, he labored there until 1884. ARP, Aug. 2, 1899.

¹⁴MS, 1877, p. 50.

¹⁵MS, 1879, pp. 56, 64.

¹⁶MS, 1882, p. 33.

¹⁷MS, 1882, pp. 19-20.

¹⁸MS, 1882, p. 22

¹⁹MS, 1885, pp. 33, 61. Another set of brothers, the five Ware brothers from Starkville, Mississippi, had been among the ARP immigrants who had settled in Lamar County, and two of them were elders in the first ARP congregation (known as Lamar) at Roxton in 1880. ARP, Jan. 1, 1886; Dodd Vernon, "The Associate Reformed Presbyterians in Lamar County, Texas, *East Texas Historical Journal* 6 (May, 1968), p. 34.

²⁰ARP, Sept. 11, 1884, Sept. 24, 1885.

²¹ARP, May 21, 1885.

²²ARP, May 21, 1885,

²³ARP, Oct. 7, 21, 28, Nov. 4, 11, 1886.

²⁴MS, 1888, pp. 37-38.

²⁵ARP, Oct. 3, 1889.

²⁶MS, 1890, p. 203.

²⁷ARP, Aug. 2, 1899. A unique aspect of the Texas work was that its ministers frequently reported in the church paper marriages of couples whom they married "in the buggy."

²⁸ARP, Aug. 16, 23, 1899.

²⁹ARP, Sept. 6, 1899. Pressly liked Texas and wanted to spend the rest of his life there. His past experiences seemed to have fitted him for frontier living. A Confederate veteran who

had served with Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry, at times in his career, he had engaged in cattle farming and sawmilling.

³⁰MS, 1894, p. 619.

³¹When asked why he had resigned, at first he gave an enigmatic response, saying, "When we were all children playing with our little wagons we did not 'kick' much against a little fellow jumping up and stealing a short ride, but when we caught one pulling back then we 'kicked.'" *ARP*, Jan. 22, 1896. Later, however, he explained that he quit because he, along with some of the church officers, had hopes that Chicota could get a full-time minister who could set up a presbyterial school as "the foundation of our Western work." *ARP*, Feb. 2, 1896.

³²MS, 1896, p. 871.

³³MS, p. 859. All members of Synod were not satisfied with the verdict. S. A. Agnew noted in his diary that "Some regard it as crooked, and one said if it was a stick and a snake would try to crawl on it, he would break his neck." *Agnew Diary*, Oct. 25, 1896. (Agnew Diary hereafter cited as Agnew)

³⁴*ARP*, Aug. 27, 1885.

³⁵MS, 1896, pp. 839-840.

³⁶Vernon, pp. 44-46. One example of such an experience was that of S. A. Agnew. He was assigned to the home of a Mrs. Wilkins (the Wilkins family had given the land for the Chicota church). To his great surprise he found there his old friend Jacob Painter who was Mrs. Wilkins' father. While a boy in Due West, Agnew had known Painter as a keeper of a boarding house for students and a store. In fact, when the town of Due West was first incorporated in 1846, its limits had been set as "one mile on either side of Jacob Painter's store." *Agnew*, Oct. 22, 1896.

³⁷Gill and Black had been the leaders of the colony of ARPs from Bethany, S.C. which had come to Lamar County in 1881 which was responsible for the organization of the Chicota church. See Vernon, pp. 36-38.

³⁸*ARP*, July 8, 1896.

³⁹MS, 1897, p. 51.

⁴⁰MS, 1897, pp. 20-21, 29, 33-35. Orr summed up the reasons for his decisions in a letter to Rev. E. B. Anderson, as follows, "While it is a source of regret—deep regret to part with the brethren of the First Presbytery, yet I feel that more men are needed in the West and I cheerfully make the sacrifice for Christ's sake. I shall go to my work full of hope and with the determination to do all in my power to build up the cause of Christ through the ARP church in the city of Corsicana." Dec. 22, 1897, Anderson Papers, McCain Library, Erkin College.

⁴¹MS, 1898, p. 147.

⁴²MS, 1898, pp. 169, 142-143.

⁴³MS, 1898, p. 145.

⁴⁴MS, 1898, pp. 142-143. In spite of Orr's expressed wish to stay at Corsicana, he admitted to a former First Presbytery friend that he felt lonely "away out here on the frontier." Orr to E. B. Anderson, March 23, 1898. Anderson Papers.

⁴⁵MS, 1899, p. 316.

⁴⁶MS, 1900, pp. 443, 446-447, 514.

⁴⁷MS, 1904, p. 229, 1906, p. 554.

⁴⁸ARP, Jan. 23, 1907.

⁴⁹MS, 1907, p. 738.

⁵⁰MS, 1902, p. 723; ARP, June 14, 1904.

⁵¹MS, 1905, p. 388.

⁵²ARP, Jan. 23, 1907.

⁵²MS, 1908, p. 49. The smallest congregation listed in the 1908 statistics was Harmony, for most of its earlier years the largest congregation in the Presbytery. MS, 1908, p. 146.

⁵⁴ARP, Nov. 18, 1908.

⁵⁵MS, 1908, pp. 42, 144, 1882, statistics.

⁵⁶ARP, March 1, 1905.

⁵⁷MS, 1893, p. 494.

⁵⁸*Sesquicentennial History*, p. 436.

⁵⁹MS, 1908, p. 144.

⁶⁰MS, 1920, statistics.

⁶¹MS, 1932, statistics. In 1931, Synod approved the proposal presented in petitions by both presbyteries to merge under the name Mississippi Valley Presbytery. MS, 1931, p. 152.

⁶²MS, 1882, statistics.

⁶³MS, 1888, p. 33.

⁶⁴*Bethel*, (New York, 1929), p. 45.

⁶⁵*Bethel*, p. 34.

⁶⁶MS, 1914, pp. 28-29; ARP, Jan. 29, Feb. 26, May 6, 1908.

⁶⁷ARP, March 22, 1905. The Mt. Zion session took the unusual act of expunging from its records all the minutes relating to the controversy. See microfilm of Mt. Zion Minutes, McCain Library, Erskine College.

⁶⁸MS, 1912, statistics, 1914, statistics.

⁶⁹The court held that when the members transferred from the old congregation they had given up any claim which they had

to the ownership of the building. The presbytery's claim was disallowed on the grounds that the building was owned by the congregation which was now in the Southern Presbyterian ranks. *ARP*, June 6, 1901.

⁷⁰*ARP*, June 6, 1901.

⁷¹*MS*, 1890, p. 180.

⁷²*Centennial History*, p. 512.

⁷³*MS*, 1919, statistics.

⁷⁴*Sesquicentennial History*, pp. 299-300, 502.

⁷⁵*MS*, 1889, pp. 114-115.

⁷⁶George West Diehl, *The Brick Church on Timber Ridge*, (1975).

⁷⁷*ARP*, Feb. 24, 1926.

⁷⁸*MS*, 1932, statistics.

⁷⁹*Sesquicentennial History*, p. 501; *ARP*, March 28, 1917, Jan. 14, 1920.

⁸⁰*MS*, 1887, p. 34.

⁸¹*MS*, 1886, pp. 31-32.

⁸²*MS*, 1900, p. 200.

⁸³*MS*, 1900, p. 442.

⁸⁴*MS*, 1922, 1932, statistics; *Sesquicentennial History*, pp. 416-417.

⁸⁵*Sesquicentennial History*, p. 273.

⁸⁶*Sesquicentennial History*, pp. 273, 481, 483, 536.

⁸⁷*Agnew*, Jan. 2, 1892.

⁸⁸*MS*, 1903, p. 140.

⁸⁹*ARP*, April 9, 1902.

⁹⁰*Sesquicentennial History*, p. 192; *MS*, 1910, statistics.

⁹¹*MS*, 1927, p. 337.

⁹²*MS*, 1932, p. 319.

⁹³*MS*, 1855, p. 35, 1857, p. 24.

⁹⁴*MS*, 1860, p. 40.

⁹⁵*ARP*, Feb. 21, 1884.

⁹⁶*ARP*, March 13, 20, 1884.

⁹⁷*ARP*, March 27, 1884.

⁹⁸*ARP*, June 25, 1885.

⁹⁹*ARP*, August 26, 1886.

¹⁰⁰*ARP*, May 26, 1887; *MS*, 1888, p. 74.

¹⁰¹*ARP*, Feb. 21, 1889; *MS*, 1889, p. 154.

¹⁰²ARP, August 21, 1889.

¹⁰³ARP, June 8, August 17, 1892.

¹⁰⁴ARP, Dec. 5, 1900; *Centennial History*, p. 412.

¹⁰⁵*Centennial History*, p. 412.

¹⁰⁶Rev. Young in ARP, Feb. 18, 1890.

¹⁰⁷ARP, April 3, 1890.

¹⁰⁸*Centennial History*, p. 413; MS, 1895, pp. 767, 820.

¹⁰⁹ARP, Oct. 23, 1901.

¹¹⁰MS, 1908, pp. 6, 18.

¹¹¹ARP, March 11, 1908.

¹¹²ARP, Oct. 7, 1908.

¹¹³ARP, Nov. 17, 1909; MS, 1909, p. 141.

¹¹⁴ARP, Feb. 1, 1917; Nov. 17, 1909; MS, 1909, p. 141.

¹¹⁵MS, 1912, 1917, statistics.

¹¹⁶ARP, Feb. 26, 1913; *Sesquicentennial History*, p. 459.

¹¹⁷MS, 1913, p. 42; *Sesquicentennial History*, p. 567.

¹¹⁸ARP, March 15, 1916.

¹¹⁹MS, 1927, pp. 290, 374.

¹²⁰MS, 1932, statistics.

Chapter III

¹Lathan, p. 418.

²ARP, Dec. 23, 1875.

³ARP, Feb. 5, 1885.

⁴ARP, Oct. 25, 1888; *Centennial History*, pp. 96, 696-700.

⁵*Centennial History*, p. 698. Italics by Moffatt.

⁶*Centennial History*, p. 707.

⁷Lathan, p. 416; MS, 1899, p. 380.

⁸Agnew, May 12, 1879. Agnew preached at a union church at Guntown, Miss. where the membership raised money to install an organ, and he did not object.

⁹ARP, April 28, 1887.

¹⁰MS, 1887, pp. 7-8.

¹¹ARP, June 9, 1887.

¹²ARP, Jan. 12, 1888.

¹³MS, 1888, pp. 17, 33; ARP, Feb. 7, 1889.

¹⁴MS, 1889, pp. 86, 87, 92.

¹⁵Agnew, Oct. 24, 1889.

¹⁶Agnew, Oct. 25, 1890.

- ¹⁷MS, 1891, pp. 280, 282-285.
- ¹⁸Minutes of First Presbytery, April 6, 1891.
- ¹⁹MS, 1891, pp. 256, 257.
- ²⁰ARP, Oct. 16, 1895.
- ²¹Session Minutes, Due West Church, Sept. 20, 1919.
- ²²ARP, April 2, 1891.
- ²³ARP, May 16, 1894.
- ²⁴MS, 1895, p. 813.
- ²⁵ARP, Oct. 18, 1911.
- ²⁶MS, 1911, p. 36.
- ²⁷MS, 1926, pp. 163-165.
- ²⁸MS, 1948, pp. 14-15.
- ²⁹MS, 1928, p. 399; ARP, May 2, 1928.
- ³⁰Erskine Caldwell, *Deep South* (New York, 1968) pp. 165-168. His actions in removing the hymn books was one of the reasons, according to his son, that this faction sought to remove him from the Salem church.
- ³¹Agnew, May 21, 1866.
- ³²ARP, Dec. 14, 1892.
- ³³ARP, Dec. 25, 1918.
- ³⁴MS, 1919, p. 15.
- ³⁵ARP, May 23, 1894.
- ³⁶MS, 1875, pp. 24-25.
- ³⁷ARP, Aug. 11, 1920. See pamphlet entitled "Catholic Communion," apparently written by Rev. J. P. Marion, pastor of the Chester church. A copy is found in a bound volume entitled *Historical Sketches and Addresses*, n. d., McCain Library, Erskine College.
- ³⁸Minutes of First Presbytery, Sept. 1, 1879.
- ³⁹MS, 1879, p. 29.
- ⁴⁰Minutes of First Presbytery, April 5, 1880.
- ⁴¹MS, 1880, pp. 52-60.
- ⁴²ARP, Aug. 11, 1920.
- ⁴³MS, 1899, pp. 285, 386.
- ⁴⁴ARP, April 16, 1891; MS, 1902, p. 679.
- ⁴⁵ARP, June 13, 1900.
- ⁴⁶"The Hand of God in Our History," *Centennial History*, p. 705.
- ⁴⁷ARP, Sept. 26, 1889.

⁴⁸ARP, Sept. 26, 1889.

⁴⁹MS, 1889, p. 114.

⁵⁰ARP, Feb. 5, 1913.

⁵¹MS, 1899, p. 382.

⁵²ARP, June 1, 1892.

⁵³E. E. Boyce to E. D. Anderson, n. d., Anderson Papers.

⁵⁴Agnew, March 1, 1901.

⁵⁵ARP, Jan. 21, 1892.

⁵⁶ARP, Jan. 14, 1892.

⁵⁷ARP, Sept. 25, 1907, Jan. 17, 1912.

⁵⁸MS, 1910, p. 16, 1911, pp. 77-78; *Sesquicentennial History*, p. 304.

⁵⁹ARP, Aug. 2, 1916.

⁶⁰ARP, Sept. 16, 1886.

⁶¹*Centennial History*, p. 723. It is no wonder that a quarter century later his son, who was a famous athlete, gave up a career in professional baseball because he would have to play on the Sabbath.

⁶²*Due West Telescope*, May 28, 1858.

⁶³ARP, April 4, 1894.

⁶⁴MS, 1899, pp. 388-389. For an example of how carefully this rule was kept in strict ARP homes, see James Ross McCain's *Memoirs* (copy in McCain Library, Erskine College). Following the morning sermon and during the noon meal, Erskine Professor J. I. McCain would rigorously question his children on the pastor's sermon.

⁶⁵Agnew, May 3, 1888.

⁶⁶ARP, Aug. 14, 1912.

⁶⁷Agnew, March 8, 1876.

⁶⁸ARP, Oct. 2, Dec. 18, 1890, Feb. 12, April 23, 1891.

⁶⁹ARP, Nov. 8, 1893.

⁷⁰MS, 1894, pp. 591, 599, 680-681.

⁷¹MS, 1895, p. 752.

⁷²ARP, April 26, 1899.

⁷³ARP, April 13, 1904.

⁷⁴ARP, April 27, May 4, 1904. McMorries, a native of Newberry County and a nephew of W. M. Grier, was a gifted preacher. Two years following the reconciliation, he moved into the Southern Presbyterian church.

⁷⁵Abbeville (S.C.) *Press & Banner*, March 25, 1891; Minutes of

Congregational Meetings, Oct. 20, 1890, March 23, 1891. In the next year during the annual election of church officers women members were allowed to vote despite the recorded protest of the former minister (W. L. Pressly)'s son, Joseph L. Pressly, a student at that time at Erskine Seminary. *Minutes*, Oct. 8, 1892.

⁷⁶ARP, July 15, 1886.

⁷⁷ARPI, Nov. 21, 1889.

⁷⁸ARP, Dec. 5, 1889.

⁷⁹MS, 1903, pp. 28-29, 55.

⁸⁰ARP, May 12, 1909, June 4, 1913.

⁸¹ARP, Jan. 15, 1913.

⁸²MS, 1924, p. 872, 1925, pp. 40-46.

⁸³ARP, Aug. 10, 1892.

⁸⁴MS, 1905, pp. 331, 353.

⁸⁵ARP, Oct. 31, 1923.

⁸⁶ARP, March 30, 1892.

⁸⁷ARP, July 27, 1910, April 3, 1912.

Chapter IV

¹MS, 1858, p. 27.

²For a full discussion of this issue see Harold M. Parker, Jr., "The Alleged Union of the Southern Presbyterian Church and Alabama Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, *Iiff Review*, XXVII (Winter, 1971), 29-46.

³ARP, May 11, 1867.

⁴MS, 1866, pp. 26, 30.

⁵MS, 1866, p. 30.

⁶ARP, Jan. 7, 1867.

⁷Minutes of Kentucky Presbytery, Aug. 26, 1867, May 21, Sept. 3, 1869, Oct. 31, 1870; O. T. Wallace, "History of the Associate Reformed Presbytery of Kentucky," ARP, Nov. 5, 1901. In the key vote in 1869, Elders William Anderson, A. R. Finley, D. B. Stewart and Robert Butler joined Miller and Myers in voting versus the union proposal. Minutes of Kentucky Presbytery, Sept. 3, 1869. Both of the Gordons had been members of the early Erskine faculty, and in July, 1867, the trustees of the college had voted Neal Gordon the D.D. degree. He declined the honor. When he died after only a year out of the communion of the ARP church, S. A. Agnew wrote of him in his diary, "his recent departure from the ARP church estranged him from some but all loved him that knew him." Agnew, April 11, 1871.

⁸ARP, Sept. 25, 1890.

⁹*Minutes of Arkansas Presbytery*, Nov. 20. 1869.

¹⁰This tradition became widely accepted, and years later was perpetuated by several Presbyterian histories. See Parker article above.

¹¹MS, 1869, p. 22.

¹²MS, 1869, p. 33.

¹³MS, 1874, p. 6.

¹⁴MS, 1874, pp. 12-13.

¹⁵MS, 1875, p. 25.

¹⁶MS, 1881, pp. 12-13.

¹⁷MS, 1882, p. 19. In regard to the UP testimony against secret societies, it should be noted that in the 1850's the Synod of the South had itself taken a very strong stand against such societies (the Masons), but after a heated division in the membership, it had revised its position to a more mild warning against the dangers of secret societies. MS, 1855, pp. 27, 36-43.

¹⁸*The Evangelical Repository*, LIX (December, 1882), 211-216; *Centennial History*, p. 194.

¹⁹MS, 1883, pp. 22, 26.

²⁰ARP, Oct. 2, 1884. In June, 1884 Lathan and Rev. James Boyce had attended a Pan-Presbyterian Council meeting in Belfast, Ireland.

²¹MS, 1885, pp. 21-22. Mason W. Pressly was the son of John E. Pressly, and he, like one of Rev. Betts' sons, later became a UP minister.

²²ARP, March 18, 1886.

²³ARP, April 8, 1886.

²⁴ARP, May 20, 1886; Agnew, May 5, 1886.

²⁵ARP, June 10, 1886.

²⁶ARP, Sept. 9, 1886.

²⁷ARP, Sept. 23, 30, 1886.

²⁸ARP, Sept. 30, 1886.

²⁹ARP, May 7, 1891.

³⁰ARP, March 16, 1904.

³¹Owen to Chalmers, Feb. 8, 1888, printed in ARP, Feb. 23, 1888.

³²ARP, Jan. 2, March 20, 1890.

³³ARP, Nov. 2, 1892.

³⁴ARP, Nov. 30, 1892. S. A. Agnew, who had been the only

minister in the Memphis Presbytery who had voted against union in 1886, placed himself in the last category when he wrote in 1891, "Those may go to the UP church who wish. I am not ready for that move yet even if it requires me to remain alone." Agnew, June 17, 1891.

³⁵ARP, Nov. 1, 1893.

³⁶ARP, Sept. 1, 1898.

³⁷Agnew, Sept. 23, 1898.

³⁸MS, 1898, pp. 132, 146-147.

³⁹ARP, July 2, 1902. Miller was the son of Rev. R. G. Miller, pastor of the Sardis (N.C.) church.

⁴⁰ARP, Nov. 11, 1903.

⁴¹ARP, Dec. 9, 1903.

⁴²ARP, July 27, 1904.

⁴³ARP, Feb. 10, 1904.

⁴⁴ARP, March 30, 1904.

⁴⁵ARP, March 23, April 6, 1904.

⁴⁶ARP, March 23, April 13, 1904.

⁴⁷ARP, Feb. 10, 1904.

⁴⁸ARP, April 20, 1904.

⁴⁹ARP, March 23, 1904.

⁵⁰ARP, March 30, 1904.

⁵¹ARP, June 15, 1904.

⁵²ARP, June 15, 22, July 13, 1904.

⁵³ARP, July 13, 1904.

⁵⁴ARP, July 20, 1904.

⁵⁵ARP, Sept. 14, 1904.

⁵⁶ARP, Sept. 14, 1902.

⁵⁷ARP, Sept. 14, 1904.

⁵⁸ARP, Sept. 28, 1904.

⁵⁹ARP, Oct. 5, 1904.

⁶⁰ARP, Oct. 19, 1904.

⁶⁰ARP, Oct. 19, 1904.

⁶¹ARP, Nov. 2, 1904.

⁶²ARP, Nov. 2, 1904.

⁶³MS, 1906, pp. 532, 554, 654-656.

⁶⁴MS, 1919, pp. 35-36.

⁶⁵MS, 1920, pp. 191-192.

⁶⁶ARP, Jan. 8, 1913; MS, 1910, p. 37.

⁶⁷ARP, Jan. 8, 1913.

⁶⁸MS, 1922, p. 538.

⁶⁹MS, 1927, p. 287, 1929, p. 548.

⁷⁰MS, 1906, pp. 541, 644-647.

Chapter V

¹On this William L. Fisk, "The Associate Reformed Church in the Old Northwest: A chapter in the Acculturation of the Immigrant," *Journal of Presbyterian History*, XLVI (September 1968) and Lathan, pp. 325-326, 360-362.

²See letters to W. R. Hemphill in the 1840's and 1850's from a number of ARP ministers which expressed anti-slavery sentiments. Hemphill Papers, Perkins Library, Duke University and for a pro-slavery tract by an ARP minister, see A. S. Sloan, *Is Slavery a Sin?* (Nashville, 1859)

³MS, 1861, p. 8.

⁴MS, 1861, p. 21.

⁵MS, 1863, p. 8. See also "H" (Hemphill's) article in the *Due West Telescope*, April 4, 1862 which advocated Confederate laws protecting slave marriages.

⁶Agnew Diary, Aug. 14, 1865. During the middle of the war, Pressly's intervention with Secretary Stanton on a different occasion had been welcomed. In 1862, Rev. H. H. Robison of the Ebenezer church in northern Mississippi had been captured while serving as a Confederate chaplain at the battle of Shiloh. Ill health threatened his life in prison near Cincinnati, and Southern friends made an appeal to Pressly who lived near Pittsburgh and apparently knew Secretary Stanton. Pressly aided in securing Robison's release into the hands of Rev. Gilbert Gordon of Kentucky. Memorandum of S. A. Agnew, Agnew Papers, McCain Library, Erskine College.

⁷MS, 1865, p. 23.

⁸MS, 1870, p. 15.

⁹*Due West Telescope*, Aug. 11, 1862.

¹⁰Agnew, Aug. 5, 26, 1865.

¹¹*Centennial History*, p. 193, ARP, Aug. 13, 1891.

¹²Agnew, July 20, 1870.

¹³ARP, 1874.

¹⁴Hood had served as state treasurer in the first post-war Democratic administration in South Carolina. In 1878, he declined to seek re-election on the grounds that only the unusual circumstances of 1876 had led him to seek political office.

¹⁵MS, 1865, p. 23.

¹⁶MS, 1866, p. 33. One of the first of these Sabbath schools was set up in Due West by young William Moffatt Grier on his return from a Union prison to study in the Erskine Seminary. Miss Mary Galloway, later the church's pioneer missionary, was one of the teachers.

¹⁷MS, 1867, pp. 7-8.

¹⁸ARP, March 9, 1867.

¹⁹ARP, Oct. 30, 1868.

²⁰ARP, Aug. 21, 1868.

²¹ARP, Aug. 21, 1868.

²²Agnew, Aug. 18, 1866.

²³Agnew, Aug. 1, 1870.

²⁴Agnew, June 8, 1871. A decade later, when his ne'r do well younger brother Erskine took a black mistress, Agnew insisted that he move out of his house. When state authorities fined Erskine for this violation of state law and he was stricken by a fatal disease, Agnew took him back into his home and nursed him during the last months of his life. Agnew, 1881, 1882, ff.

²⁵Agnew, Feb. 15, 1872.

²⁶Agnew, Dec. 1, 1872.

²⁷Agnew, Feb. 2, 15, March 2, 1873.

²⁹Agnew, Aug. 2, 1874.

³⁰Agnew, April 28, 1885.

³¹Agnew, Sept. 29, 1889.

³²Minute Book, Due West church, Sept. 15, 1865.

³³*Centennial History*, pp. 395-396.

³⁴ARP, May 12, 1870.

³⁵ARP, May 19, 1870.

³⁶Abbeville (S.C.) *Medium*, April 3, 1878.

³⁷"History of Mt. Zion United Presbyterian Church," *Abbeville County Family History* (1979), pp. 31-33. There were rumors that it was sometimes an embarrassment to the white brethren, as S. A. Agnew learned by letter from his aunt in Due West. In his words, at the ordination of Rev. J. E. Martin in 1872 "they wanted Tom Young in the cold, but he would not. The "Nigger" is an elephant, and the 2nd Presbytery does not know what to do with them." Agnew, Sept. 2, 1872.

³⁸ARP, Nov. 17, 1887.

³⁹Agnew, March 16, Sept. 13, 1873.

⁴⁰Agnew, April 28, 1885.

⁴¹Agnew, May 2, 1885.

⁴²MS, 1889, p. 111.

⁴³MS, 1914, p. 39. His white brethren liked to tell the story of the time when he was taking a course of private tutoring under Dr. T. G. Boyce, pastor of the Salem (Tenn.) church. Boyce criticized him for taking so long on a certain course compared with the time taken by students at the Seminary; Bryson's response was "But Dr. Boyce, you must remember that the Seminary students have real teachers to instruct them." Samuel Jasper Patterson, *One Man's Family, A Brief Sketch of the Davis and Patterson Families and a Short Biography* (n.d.), p. 99.

⁴⁴MS, 1882, 1894, statistical reports.

⁴⁵ARP, Sept. 4, 1890.

⁴⁶Minute Book, Due West church, Jan. 16, 1886.

⁴⁷ARP, March 14, 1889.

⁴⁸ARP, Dec. 4, 1895.

⁴⁹ARP, Aug. 21, 1901. Rev. Caldwell's son Erskine portrays his father as unusually sympathetic to the poor blacks he met in his ministry. See Caldwell's *Deep South*. pp. 207-219, 221-232.

⁵⁰ARP, Aug. 28, 1901.

⁵¹ARP, March 18, 1903.

⁵²ARP, March 25, 1903.

⁵³ARP, May 29, 1907.

⁵⁴MS, 1907, pp. 705, 712.

⁵⁵MS, 1908, pp. 33, 131.

⁵⁶MS, 1909, p. 14.

⁵⁷ARP, Aug. 10, 1910.

⁵⁸ARP, Nov. 22, 1911.

⁵⁹ARP, July 24, 1912, March 5, 1913.

⁶⁰ARP, March 28, 1917.

⁶¹ARP, Sept. 28, 1910.

⁶²ARP, May 10, 1893.

⁶³MS, 1905, p. 329. In September of that year, a Negro had been lynched between Due West and Honea Path. Abbeville (S.C.) *Press & Banner*, Sept. 20, 29, 1905.

⁶⁴Quoted in ARP, Oct. 21, 1903.

⁶⁵ARP, Oct. 2, 1895.

⁶⁶ARP, Oct. 19, 1900.

⁶⁷ARP, March 1, 1905.

⁶⁸W. J. Bonner, "Work in the Mill Village," ARP, March 13, 1912; William E. Huey, "The Social Problems of the Church," ARP, July 23, 1913; John T. Young, "Evangelization of the Negro," ARP, March 21, 1917.

⁶⁹ARP, March 28, 1917.

⁷⁰ARP, March 28, 1917.

⁷¹The land was donated by J. H. Separk of the Gray-Separk textile chain. For the close relationship between the owners and the churches, see Liston Pope's classic study of Gastonia during this period, *Mill Hands and Preachers* (New Haven, 1942). ARP, Jan. 11, 1928.

⁷²ARP, June 6, 1917.

⁷³ARP, Feb. 3, 1926.

⁷⁴ARP, Jan. 18, 1928.

⁷⁵ARP, Jan. 3, 1917.

⁷⁶When a bitter wave of textile strikes hit these communities and caused a particularly savage conflict in Gastonia, the *Associate Reformed Presbyterian* limited its comments to one short editorial. In it, the paper carefully summarized the positions of both the mill owners and workers and concluded that there was "force" in what each side said. Its advice was that the two sides try the "Golden Rule." ARP, April 17, 1929.

⁷⁷*Ordinances, Town of Due West* (Due West, 1884).

⁷⁸MS, 1888, p. 22.

⁷⁹MS, 1890, p. 184.

⁸⁰ARP, July 25, 1893.

⁸¹MS, 1893, p. 490.

⁸²ARP, Sept. 21, 1910.

⁸³ARP, Feb. 23, 1927.

⁸⁴ARP, Feb. 2, March 16, 1927.

⁸⁵ARP, April 20, 1927.

⁸⁶April 16, 1891. Before the end of that year, Rev. Grier transferred to the ministry of the Southern Presbyterians.

⁸⁷ARP, Feb. 1, 1893.

⁸⁸ARP, Feb. 1, 1893.

⁸⁹ARP, April 15, 22, 1896.

⁹⁰ARP, Oct. 7, 1896.

⁹¹ARP, Oct. 7, 1896.

⁹²MS, 1907, p. 705.

⁹³Abbeville (S.C.) *Press & Banner*, Aug. 18, 1909.

⁹⁴MS, 1896, pp. 835, 842.

⁹⁵ARP, 1900, p. 315.

⁹⁶ARP, 1902, p. 679.

⁹⁷ARP, 1904, p. 182.

⁹⁸ARP, 1909, p. 17, 1908, p. 40.

⁹⁹ARP, 1914, pp. 65-69.

¹⁰⁰ARP, 1916, pp. 35-36, 83-84.

¹⁰¹MS, 1926, p. 159.

¹⁰²MS, 1925, pp. 29-30.

¹⁰³ARP, Feb. 8, 1928.

¹⁰⁴ARP, Feb. 22, 1928.

¹⁰⁵ARP, Feb. 29, 1928.

¹⁰⁶ARP, April 18, 1928.

¹⁰⁷ARP, April 25, 1928.

¹⁰⁸ARP, April 25, 1928.

¹⁰⁹ARP, May 2, 1928.

¹¹⁰MS, 1928, p. 426.

¹¹¹Charlotte *News* as quoted in ARP, May 23, 1928.

¹¹²ARP, Aug. 8, 1928.

¹¹³ARP, Sept. 19, 1928.

¹¹⁴ARP, Oct. 10, 1928. Editor Stevenson knew whereof he wrote when he referred to those with whom "drys" might differ. His father-in-law, T. M. Christian of Abbeville, had been a whiskey dealer for a quarter century. Abbeville (S.C.) *Press & Banner*, Jan. 2, 1889.

¹¹⁵ARP, Oct. 31, 1928. In the election a number of states inhabited by ARP's voted Republican for the first time since Reconstruction. South Carolina continued firmly in the Democratic column even though Due West cast 14 votes for Hoover compared to none for the Republican ticket in 1924.

¹¹⁶ARP, July 20, 1898, quoting the Statesville *Landmark*.

¹¹⁷ARP, April 25, 1917.

¹¹⁸ARP, June 27, 1917.

¹¹⁹ARP, July 4, 1917, March 6, 1918.

¹²⁰ARP, May 22, June 26, 1918.

¹²¹ARP, Oct. 31, 1917.

¹²²MS, 1917, p. 29.

¹²³ARP, Nov. 14, 1917.

¹²⁴ARP, Nov. 28, 1917.

¹²⁵ARP, Dec. 18, 1918.

Chapter VI

¹These figures are based upon the biographical sketches in the *Centennial History*.

²ARP, March 11, 1904.

³William Pressly, *The Pressly Family* (Due West, 1980), p. 8.

⁴ARP, Sept. 13, 1899.

⁵ARP, Oct. 21, 1917.

⁶ARP, Nov. 28, 1917.

⁷Agnew, June 6, 1892.

⁸ARP, July 9, 1902.

⁹ARP, April 16, 1891.

¹⁰ARP, Dec. 19, 1906.

¹¹J. A. E. in ARP, May 15, 1907.

¹²R. W. C., "Some Inducements for Ministers," ARP, March 1, 1893.

¹³Agnew, April 27, 1871.

¹⁴Agnew, May 4, 1871.

¹⁵Agnew, Aug. 11, 21, 22, Sept. 24, 1871.

¹⁷ARP, Dec. 25, 1907.

¹⁸MS, 1895, p. 755. This book by Charles T. Russell was the "bible" of the Jehovah Witness sect.

¹⁹From Micanopy, Fla. where he had moved, he sent his former colleagues complaints about the action of the presbytery and tracts from the Watchtower Society. Agnew, May 3, 1897.

²⁰ARP, Oct. 24, 1900.

²¹ARP, Nov. 5, 1902.

²²*Centennial History*, p. 149.

²³Agnew, June 28, 1886. Six years later when Agnew learned by reading in the church paper that he had been tapped for this honor, his comment in his diary was "It was a surprise for I was not expecting such a thing. I am sure that I did not ask for it or desire it. I do not know that it will add anything to my influence, and I will therefore take no notice of the honor." Agnew, July 2, 1892.

²⁴*The Pressly Family*, p. 30.

²⁵ARP, Dec. 20, 1867.

²⁶ARP, Sept. 11, 1884; MS, 1884, statistical reports.

²⁷MS, 1890, p. 195.

- ²⁸MS, 1890, statistical reports.
- ²⁹MS, 1905, p. 342, 1911, p. 23.
- ³⁰ARP, Oct. 2, 1912.
- ³¹MS, 1912, statistical reports.
- ³²MS, 1919, p. 55, statistical reports.
- ³³Minute Book, Ebenezer (Va.) church, May 23, 1885.
- ³⁴*Ebenezer Minutes*, Aug. 27, 1886.
- ³⁵*Centennial History*, p. 477.
- ³⁶ARP, May 12, Sept. 8, 1887.
- ³⁷ARP, Oct. 10, 1889, Jan. 9, 1890.
- ³⁸ARP, April 10, 1890.
- ³⁹ARP, Sept. 11, 1890; MS, 1893, p. 503.
- ⁴⁰*Sesquicentennial History*, p. 224.
- ⁴¹ARP, Sept. 9, 1931.
- ⁴²ARP, Oct. 25, 1899.
- ⁴³ARP, May 23, 1900.
- ⁴⁴ARP, Oct. 16, 1901.
- ⁴⁵MS, 1923, p. 715.
- ⁴⁶Agnew, May 28, 1899; ARP, April 26, 1899.
- ⁴⁷ARP, July 13, 1898.

Chapter VII

¹That project was in the 1840's and had been undertaken in cooperation with the American Colonization Society. For details, see Lathan, pp. 381-384.

²*Centennial History*, p. 689.

³MS, 1875, pp. 20-21.

⁴*Centennial History*, pp. 130-131; MS, 1877, p. 15, 1879, pp. 23-24, 1881, p. 9; J. C. Galloway, *Life and Letters of Mrs. Giffen*.

⁵MS, 1878, pp. 25-26. The Board at this time was composed of Rev. James Boyce, chm., Rev. Bonner, Secty., Revs. R. W. Brice, J. C. Chalmers, W. M. Grier, H. T. Sloan, J. P. Weed, Profs. Wm. Hood and J. P. Kennedy, James A. Brice and Dr. J. L. Pressly. *Centennial History*, p. 8.

⁶MS, 1879, pp. 24-25; J. G. Dale, *Mexico and Our Mission* (1910), pp. 112-114.

⁷ARP, Feb. 13, 1890.

⁸Dale, pp. 134-135.

⁹MS, 1881, pp. 9-11.

¹¹The Board, however, reported to Synod that it did not endorse his Masonic membership. This flap apparently came from the church members who opposed secret societies. MS, 1883, p. 12.

- ¹²MS, 1883, pp. 12-14.
- ¹³Dale, p. 135.
- ¹⁴ARP, Sept. 30, 1886.
- ¹⁵MS, 1887, pp. 13-14. The oldest ladies missionary society had been organized in Due West in 1873, and the oldest young people's missionary society was set up in the Winnsboro church in 1883.
- ¹⁶ARP, Oct. 20, 1887.
- ¹⁷ARP, Oct. 27, 1887.
- ¹⁸MS, 1888, pp. 39-42.
- ¹⁹Dale pp. 143-144, 129-130.
- ²⁰MS, 1893, p. 521; ARP, Feb. 20, 1895.
- ²¹ARP, March 8, 1893, Aug. 17, Sept. 7, 1898.
- ²²Dale, p. 139; MS, 1891, pp. 289-290.
- ²³MS, 1891, pp. 289-290, 1893, p. 518.
- ²⁴Dale, pp. 119-120, 124.
- ²⁵MS, 1896, pp. 875-878.
- ²⁶ARP, June 16, Nov. 10, 1897.
- ²⁷Dale, pp. 119, 168-169; MS, 1899, p. 313, 1901, p. 518.
- ²⁸MS, 1900, pp. 451-452; Dale, p. 118; *Centennial History*, pp. 104-106.
- ²⁹MS, 1900, p. 460.
- ³⁰Dale, p. 170. For a readable, if rather fanciful life of Dr. Kate Neel Dale, see Olive Floyd, *Doctora in Mexico, the life of Dr. Katherine Neel Dale* (New York, 1944).
- ³¹ARP, Feb. 26, 1913, Aug. 19, 1908.
- ³²Dale, pp. 136-137.
- ³³ARP, March 27, April 10, 1901.
- ³⁴MS, 1901, p. 584.
- ³⁵MS, 1901, p. 654; ARP, April 10, 1901.
- ³⁶MS, 1904, p. 222.
- ³⁷ARP, Sept. 30, 1886.
- ³⁸MS, 1887, p. 63.
- ³⁹MS, 1889, pp. 162-163.
- ⁴⁰MS, 1891, p. 291.
- ⁴¹MS, 1897, pp. 58-59, 1899, p. 311.
- ⁴²MS, 1902, p. 716.
- ⁴³Dale, pp. 161-168.
- ⁴⁴MS, 1909, pp. 62, 148.

⁴⁵Dale, pp. 117, 128.

⁴⁶Dale, p. 123.

⁴⁷Dale, p. 127.

⁴⁸Dale, pp. 119-121.

⁴⁹ARP, June 16, Oct. 20, 1909.

⁵⁰Dale, p. 124.

⁵¹Dale, p. 116; MS, 1910, p. 51.

⁵²ARP, Jan. 17, 1912.

⁵³ARP, May 17, 1911.

⁵⁴ARP, March 13, 1912.

⁵⁵ARP, March 20, May 1, 15, 1912.

⁵⁶ARP, Dec. 18, 1912.

⁵⁷ARP, Jan. 8, 1913.

⁵⁸ARP, June 18, 1913.

⁵⁹ARP, July 30, 1913.

⁶⁰ARP, Sept. 3, 1913. Pepe was not from a poor family; his mother was a large land holder. ARP, Jan. 26, 1916.

⁶¹ARP, May 13, 1914, Feb. 24, 1915, Jan. 24, 1917. He did return home for six months in 1914 when the anti-American feeling was at its height during the occupation of Vera Cruz by American troops. That incident arose from the ill treatment of some American sailors in Tampico in April, 1914. See Robert E. Quirk, *An Affair of Honor: Woodrow Wilson and the Occupation of Vera Cruz* (1962). The admiration which Rev. Pressly's conduct won throughout the church is illustrated in a letter by a ten year old boy in 1916, as follows, "I think he is a hero to stay down there among those fighting Mexicans. I am glad Mrs. Pressly has gone back for I know he was lonely. I sometimes think I would like to be a missionary, but I don't want to go to Mexico. I had rather risk the snakes and sandstorms of India than those fighting Mexicans. ARP, Feb. 9, 1916.

⁶²ARP, May 2, 1917.

⁶³ARP, June 13, 1917.

⁶⁴MS, 1917, pp. 69-70.

⁶⁵ARP, Jan. 2, 1918.

⁶⁶MS, 1919, p. 58.

⁶⁷MS, 1920, pp. 244-246.

⁶⁸MS, 1920, pp. 246-247.

⁶⁹MS, 1920, p. 209.

⁷⁰ARP, Feb. 12, 19, 26, March 5, 12, 19, April 16, 1919.

⁷¹ARP, March 12, 19, 26, April 2, 9, 23, 1919.

⁷²ARP, March 19, 26, April 2, 16, 23, 1919.

⁷³ARP, May 7, 1919. F. Y. Pressly had been more attuned to Neill Pressly than to Dale, and the tone of the exchange was sometimes rather sharp. Kinship may have been a factor, although that seems unlikely since Dale, like most other church leaders at the time, was closely related to the Presslys (his mother-in-law was a Pressly). The differences were those of temperament and policy. F. Y. Pressly was a traditional ARP, cautious and conservative; Dale was more bold and willing to experiment even if it meant a weakening of denominational ties.

⁷⁴MS, 1921, pp. 414, 416-417.

⁷⁵ARP, 1924, pp. 915-918.

⁷⁶ARP, March 4, 1925.

⁷⁷MS, 1926, p. 222.

⁷⁸ARP, May 5, 1926.

⁷⁹MS, 1926, p. 236.

⁸⁰MS, 1926, p. 222.

⁸¹ARP, March 11, 1925.

⁸²ARP, June 8, 1927.

⁸³MS, 1929, p. 80.

⁸⁴MS, 1930, p. 73.

⁸⁵ARP, Feb. 22, 1928, July 17, 1929.

⁸⁶ARP, Jan. 9, 1929, Oct. 29, 1919, April 9, 1930.

⁸⁷ARP, Jan. 14, 1931.

⁸⁸Board of Foreign Missions Minutes, Oct. 1905.

⁸⁹ARP, May 7, 1891.

⁹⁰ARP, May-July, 1891.

⁹¹ARP, April 19, 26, 1893.

⁹²MS, 1898, p. 153, 1899, p. 308.

⁹³ARP, Jan. 10, 1906.

⁹⁴MS, 1905, p. 345.

⁹⁵ARP, Jan. 10, 1906.

⁹⁶MS, 1909, p. 50.

⁹⁷MS, 1909, p. 30.

⁹⁸ARP, Feb. 7, 1912.

⁹⁹MS, 1911, pp. 67-69.

¹⁰⁰MS, 1911, pp. 67-69. Because of the severe climate, the winter from November to March was the most favorable time for

missionaries to leave their residences and with camels and other pack animals travel among the villages within 50 to 20 miles of their stations.

¹⁰²*MS*, 1912, p. 105.

¹⁰³*MS*, 1912, p. 54.

¹⁰⁴*MS*, 1912, p. 54.

¹⁰⁵*ARP*, Feb. 21, 1912.

¹⁰⁶*ARP*, Feb. 19, 1913.

¹⁰⁷*ARP*, March 4, 1914.

¹⁰⁸*ARP*, Feb. 25, 1914.

¹⁰⁹*ARP*, June 9, Sept. 18, 1912.

¹¹⁰*MS*, 1914, p. 53, 1915, pp. 60-61.

¹¹¹*ARP*, July 7, 1915.

¹¹²*MS*, 1915, pp. 51, 66.

¹¹³*MS*, 1915, p. 51.

¹¹⁴*ARP*, Oct. 27, 1915.

¹¹⁵*MS*, 1917, p. 56.

¹¹⁶*MS*, 1917, p. 59.

¹¹⁷*ARP*, Sept. 24, 1924.

¹¹⁸*MS*, 1920, p. 251.

¹¹⁹*MS*, 1920, pp. 209, 251.

¹²⁰*MS*, 1922, pp. 586-587, 594-595.

¹²¹*ARP*, Sept. 24, 1924.

¹²²*MS*, 1926, p. 157.

¹²³*MS*, 1927, p. 357, 1928, p. 481, 1929, pp. 605-606.

¹²⁴*ARP*, Feb. 20, 1929.

¹²⁵*MS*, 1925, pp. 69, 56.

¹²⁶*ARP*, Aug. 21, 1929.

¹²⁷*MS*, 1926, p. 158.

¹²⁸*ARP*, Jan. 12, 1927.

¹²⁹*MS*, 1927, p. 362.

¹³⁰*MS*, 1928, p. 471.

¹³¹*ARP*, Aug. 26, 1931.

¹³²*ARP*, Sept. 2, 1931.

Chapter VIII

¹*ARP*, May 23, 1894.

²*ARP*, Feb. 21, 1912.

³*MS*, 1874, p. 18.

⁴MS, 1884, p. 24.

⁵Joab Mauldin Lessne, Jr., *A Hundred Years of Erskine College*, 1839-1939, PhD dissertation, University of South Carolina (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor), 1937, pp. 139, 141, 143.

⁶MS, 1883, p. 18.

⁷MS, 1888, p. 19.

⁸ARP, Oct. 21, 1886.

⁹ARP, Nov. 25, 1886.

¹⁰ARP, June 20, July 4, 1889.

¹¹Lesesne, p. 155.

¹²ARP, Nov. 6, 1890.

¹³ARP, Nov. 27, 1890.

¹⁴ARP, Nov. 6, 1890.

¹⁵ARP, Nov. 13, 1890, reprint of article from *Yorkville Enquirer*.

¹⁶ARP, Dec. 4, 1890.

¹⁷ARP, Dec. 18, 1890.

¹⁸MS, 1896, p. 895.

¹⁹ARP, Aug. 1, 1894.

²⁰ARP, Nov. 8, 1893.

²¹Lesesne, pp. 184-185.

²²ARP, Jan. 16, 1895.

²³ARP, March 6, 1895.

²⁴Lesesne, p. 185.

²⁵MS, 1895, pp. 728-729.

²⁶ARP, April 24, 1918.

²⁷MS, 1897, pp. 18-21.

²⁸ARP, Nov. 4, 1896. The *A. R. Presbyterian* editorially advised the faculty to outlaw intercollegiate athletics as brutal in the same way that prize fighting was. When a student countered by saying that football had proved a bond between students and faculty, the paper's response was, "Has it come to this, that an institution of learning, devoted to the cultivation of the mind and heart, founded for the high and noble end of Christian scholarship must needs seek its warmest friends in the bloody arena of the athletic field with the 'pigskin' as the prize to be won, and the strongest kicker the hero of the institution"? Dec. 16, 1896.

²⁹MS, 1901, pp. 551-552.

³⁰ARP, March 22, 1905.

³¹MS, 1905, p. 461.

³²MS, 1905, p. 346.

³³E. C. Stuart of Bartow, Fla. contributed \$1,000 as did James Archer, an Ohioan who spent his winters at Bartow. MS, 1907, p. 562. Probably in response to the Carnegie gift, Erskine gave Andrew Carnegie an honorary degree.

³⁴MS, 1909, p. 28.

³⁵MS, 1910, p. 27.

³⁶MS, 1913, pp. 73-75.

³⁷MS, 1914, p. 59. In April in one of the first large gatherings in the new building, there was a tragic accident when its balcony which was filled with students collapsed, and a visitor was fatally injured. ARP, April 22, June 27, 1914.

³⁸ARP, Nov. 7, 21, 1900, August 4, 1915, March 4, 1903.

³⁹ARP, June 22, 1904.

⁴⁰ARP, March 19, 1913, August 6, 1919, May 5, 1920.

⁴¹Lesesne, p. 227.

⁴²MS, 1882, pp. 9, 16.

⁴³MS, 1883, pp. 19-21, 1884, pp. 26-29.

⁴⁴ARP, June 4, 1885.

⁴⁵ARP, Oct. 1, 1885.

⁴⁶MS, 1887, p. 24. In a similar vein, the Synod in 1924 adopted a resolution by R. M. Stevenson that in view of the controversy "on such important subjects as the inspiration and divine authority of the Holy Scripture, the deity, the virgin birth, the atonement and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ" due "to the teachings of certain colleges and seminaries" that Synod "instruct the Board of Trustees of all our colleges and the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary to require all new professors, when inducted into office, to affirm their faith in these and other cardinal doctrines of the Christian system." MS, 1924, p. 873.

⁴⁸MS, 1891, p. 275.

⁴⁹MS, 1888, pp. 24-25, 1900, pp. 464-465.

⁵⁰ARP, Sept. 3, 1902.

⁵¹ARP, Nov. 22, 1916.

⁵²ARP, Nov. 29, 1899, Jan. 5, 1927.

⁵³ARP, Feb. 10, 1915.

⁵⁴MS, 1917, p. 23. For the story of Bryson College, see Anabel Schaefer Boyce, *Bryson College, 1919-1929* (1975).

⁵⁵ARP, Jan. 9, 1919.

⁵⁶ARP, May 21, Sept. 24, 1919.

⁵⁷Lesesne, p. 227.

⁵⁸ARP, Aug. 25, 1920; MS, 1922, pp. 611-612.

⁵⁹ARP, Sept. 24, 1919, Jan. 9, 1924.

⁶⁰ARP, July 1, 1925.

⁶¹Lesesne, pp. 263-264.

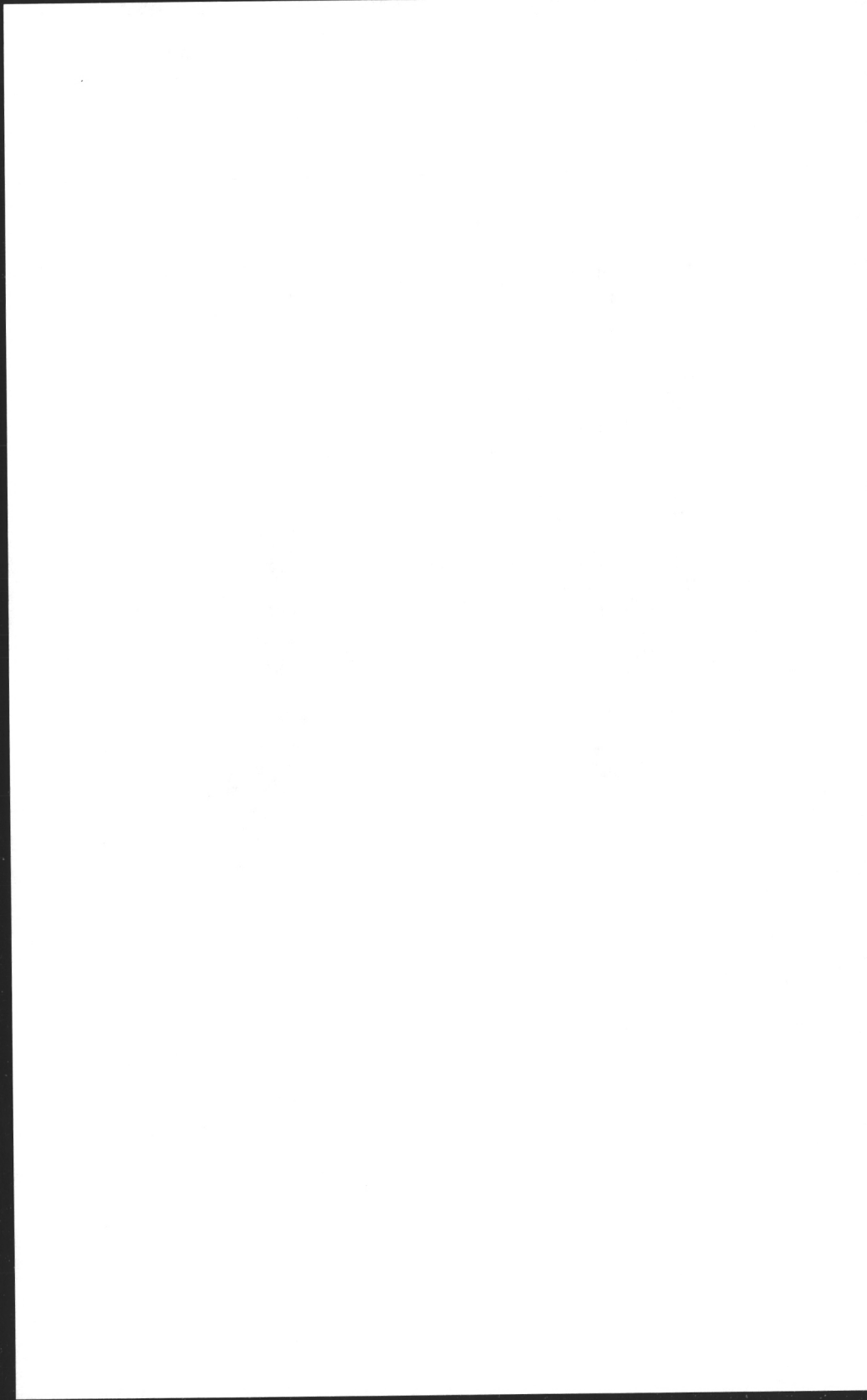
⁶²Lesesne, pp. 268-273.

⁶³ARP, Jan. 2, March 13, 1929.

⁶⁴ARP, Jan. 24, Feb. 14, March 7, 14, 1894.

⁶⁵ARP, April 4, 1894; MS, 1897, p. 5, 1899, pp. 275, 286.

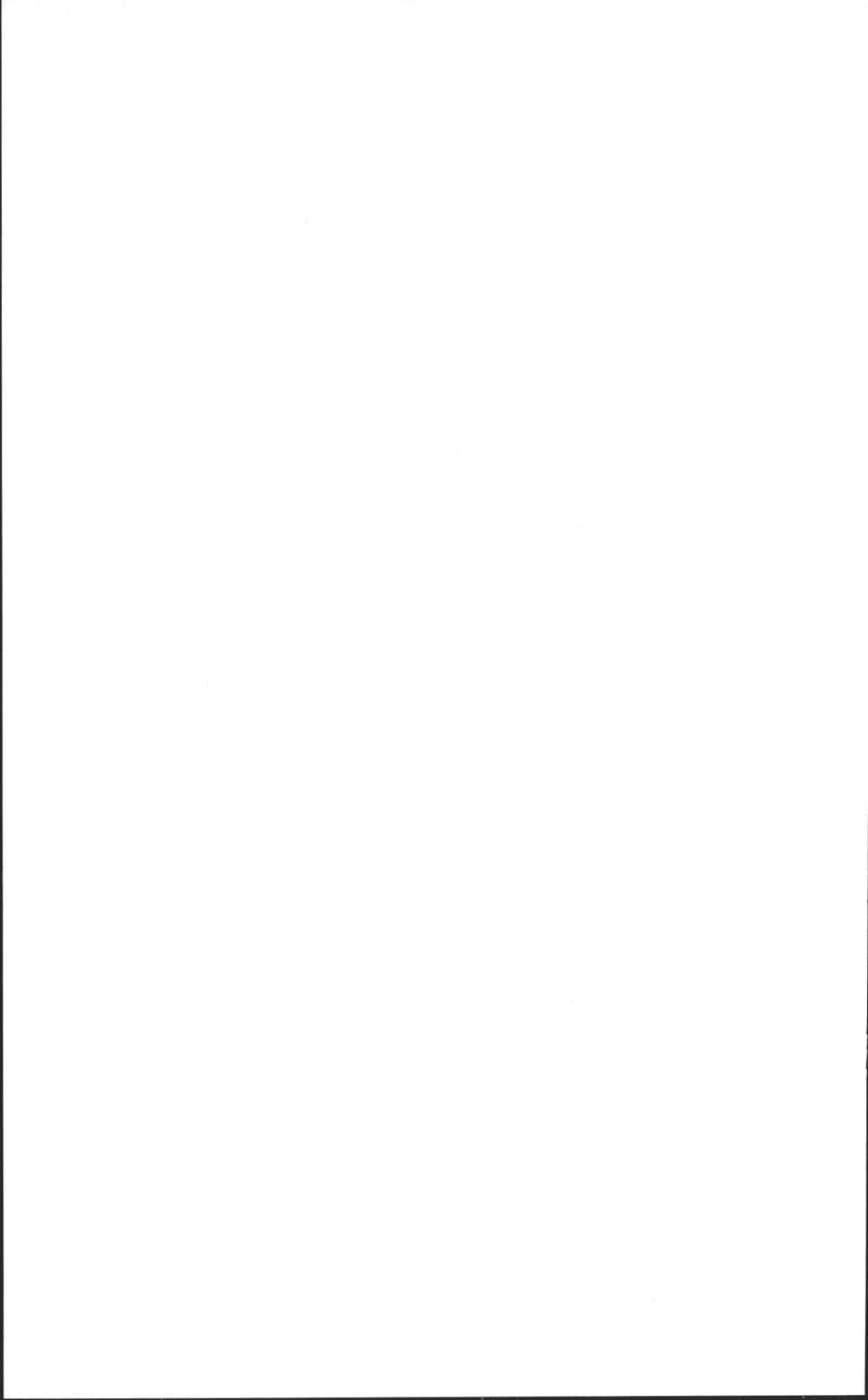
- ⁶⁶MS, 1900, pp. 307, 320-321, 326.
- ⁶⁷MS, 1902, p. 727, 1903, pp. 33, 37, 78-79; ARP, Oct. 28, 1903.
- ⁶⁸MS, 1904, p. 234.
- ⁶⁹ARP, Jan. 4, 1905.
- ⁷⁰ARP, Nov. 13, 1907.
- ⁷¹MS, 1909, p. 69; ARP, Jan. 12, 1916, June 19, 1918.
- ⁷²Abbeville *Press & Banner*, Oct. 5, 1881.
- ⁷³ARP, Feb. 4, 1892.
- ⁷⁴*Sesquicentennial History*, pp. 43-44.
- ⁷⁵ARP, July 29, 1903.
- ⁷⁶ARP, June 29, 1904.
- ⁷⁷ARP, Aug. 27, 1919, Oct. 6, 1915.
- ⁷⁸ARP, Aug. 31, 1910, May 5, 1920.
- ⁷⁹Peggy B. Murdock, *Bonclarken, A Story of Faith, Hope and Tenacity* (1975), pp. 12-13.
- ⁸⁰For the full story of Bonclarken, see Peggy Murdock's book cited above.
- ⁸¹ARP, Nov. 7, Nov. 21, 1906.



PART II

CONFLICT, CHANGE, CONTINUITY: THE ASSOCIATE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

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Chapter I

OUR DISTINCTIVE PRINCIPLE AND UNION

By 1932 a majority of the members of the ARP Church were not from a traditional ARP background. The phenomenal growth of the church from 1890-1930 resulted in an influx of new members who were either from the "unchurched" background, or from a church background where the standard songs of praise used in worship consisted principally of hymns. The tradition of the exclusive use of Psalms was strongly undermined by church growth. In 1932 the denomination considered sixty-nine changes in the Book of Government. The sixty-ninth proposed change by the Committee on Changes in the Book of Government would have changed the phrase "nor shall any composure merely human be sung by members of the Associate Reformed Church" to "nor shall any composure merely human be sung in Associate Reformed Churches."¹ This change would re-institute the wording that existed in the Book of Government from 1799 until 1899. The 1899 change was an attempt to strengthen the position of Psalms and prohibit a drift toward the use of hymns. Some saw the 1932 proposed change as an attempt to "remove ambiguity and have the law express our correct historical position."²

Many ARP Church persons were shocked to read the secular press's report of the 1932 Synod. Understandably, non-presbyterian reporters confused the process of overture and concluded that Synod modified the church's position on Psalms when, in fact, Synod sent the entire sixty-nine proposed changes to presbyteries in overture.

Doubtlessly many ARP Church members welcomed the proposed change in wording as a relaxation of what they saw as an excessively stringent requirement constraining them from singing hymns when worshipping in non-ARP churches. The Rev. R. M. Stevenson, editor of the *ARP*, warned that the language of the proposed change should not be misconstrued "in that it may be inferred that A.R.P.'s may sing [hymns] . . . elsewhere," but that was not the "historical interpretation."³ He was wrong for the

original wording was changed in 1899 precisely because ARP's were singing hymns elsewhere. Stevenson feared such a change in 1932. "Will not this change be the beginning of a process that will end in the displacement of the Psalter as the manual of praise? That has been the case in other denominations, and history has a way of repeating itself."⁴

Before the 1933 Synod, little was said about the change in wording of the Book of Government. Mr. E. C. Stuart wrote a letter to the *ARP* opposing "any change in the laws of our Church relative to our distinctive principles." He felt that "dissentions" or "disquieting questions" were particularly ill advised in light of economic conditions threatening the Church.⁵ The Rev. G. G. Parkinson wrote a long letter to the *ARP* noting a change in wording of the overture. First Presbytery asked that proposed change number sixty-nine be reworded to read "We believe that it is the will of God that Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs contained in the Book of Psalms be sung in worship in His Church and, therefore, they shall be used as the only manual of Praise in every Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church."⁶ Parkinson expressed concern about an argument of many ARPs: that ARP Church members should be allowed to sing hymns while worshipping in non-ARP churches. To Parkinson the question was not one "of where, but of what. If our Psalmody principle amounts to nothing more than a question of the place where a thing is done, it is not sufficient for a church to stand upon. . . ." He was unwilling to acknowledge a change in Psalmody if a majority of the denomination voted to adopt hymns. He argued that "in matters of conscience the Scriptures sanction what may be called the tyranny of minorities; rather, let me say, the submission of majorities." Parkinson admitted that this might seem harsh and unjust but he based his contention "on the principle that it is better to sacrifice rights and privileges than convictions." He felt that Paul might support Psalms were he an ARP, "though it is quite conceivable that to him the principle of an inspired psalmody would be 'nothing in the world.'" Parkinson's ambivalence at categorizing Paul may have indicated an uneasiness he felt with his own position on the issue. He ended his letter with a call for the

"other side" to present arguments from principle rather than from the position of liberty and expediency.⁷

A careful reading of Parkinson's letter leads one to conclude that he never declared himself to be opposed to hymns. He was opposed to allowing expediency to be the grounds upon which a decision on such an important issue would be based. He never categorically stated that the argument based on principle should be won by those who advocated the exclusive use of Psalms. His letter was actually a call to debate the issue of Psalmody on the basis of principle. He did not indicate his own position on the question. Admittedly, one reading the letter in 1933 would quickly conclude that Parkinson supported the exclusive use of Psalms. One can understand how some accused him of duplicity when, in the 1946 debate, Parkinson supported hymns. Yet reading the letter with the knowledge of his future position, one can see it as an indication that Parkinson was genuinely struggling with the issue in 1933 and sincerely wanted an intelligent debate on the principles involved in this issue.

Before the issue of Psalms was cooled by the above change in wording from First Presbytery, a much more heated debate developed over a report of the Joint Committee on Comity and Closer Relations Between the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS) and the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. This committee submitted a proposed plan to unite the two denominations with the understanding that it was not proposing immediate action, but merely careful study. Organic union would result in a denomination whose doctrinal standards would be the Westminster Confession of Faith, along with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. The PCUS Book of Church Order and Rules of Discipline would be adopted for the united church. Each congregation would "be allowed the same liberty of choice . . . which it now enjoys" on the question of songs of praise. Existing presbytery lines would remain as they were until "all parties" altering presbytery boundaries agreed. ARP ministers in the United States would be placed on the rolls for ministerial relief, Erskine would be supported, the seminary would merge with Columbia Theological Seminary, and Home

and Foreign Missions of the ARP Church would be maintained by the new church. Although no endorsement of union came from ARP committee members, the plan was obviously a serious move toward union.⁸

The first letter in the *ARP* on this new proposal came from Mr. E. C. Stuart. He advocated an end to the union movement before any more action might be taken. He contended that most ARP Church members opposed union and asked all who were able to attend church courts to fight "this unhappy movement to abolish our church." He predicted that union would worsen the financial condition of the denomination since its per capita indebtedness was less than that of the PCUS.⁹ Stevenson editorialized in the same issue carrying Stuart's letter suggesting that those who, like Stuart, were not able to attend church courts, could address the issue of union through letters to the *ARP*. Several correspondents wrote letters opposed to union. No one wrote favoring that action. For example, Mr. T. H. White wrote that the ARP Church had nothing to gain, and the Psalms to lose with union. He concluded by recommending "friends, keep your feet on the ground, don't fly off at a tangent, the two denominations will be considerably older before they are consolidated."¹⁰

Most correspondents agreed with Stuart and the person who was most active in writing letters to the *ARP* in the spring of 1934, the Rev. John R. Edwards. He wrote a series of letters entitled "The Passing of the Inspired Psalter as the Book of Praise in Divine Worship." Edwards treated the issue as a simple vote for or against the exclusive use of Psalms. He gave numerous examples of the Psalms speaking to individuals and argued that if used with hymns the latter would dominate. In a comparison frequently used ten years later, Edwards compared Psalms to gold, claiming that as paper money drives gold from circulation so hymns drive out Psalms. He was critical of the three educational agencies of the denomination: the seminary, the ministry, and the *ARP*. He argued that the seminary could have taught a course in Psalmody, the ministry should have preached more on Psalmody, and the church paper "could have exerted a far more potent influence in the matter under discussion."

Presumably, Edwards knew the union question was a moot one and wanted to prohibit a trend away from the exclusive use of Psalms.¹¹

The two issues were discussed together which made it difficult to make any change. To propose the use of hymns provoked charges that union was the ultimate objective. To propose union resulted in charges that the exclusive use of the Psalms must not be abandoned through union. Clearly the two issues were intimately connected and no change would be forthcoming until they were separated.

At Synod in 1934 the Joint Report on Union was referred to Synod's Committee on Correspondence. Eventually that committee made a report that was adopted creating a committee on Comity and Cooperation rather than taking "steps looking toward . . . union. . . ."¹² Numerous persons testified before this committee and charges were made that those favoring the tentative union plan "did not get a fair deal in the columns of the paper before the meeting of Synod."¹³ Stevenson defended his role as editor of the *ARP*. He stated that he was impartial, the paper took no editorial position, no articles were solicited, and letters were published without comment. Perhaps the fact that the two issues, Psalmody and union, were intermingled in a confusing way led to misunderstandings over the role of the *ARP* in the debates.

Item sixty-nine of the overtured changes in The Book of Government was adopted by a vote of 137 to seventeen. First, Mississippi Valley and Tennessee and Alabama Presbyteries adopted this "Psalmody Overture" unanimously. It was adopted by Catawba Presbytery (thirty-five to three), Second Presbytery (eighteen to nine), and Virginia Presbytery (ten to five). Several other proposed changes were defeated and a number received more negative votes than the "Psalmody Overture."¹⁴

Almost ten years later the 1943 Synod was confronted with a memorial from First Presbytery calling for a committee to investigate union with the PCUS. The issue was postponed until the 1944 Synod. Early in 1944 the Psalm issue was interjected into the union question. The Rev. William Moore Boyce wrote that a number of the most ac-

tive churches were not satisfied with the status quo in the denomination. It was necessary, he asserted, to recruit from other denominations by "talking down our distinctive principle." The church had not preached Psalmody from the pulpit and Erskine had not "majored in denominationalism—and wisely so." The result was a membership without convictions for "our distinctive principle" and for many there was no understanding of or interest in the Psalms. Young ARP Church members, Boyce declared, did not accept the arguments for Psalms that were accepted by the older generation. "Were we to limit our receptions to those who studied Psalmody enough to know what we are supposed to believe about it, our yearly accessions would be only a small percent of our none-too-encouraging accomplishments." He pictured the denomination as being out of step in an ecumenical age and having a "constantly dwindling opportunity to expand."¹⁵

In an editorial calling for a postponement of the union question, C. B. Williams, who succeeded Stevenson as ARP editor, argued that prior to union the church should clarify its position on "our distinctive principle." He noted that there had been compromise on the Psalm question since "our fathers took what has for a long while appeared to some to be an indefensible position." The latest compromise of 1934 allowed ARP Church members to sing hymns with other presbyterians without the surrender of principles.¹⁶

Those opposed to any move toward union also saw Psalmody as the more pressing issue. The Rev. C. Bynum Betts argued that the union issue could never be discussed by him because any union would spell doom for Psalmody. No thought of union with a church that did not use Psalms exclusively was palatable to Betts.¹⁷

At Synod in 1944 the Committee on Bills and Overtures had to report on the memorial from First Presbytery calling for a study of union. C. B. Williams characterized the committee as one containing a number of "conservatives." Members of the committee at the decisive April 27 meeting were: The Rev. J. R. Edwards, Chairman; Edgar Long, Secretary; the Revs. E. N. Orr, L. R. Neill, E. G.

Carson, J. L. Grier, W. H. Quinn, W. A. Kennedy, Jr. and Elders J. O. Norris and T. Branch Smith. Five alternatives were presented to the committee that selected the compromise offered by C. B. Williams, spokesman for a group seeking a compromise in the struggle over Psalmody. Synod adopted Williams' compromise which called for a committee to conduct a "thorough study of our position in the matter of praise" and report to the 1945 Synod. The committee was to consist of one representative from each presbytery and three elected by Synod from nominations presented by Synod's Nominating Committee. This ad hoc committee was instructed to organize before the adjournment of Synod.¹⁸

Williams represented an informal group from Due West who had worked out this compromise. The motion satisfied neither the position of those favoring Psalmody nor that of those who sought the introduction of hymns. It was the "middle ground" upon which both sides could agree. The critical element was said to have been the agreement that the Psalter-Hymnal of the United Presbyterian Church of North America (UPCNA) would be acceptable to all concerned. Williams is the only person identified as part of the Due West group affecting a compromise. If the group really represented all factions, the Revs. James P. Pressly and G. G. Parkinson would have represented the two extremes in Due West. The Revs. W. W. Boyce and C. B. Williams would have occupied the middle ground on this issue.¹⁹

Synod elected the Revs. M. R. Plaxco, T. H. McDill, and W. W. Boyce, designated as convenor and subsequently chairman of the committee. Those selected by presbyteries were: the Revs. David T. Lauderdale (Virginia), W. M. Boyce (First), R. A. Lummus (Catawba), G. G. Parkinson (Second), B. G. Pressly (Tennessee, Alabama), and J. R. Edwards (Mississippi Valley). All members of the committee were ministers, a sign that the day of fully recognizing the leadership of laymen had not arrived. In 1964 the major committee established to find a solution to the race question for the denomination consisted of five laymen and four members of the clergy.²⁰

In 1944 the creation of this committee of nine sparked

significant opposition. Williams' compromise was unacceptable to those supporting the memorial to study union. They presented a substitute motion asking Synod immediately to endorse the UPCNA Psalter-Hymnal and to overture the presbyteries for its adoption. Those behind the substitute motion considered the Committee of Nine to be composed of persons who would not endorse change. This substitute motion was defeated by twelve votes.

In an editorial following Synod, Williams gave an excellent analysis of the denomination's situation on Psalmody as the Committee of Nine began its work. For years, he explained, ARP missions in cities sought to identify those with ARP backgrounds. Urban churches then began to reach out to all, including the unsaved and unchurched. The result was that some ARP congregations in 1944 had few of the original "Psalm singing stock." Persons associated with these urban churches looked to a change in the rule requiring the exclusive use of Psalms which, as Williams pointed out, "is nowhere held to be essential to salvation. . . ." The hope was that the use of hymns might increase church membership. He reported that the creation of the Committee of Nine was the first yielding from the denomination's "conservatives" who might allow a liberalization in "our distinctive position."²¹

The Committee on Praise began studying the issue individually, then gathered at Bonclarken in the second week of August during the Christian Worker's Conference. It attempted to devise a statement representing a respectable majority of Synod. All positions would be studied and statements from members of the denomination were solicited.²²

The 1944 Committee of Nine, as the Committee of Nine in 1964, was unable to reach a consensus. The majority report, presented by W. W. Boyce, called on Synod to adopt a book of praise containing both Psalms and hymns. It noted that the present position of Psalmody was untenable, not justified by Scripture, and had never been adopted by the universal church.

The minority report pointed out that the Psalter was the only song book given by the Holy Spirit, and that as far as anyone knows, Jesus used Psalms exclusively. It argued

that the introduction of hymns would mean that the Psalms would not be used. The majority report, contended the minority, was an "absolute denial of all that we have been taught in our seminary. . . ." Since its adoption would, the minority claimed, end the ARP Church, they called on Synod to hold on to the Psalms. B. G. Pressly, the retiring moderator, D. T. Lauderdale, and J. R. Edwards presented this minority report.²³

Most of the day of Friday, April 27, was devoted to the debate over the two reports. Two spokesmen for each report delivered prepared addresses and others were given time to present their views. It is difficult for readers who were not involved in this church conflict to appreciate the depth of feeling generated over the issue of the "distinctive principle." For many the exclusive use of the Psalms was the symbol of the distinctiveness of the denomination and to abandon it was to give up the *raison d'être*. Others were just as determined to introduce hymns for they saw this as the only way to save the denomination from a lingering death, the inevitable result of a too exclusive group.

The presentations of the major protagonists in the Synod debates were published between September and December 1945, in the *ARP*. The Revs. John R. Edwards and William Pressly Grier presented the arguments for the minority report. Their presentations were emotional rather than scholarly and cannot be reflected adequately in writing. Their approach was to sway listeners by their methods of presentation. In printed form and over the space of almost forty years, their arguments suffer in comparison to those of their opponents.

Edwards made three main points in his support of Psalmody. He made Parkinson an issue, for that seminary professor had taught that Psalms were preferred for some forty years. How, Edwards asked, could one teach a doctrine for forty years, then repudiate it when he retired? Edwards also pictured the move to adopt hymns as the first step taken by "liberal" ministers whose ultimate goal was union. Edwards was perhaps the most outspoken proponent of Psalmody. He felt deeply about the songs of praise he loved. One can feel the emotional involvement of

that church leader while reading his presentation. He had some harsh things to say about his opponents. One can suppose his outspokenness was overlooked for all knew his pain in facing an end to the "distinctive principle."²⁴

W. P. Grier was less personal in his presentation. His was emotional in its appeal, but he based his remarks on Biblical passages. He used Leviticus 10:1 to show that there was an authorized method of worship that cannot be abandoned. Grier quoted from the New Testament to show that Jesus used the Psalms. He used Ephesians 4:11-12 to describe the various gifts Jesus enumerated and pointed out there was no gift of song writing included. Grier showed that the New Testament mentioned Psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, then quoted authorities who concluded that the "Psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs" used in the New Testament were all inspired works taken from the Book of Praise of the Old Testament. Grier concluded that men tend toward the human rather than the Divine, and thus hymns would always "crowd out" Psalms.²⁵

Moffatt Plaxco produced a splendid piece of scholarship to support the use of hymns. His study of songs in Scripture is much too thorough to review. He gave a brief history of church music from the early church through the early reformation. His research showed that the New Testament's references to "Psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs" most likely referred to at least one song of praise modeled on Greek music. These references, he claimed, showed that songs other than those taken from the Book of Praise were used in the New Testament church. Plaxco's historical scholarship shone brightly and his presentation was longer than Edward's and Grier's works combined.²⁶

Parkinson possessed a formidable intelligence, and by far the most penetrating logic of any ARP writer between 1932 and 1982. His presentation combined scholarship, though not as exhaustive as Plaxco's, with rational analysis. He agreed with Edwards and Grier that the Scriptures recommend Psalms, but he could find no Scriptural command to use Psalms exclusively. That, he pointed out, was the issue at hand. He did an exegetical study of words to complement Plaxco's historical analysis.

He argued that the New Testament church was not restricted in worship to the practices of the Old Testament. "It is even mentioned by Paul as something in the observance of which believers have a liberty which they are to guard."⁷⁷ Parkinson contended that Paul led a life long struggle against Judaizers who saw the old way as better. To assume in the absence of Scriptural proof, that this New Testament church was tied to the exclusive use of Psalms was too much for Parkinson. To assume there is no book of praise in the New Testament as proof that the Book of Psalms was to be used was less logical to him than to assume the New Testament leaves the liberty to select songs of praise with Christians.

Hymns crowd out Psalms, Parkinson contended, because the former are filled with Christ. He is not in the Psalms, though ARP ministers frequently attempt to read Him into them. "Our worship at its most vital point is involved in circumlocutions." Parkinson argued that revelation was progressive and it would be strange to see praise as static by being restricted to the Old Testament. The revelation which comes to believers through the experience of God's grace is new. The truth thus realized is not extra-biblical but the experience of God's grace is new and should be expressed in new songs of praise. Parkinson saw Jesus as emphasizing a dispensation of liberty rather than of restriction.

In examining the claim that the "Psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs" of the New Testament were all Psalms, Parkinson asked that we read the passage in its real meaning as "Psalms, Psalms, Psalm. Who can may believe that." After an analysis of the use of those words in the first century, he concluded that the word "Psalm" referred to songs from the Book of Praise. "Hymns" were songs of praise formerly used to address gods and heroes but Christians addressed them to God. "Spiritual songs" referred to songs in general, not necessarily of praise but of penitence and petition, the word "spiritual" being a qualifier. When he used the phrase "Psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs," Paul either "opens the door to the use of uninspired songs, or the Holy Spirit injects foreign ideas into simple words."

During his presentation Parkinson was asked why he

taught the exclusive use of Psalms throughout his career but began to advocate the use of hymns after he retired. According to one eyewitness, Parkinson answered with a twinkle in his eye. "Well, I don't know. I guess I just saw the light."²⁸

Parkinson's effort was even longer than that of Plaxco. His logic quickly wins over one who reads the arguments over the space of almost forty years. Yet the reader of today reads with the perspective of one whose church has not maintained the exclusive use of Psalms. To many of those living in such a church, Parkinson's arguments were less than persuasive.

The Synod of 1945 voted down the minority report by a margin of two votes (sixty-five to sixty-three). The majority report was adopted by a four vote margin (sixty-six to sixty-two). A motion to overture the question passed and the battle ground shifted to the presbyteries.²⁹

C. B. Williams established a policy for publication of the debate on the "distinctive principle." He denied that publication of material was an endorsement of the ideas presented and promised to exclude "promiscuous" debate. Williams limited the columns of the *ARP* to the four who made major presentations at Synod. He limited the publication of correspondence so severely because too much material would be received to justify publishing every letter and any method of selection would be viewed as showing favoritism.³⁰

William's decision not to publish correspondence on the praise issue lasted less than a month. In early October James P. Pressly's letter was published. This letter argued that Williams' policy was too limiting. Pressly argued that any *ARP* should be allowed to write on the subject. He also questioned the wisdom, not the right, of presbyteries voting on the Praise Overture in the fall. He felt that sufficient notification could not be made so soon and that a full debate of the issue could not be concluded by the fall presbytery meetings.

The same issue of the *ARP* included Williams' "Change of Policy" editorial. He admitted he was yielding to pressure for greater freedom in publishing views on the praise issue. The two arguments that proved persuasive to

Williams were that the subject was so vital to the denomination and that laymen were being denied a voice. The editor established ground rules for the debate he would carry, including a limit of one article per contributor. Should a correspondent be misquoted or misunderstood, he would be allowed a brief correction. Williams' limitation on correspondents was designed to keep the debate from becoming acrimonious.³¹

Those writing in support of Psalmody emphasized two main themes. To abandon Psalms would be a repudiation of the denomination's past and the beginning of the end of the church. The second theme was that to introduce hymns was to move away from reliance on the Scriptures and to become part of a "liberal" trend leading to "modernism." The Rev. J. B. Pearson expressed the second of the two arguments well when he listed two ways of interpreting the Scriptures. The first was the traditional ARP position. It held that what was not authorized by Scripture was forbidden. The second method of Biblical interpretation held that what was not forbidden by Scripture was permitted. To abandon the Psalms was, for Pearson, tantamount to adopting the second method of Scriptural interpretation, and would crack the door through which satan would quickly creep.³²

Those supporting hymns agreed with their opponents that the future of the denomination was at stake. Their reasons for this conclusion were quite different for they saw the maintenance of Psalmody assuring an end to church expansion. The denomination would lose the aggressive urban congregations who would join the PCUS. Left with weak rural churches, the denomination would expire.³³ Proponents of change frequently complained that those supporting Psalmody were unfair in that they pictured the issue as an "either-or" situation. They argued that they too supported Psalms and that the issue was merely their exclusive use.

Some proponents of hymns complained that the compromise developed in Due West and consummated at the Synod in Greenville, South Carolina was being undermined by those opposed to hymns. The most articulate expression of these sentiments was made by the Rev. John G.

Brawley. He felt that "men who seemed to be pillars in our church had agreed that the Psalter Hymnal" would be a suitable compromise. Brawley speculated that those leaders might have considered that their defense of Psalmody at the 1945 Synod was insufficient. This was the only reason he could give for these leaders to feel "justified in withdrawing their support from their own suggestion of the Psalter-Hymnal." Brawley called for concessions from each side to assuage "feelings of disappointment on the part of both groups. . . ." He suggested that all factions should come back to the point around which most agreed at the Greenville Synod, the Psalter-Hymnal. "If the exclusive use of the Psalms is a necessary thing for the highest welfare of our denomination, then the Psalter-Hymnal should have not been offered as a basis for compromise." Brawley felt the greater danger to the denomination was to deny hymns to those from hymn-singing backgrounds who "have persistently and patiently requested" the use of hymns.³⁴

The Rev. G. L. Kerr recounted the development of a compromise on Psalms. He claimed C. B. Williams was asked what basic objective his substituted motion addressed. Kerr reported that Williams responded that the ultimate objective was a "relaxation" of the denomination's position on praise. Kerr wanted to know when this movement to seek "relaxation" had changed, for he saw those who advocated "relaxation" becoming intransigent before the overture vote in presbyteries.³⁵

W. M. Grier concluded his arguments for the introduction of hymns with the contention that one excellent reason to pass the Praise Overture was that "it was the outcome of a compromise effort." Those who fought for change yielded in the interest of harmony and had a right to see the compromise accepted.³⁶

During the late winter of 1945-46 a new issue rose in the fight over the "distinctive principle." The "Sardis issue" is symptomatic of the tension inherent in the presbyterian form of government and helps explain the ARP proclivity toward congregationalism. The Sardis congregation was so committed to the use of hymns that it was not willing to accept a negative vote from higher courts.

On February 4, 1946 the Sardis session adopted a resolution calling for the passage of the Praise Overture. This group warned that the defeat of the overture would result in a number of pastors, church members, and even whole congregations withdrawing from Synod. The resolution professed that the sole determining factor in its consideration was the usefulness of the Sardis congregation in the service of God. To increase its membership and out of a feeling of responsibility for Christ's kingdom, the Sardis session gave notice that it would adopt the Psalter-Hymnal even if the Praise Overture were defeated. This, according to the resolution, was not an act of defiance but an honest desire to fortify the Sardis congregation and a fair notice of the gravity of the issue.³⁷

This resolution must have raised many eyebrows but few responded in public. The challenge to the presbyterian form of government was too much for J. R. Edwards. Should Sardis carry out its threat, "a more destructive and revolutionary procedure could scarcely be imagined." The real horror in the resolution for Edwards was that the session of Sardis had vowed to abide by the laws of the denomination. Their action was evidence to him that they thought little of their vows.³⁸

The Statesville Avenue Session produced a similar resolution on February 17, 1946. Resentful that opponents of hymns blamed the move toward "relaxation" on a few preachers in Charlotte, North Carolina, the elders, deacons, and congregation defended their pastor, the Rev. J. H. Buzhardt. He was only following the congregation's desires, this resolution declared, for "we have wanted this for years in our church." In fact the congregation attempted to use hymns at Statesville Avenue but Buzhardt had refused to sanction that move. "Some two years ago at a meeting of Synod, in Greenville, South Carolina, we were led to believe that if the fight for union with the Southern Presbyterian Church was dropped, the use of hymns in our church would be made optional with the congregations. Now we find most of the men who encouraged this belief fighting the Overture. . . ." The Statesville congregation professed no desire to see a split in the denomination but unless the overture on praise

were adopted "we are serving notice now that we do not any longer feel bound to the exclusive use of Psalms. . . ." The resolution noted that any action taken against Buzhardt would be considered as action taken against the congregation. This document was signed by all officers of the church, was unanimously adopted by the congregation, and Buzhardt was not aware of its existence until every session member had signed it.³⁹

The struggle over the "distinctive principle" was degenerating into an ARP armageddon. Proponents of Psalmody saw Parkinson as betraying a trust he held for forty years. Advocates of hymns saw their opponents as traitors to a compromise which had favored the Psalms. Neither side listened; each mistrusted.

At this juncture W. W. Boyce presented an unbiased analysis of the situation and pointed to a way out of "our dilemma." He pictured a three-way split in the denomination resulting in three minority groups with no consensus emerging. One minority group intransigently favored the exclusive use of Psalms. A second minority adamantly insisted on using hymns. A third smaller minority occupied the middle ground and seemed to favor the "distinctive principle." This decisively important group of "swing votes" had diverse motives. Some opposed change naturally, others feared what might happen once hymns were allowed, and the rest simply did not find it expedient to relax the "distinctive principle." The question was not one of the divine appointment of the exclusive use of Psalms. The real question, Boyce asserted, was "should a deeply conscientious minority, with the aid of a traditionalist middle, bind the consciences and limit the actions of the whole?" Those moderates occupying the middle ground should give in because they could retain the Psalms exclusively on the congregational level and allow others to sing hymns for the peace of the church. Boyce contended that, if passed, the Praise Overture would yield the same fruits the introduction of hymns gave the UPCNA: unity, relief from tensions, and vitally active Christian service.⁴⁰

One week after Boyce's attempt to defuse the tension growing out of the Praise Overture, G. G. Parkinson published a letter entitled "With High Leadership." He at-

tempted to find a "way out of our dilemma" by stressing points of agreement. Parkinson argued that the Praise Overture would make the question one of self-government for each congregation. At the worst, he claimed this solution smacked of congregationalism. He reminded all that both the Associate and Reformed Churches originated in an "assertion of congregational rights" against higher ecclesiastical authorities.⁴¹

W. W. Boyce could emerge as a conciliator. Parkinson was too identified with hymns to be acceptable as a figure of compromise. His letter appeared in the March 27 issue of the *ARP*. He was approached by James P. Pressly and the two talked at length over Parkinson's position on Psalms. The two could not agree on one point Parkinson had espoused. In his presentation at Synod Parkinson contended that Christians experiencing the grace of God should express their feelings in new songs of praise. Pressly was "shocked" at the implications of Parkinson's reasoning which could easily be seen as holding hymns in a superior position to Psalms since they were part of a "progressive revelation." Parkinson clarified his position for Pressly by giving assurance that he meant to say that the New Testament revelation was on a higher plane than that of the Old Testament. Pressly felt that the union issue would be inevitable should the Praise Overture pass. "I am not foolish enough to think that conditions will never arise" where union would be wrong. But, Pressly, asserted, the present was not the time for union.⁴²

Parkinson published his version of the April 1 discussion he had with Pressly. The question, Parkinson reiterated, was the exclusive use of the Psalms, not the use of Psalms. He complained again, as he had twice before, that it was unjust to interpret what he said as being in opposition to Psalms. "But now it appears that this, our correct parliamentary procedure, has been interpreted as disloyal to the psalms. I beg that in Christian charity this idea be cast out of every mind." Parkinson could not understand that those such as Pressly, who were dedicated to the exclusive use of the Psalms, were sincerely convinced that the introduction of hymns would indeed "drive out" the Psalms. Pressly had acknowledged that

Parkinson was a lover of the Psalms. Yet Pressly, Grier, Edwards, and others could never believe that Psalms would survive competition from hymns.

Realizing that he was an issue in the debate, Parkinson ended his letter with a request. "I should like to suggest that I am not in overture to the presbyteries and might be left out of the discussion to the profit of all concerned. . . ."43

Perhaps it was inevitable that Pressly and Parkinson would disagree over the Praise Overture. Each represented a tradition of the denomination. Parkinson was a genuine academician whose intellectual abilities had superbly trained two generations of ARP ministers. He was a man of books and reason whose logic told him that a lifelong devotion to the "distinctive principle" was not based on Scripture. He simply saw a truth and followed wherever this new knowledge led. Pressly was a genuine pastor whose intellectual abilities were superbly devoted in ministry to his beloved flock. He was a man of the people whose emotional commitment told him that a departure from the "distinctive principle" would ultimately undermine the denomination to which he was devoted. He simply saw an issue that threatened to destroy the church he had served so magnificently. To understand what each of these giants of the denomination represented is not only to understand the dilemma of the church, but to see a paradox of the human condition. Humans, as the church, must live with the tension that is natural to the finite condition where tradition and change must be reconciled.

Williams wrote an editorial in the issue of the *ARP* containing the letters of Pressly and Parkinson. It was an editorial with insight and contributed to calming the conflict over the Praise Overture. Some men, he wrote, cling to the existing order when others find pleasure in change. The rank and file were between the two extremes and were the true progressives.

These are they who take dispassionate counsel together, who 'prove all things' and 'hold fast that which is good.' It is just as inimical to progress to discard the good and excellent as it is to set the will against all change. Out of the free exchange of ideas

with concessions in matters short of inalterable convictions, come the sane findings and courses of action of a democratic society.⁴⁴

Presbyteries voted on the Praise Overture between early April and early May 1946. The vote was registered as "yes" or "no" in response to the question "Shall the Synod approve a book of praise comprising the Psalms and selected Hymns, the use of which is to be optional with individual congregations?" The vote, by Presbytery, follows.

Presbytery	Yes	No
Catawba	11	28
First	47	13
Mississippi Valley	8	21
Second	30	17
Tennessee and Alabama	3	12
Virginia	9	7
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	108	98

The Reverend Paul A. Stroup's motion passed requesting the Committee on Bills and Overtures to recommend a book of praise containing hymns that may be adopted by congregations. G. G. Parkinson presented a long resolution calling for unity and "the most scrupulous and tender consideration of the rights and feelings of minorities." After this motion passed the Synod adopted a more ominous one demonstrating the depth of feelings of those who lost. Elder John E. Gettys of Catawba Presbytery moved that a committee be appointed to study the ownership of church property and to make recommendations at the next Synod.⁴⁵

The Committee on Bills and Overtures recommended that Synod produce a song book containing Psalms and hymns. Until such a book could be produced, the committee recommended the use of the Psalter-Hymnal and Bible-Songs-Hymnal of the UPCNA.⁴⁶

The union question had been delayed pending a resolution to the Praise Overture. The union issue originated in the fall Presbytery meeting of First Presbytery in 1943. The Rev. P. L. Grier offered the motion as a memorial to

Synod. It contended that organic union was a natural and ideal expression of spiritual unity. Grier's memorial requested Synod to create a seven-man "Special Committee on Church Union" to meet with a similar PCUS Committee.⁴⁷

Synod's Committee on Bills and Overtures recommended that a union committee not be established. Debate raged for hours until a substitute motion by Moffatt Plaxco calling for a one-year postponement of the issue was adopted.⁴⁸

The battle lines on union were slow in forming. C. B. Williams wrote editorials pleading for Christian understanding on the issue. He found the "weight of evidence is in favor of the existing order," but acknowledged that God supported change at times and none should oppose God's will. He promised a full presentation of opinions and expressed faith that there was "virtue in the pooling of opinion and the balancing of mind against mind."⁴⁹

Parkinson offered a compromise to delay any consideration of the union question until one year after the Second World War ended. He believed those for union were too earnest to be given a blunt "no;" those wanting to wait for more settled times were so numerous they should be heard.⁵⁰

The Rev. Ernest Neal Orr thought such a large number of church members desired union that to refuse even to study the issue was unfair. He strongly favored union and pointed out that no denomination was an end in itself. If union would avoid duplication of effort then more resources could be devoted to reaching the unsaved. The 1782 union of Associate and Reformed Churches was thoroughly surveyed by a committee and since that date, he argued, distinctions between presbyterian denominations had lost their meaning. He pledged that the representatives from Tabernacle at Synod would support the memorial from First Presbytery.⁵¹

The Rev. W. R. Echols conceded that a study of union would risk disturbing the unity of the denomination. But should the memorial be denied he was positive there would be a breach of unity. It seemed only fair to him that

the largest presbytery should be granted a reasonable request.⁵²

The Glenwood congregation would grow much faster, according to John G. Brawley, "if a satisfactory basis of union with the Southern Presbyterian church can be reached." Brawley informed *ARP* readers that only six of 300 members at Glenwood were of *ARP* background.⁵³

C. Bynum Betts found the PCUS "impregnated with modernism" and thus unfit for union. He considered most arguments for union ones of expediency. He was also certain that union would result in an end to the exclusive use of Psalms.⁵⁴

Just before Synod, Williams took an editorial stand against the proposal to create a committee to study union. He presented three reasons for his position and each was a practical consideration leaving his mind open on the principle of union. He felt the unsettling war time conditions and the immediate post-war period of anticipated social and economic upheavals to be bad times for such a decision. Current ecumenical talks involving the PCUS were another reason to delay the consideration of union. As noted above, Williams proposed settling the praise issue prior to a study of union.⁵⁵

After Synod accepted the compromise to postpone consideration of union until the Psalm issue was resolved, Williams noted the dilemma of urban *ARP* churches that had to appeal to persons not of an *ARP* background. He realized there was considerable duplication of effort in many communities by the *ARP* and PCUS churches. He did report that it was understood "though not openly stated, that if a liberal position is taken [on hymns], the Memorial will not be pressed."⁵⁶ There seemed to be few who were involved in the "understanding" Williams mentioned. On the last day of the 1944 Synod, David T. Lauderdale, the retiring Moderator, introduced a resolution calling for a committee of seven to explore the possibilities of union with the Associate Presbyterian church, the two groups of Reformed Presbyterians, and the UPCNA. This resolution was deferred until the special committee on praise made its report.⁵⁷

Moderator Lauderdale had visited the PCUS General

Assembly. He recommended a resumption of exchanging fraternal delegates with the UPCNA, the Associate Presbyterians and the Reformed Presbyterians. This practice, eliminated as an economic measure, should be resumed because, Lauderdale argued, these "are our closest kin of all the branches of the Lord's Church."⁵⁸

Williams reported on a growing friendship between the UPCNA and ARP churches in 1947. Lauderdale's suggestion was followed and the Rev. James Guthrie was the fraternal delegate from the UPCNA at the 1947 Synod. Guthrie was effusive in praise for ARP people and among them he felt as if he were among "my ain folk." Although hymn singing was authorized for the ARP church "these cousins sing the Psalms as only those who have long cherished them can do." Guthrie was delighted with the election of the Rev. J. Alvin Orr as Moderator of the ARP Synod and reported that as a UPCNA minister Orr had been "one of our most aggressive United Presbyterian moderators. It is a shame that we are not one denomination, but we United Presbyterians can not do much about the promotion of this desirable union except to keep ourselves ready and worthy."⁵⁹ One salient advantage of union with the UPCNA was that Erskine College would expect much better support than might be the case were union with the PCUS effected. With Presbyterian College, a PCUS institution, only thirty-odd miles away, union with that denomination spelled doom for Erskine.

The future of Erskine could have been on the minds of some who attended the spring meeting of Second Presbytery in 1949. The Rev. T. H. McDill, Jr. submitted a memorial that requested Synod to create a committee to meet with representatives of the UPCNA church and discuss organic union. This committee would report back to Synod with advice on consummating the committee's recommendations. Second Presbytery endorsed this memorial by a vote of twenty to ten.⁶⁰ Synod endorsed this memorial with little opposition being expressed by a vote of eighty-six to twenty-two. Four committee members were appointed by Synod's moderator, the Revs. M. R. Plaxco, R. C. Grier, A. J. Ranson, and W. R. Echols. The unprecedented step of having a woman on such a commit-

tee of Synod was taken as Mrs. C. G. Sellers, President of the Woman's Synodical Union, was placed on the committee. Moderator Plaxco also appointed the following committee members to represent their presbyteries: the Revs. Charles E. Edwards (Catawba), Ernest N. Orr (First), W. W. Parkinson (Mississippi Valley), T. H. McDill, Jr. (Second), A. B. Love (Tennessee and Alabama), and D. T. Lauderdale (Virginia).⁶¹

Little was said about the prospects of union during the interval between the Synod of 1949 and that of 1950. Missionary B. L. Hamilton was very much in favor of union with the UPCNA. The ARP mission in Pakistan began with the UPCNA mission there and missionaries from the two denominations cooperated well. Second Presbytery and presbyteries of two other denominations held joint meetings in the fall of 1949. The merger attempt between the Reformed Church and the UPCNA failed in the spring of 1950. Williams was unsure of the implications of this failure for the ARP-UPCNA merger negotiations. He hardly revealed a state secret when he reported "that unions are harder to consummate than to initiate."⁶²

The "Reunion Committee," as some called it, gave an interim report at the 1950 Synod. It had nothing definite to report as all its meetings to date were described as "conversational."⁶³ It became the Committee on Church Relations at the 1950 Synod. Moderator R. C. Grier enlarged the membership to meet the added duties of the committee. The Revs. R. C. Kennedy, J. L. Hood, and P. L. Grier joined the committee whose charge was enlarged to include negotiations for union with the PCUS.⁶⁴ The "Central Committee" of the enlarged body consisted of E. N. Orr, R. C. Grier, and T. H. McDill, Jr. and met with representatives of the UPCNA. Other committee members attended meetings if their schedules and the travel required allowed them to participate. Meetings were held in Charlotte, Richmond, Due West, and Pittsburgh.

Much more time was spent in meetings with representatives from the UPCNA than with the officials for the PCUS. This was due to the familiarity with the PCUS, the fact that prior union plans provided sufficient information,

and the year of ground work already completed between the ARP and UPCNA representatives. Because of the more thorough work and the different problems, the plan of union with the UPCNA was more comprehensive than that with the PCUS.

Union with the UPCNA had the advantages of protecting Erskine College and Seminary and the integrity of the ARP Church structure. Union with the PCUS would entail integrating the various presbyteries. Union with the UPCNA, located outside the southeast, would mean that the ARP Church would remain intact as the ARP Synod under the UPCNA General Assembly. Advantages of union with the PCUS were that the two groups were of the same culture and many contacts already existed. Also the PCUS church was not racially integrated and the UPCNA had the Tennessee Presbytery, an all black body with churches in several southern states.

A detailed plan of union was developed between the ARP Church and UPCNA. Every church board and agency was dealt with and provisions were made for a complete integration of the two denominations. The black UPCNA would remain in a segregated presbytery.

The Committee on Church Relations conducted an effective publicity campaign. Details of all discussions were printed in the *ARP* and committee members wrote articles explaining each aspect of their plan. In addition the Rev. S. L. McKay was asked by the committee to write articles on UPCNA history, doctrine, organization, and polity. He proved to be an informative spokesman for the committee.⁶⁵ Catawba Presbytery held a conference on union. This presbytery had produced the largest opposition vote to the Praise Overture, and was considered to be strongly opposed to union. The Rev. R. A. Lummus of Edgemoor, South Carolina was an outspoken opponent of union who submitted two anti-union memorials at this meeting. Lummus felt the Committee on Church Relations should contain laymen equal in number to ministers, an indication that laymen were considered less likely to support union.⁶⁶

C. B. Williams did not publish letters on the union issue until the committee had produced a tentative proposal, in

February 1951. He established two rules for those wishing to express opinions. Correspondents were asked to be brief and to hold to facts since "confusion in thinking will result from mere opinions not based on known facts." In general the debate over union was more factually sound than that on Psalmody.⁶⁷

The most effective pro-union presentation was that of the Rev. Louis Patrick whose April 16 sermon to his congregation at the First ARP church in Charlotte was carried by the ARP at the request of his session. Patrick began his sermon with an assertion of the sovereignty of God's will and the fact that His church should always be about His business. He declared that God's will was for the church to be united. "Every organic separation means that the spiritual union of the church, however full and blessed, is incomplete." Separations that bear a "distinct witness to the Lordship of Jesus Christ" were blest by the Holy Spirit. Where separate denominations bear the same witness "organic separation constitutes a revolt against the Kingdom of God . . . Christ commands organic union."

Patrick believed that God raised up the ARP Church "to maintain the rights of the entire congregation to choose their pastor and to give the Covenanter traditions expressions in church life." But he found "no significant difference" between the ARP Church of 1951 and other presbyterian denominations. "A groundless division soon becomes a willful secession from the Church of Christ." Thus, for Patrick, union was not an optional matter. "Christians don't do as they please with the Body of Christ." He saw the denomination becoming a sect with "those off-center interpretations of Christianity now increasingly present in pulpit and pew." This change appeared where "preacher and people say, 'Let us stay where we are.' Living churches cannot be frozen."

He found a second justification for the existence of separate denominations in evangelism. When a particular denomination can appeal to people whose needs are not met elsewhere, it has a mission. Since humans were created in many varieties, one "super" church could never suffice. God, Patrick maintained, often uses small denominations for His work. Yet, he concluded,

denominations could continue to exist long after their existence was justified.⁶⁸

Mr. J. R. McCain, President of Agnes Scott and son of English Professor J. I. McCain of Erskine, defended the union plan with the PCUS. He argued that the college's position would be improved with the \$50,000 per annum ten year allotment promised by the PCUS.⁶⁹ This was \$23,000 more than the college received from the ARP Synod in 1951, though that allotment increased to \$48,000 by 1961. Of the three alternatives: non-union, union with the PCUS, and union with the UPCNA, Erskine would suffer most under the PCUS union plan for after ten years the college would receive no allotment from the PCUS. Despite this disadvantage for Erskine, Mrs. C. G. Sellers felt that Erskine would be better off after union with the PCUS than under either of the other two options. Sellers pointed to the close ties existing between members of the ARP and PCUS churches, concluding "they are our people." She saw no difficulty in merging the two women's organizations.⁷⁰ The UPCNA had no women's organization similar to the Woman's Synodical Union. Representatives from that denomination agreed to the retention of the Woman's Synodical Union under an ARP Synod within the UPCNA. They even advocated the UPCNA women organizing in a fashion similar to that of the ARP women. Talks including women leaders of the ARP Church and UPCNA were harmonious. Sellers presented a statistical analysis of the PCUS showing membership growth and the extent of the denomination's institutional enterprises.⁷¹

Other correspondents favoring union presented arguments to readers of the *ARP*, but the number of proponents was much less than that of opponents. Generally those favoring union in the columns of the *ARP* were members of the Committee on Church Relations. Evidently committee members were encouraged to support the report. Some committee members' endorsements appeared to be pro forma.⁷²

The opponents of union were not only more numerous but also more vigorous than the proponents. One issue disturbing some ARP members was the "liberalism" of the UPCNA and PCUS churches. As Elder Allen B. Smith

put it, union would result in association with many who "positively deny the basic truths of our faith, who support modernism, a Social Gospel rather than the blood of the Cross, [and] the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America." He saw the road of union terminating in union with the Roman Catholic Church. Smith advocated separation from those who deny "the Virgin Birth, and Deity of our Blessed Savior."⁷³ Smith's allegations were challenged by Mrs. Louis Patrick who felt that if he represented the ARP Church, those who thought as she had been "disowned."⁷⁴ Smith reported with specific examples to support his contention that both the UPCNA and the PCUS were too "liberal" for union with the ARP Church. Both the other bodies belonged to the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches. Those ecumenical organizations were anathemas to Smith because their organizations contained persons such as Alger Hiss, a "convicted perjurer, [and] betrayer of his nation," and John Foster Dulles, Chairman of the Department of International Justice and Good Will. He named Harry Emerson Fosdick as one who denied the Virgin Birth and as the kind of person who would be associated with the ARP Church through union. Some ARP ministers who had known Fosdick refuted Smith's accusations.⁷⁵

Mr. W. Frank McGee reflected the sentiment of many when he pointed out that union with either larger body would result in the ARP church's being "swallowed up." He estimated that sixty per cent of the ARP membership would unite without enthusiasm, twenty per cent really sought union, and twenty per cent might refuse to unite were Synod to endorse union. McGee's letter was unusual in its salutation: "with apologies to all who do not agree with me."⁷⁶

The Rev. J. B. McFerrin's main objection to union was that the larger denominations displayed a "trend toward modernism with unsound faith." He refuted the pro-union charge that the denomination needed to unite to satisfy its serious shortage of ministers. McFerrin agreed that a shortage existed but pointed out that the church's seminary had a record enrollment and there was an unusually large number of pre-seminary students in Erskine.⁷⁷

Mr. J. M. Bonner of Camden, Alabama issued a "personal appeal." He offered no arguments but chose "to state cold facts and ask you to deal with stern realities." Should Synod vote for union it would kill the Camden ARP Church for "we are uniting with nobody and it is best you know it." The Camden church never "dismissed a minister" and had never "had a row." Union would "drive off our minister" who was loved and in the minds of Camden ARP Church members had no superior in the denomination. The outcome of the union vote at Synod indicated Bonner may have spoken for a large number of loyal ARP Church persons when he wrote:

For years now a little group of agitators and 'dogooders,' who, it may be, desire to play in the Big League or preach in the Big Top, have kept our church in a state of unrest. We hoped that you might be happy and satisfied when you forced hymns down our throats (but you did not succeed in putting one of those hymn books in our Camden church). Now it appears that you are not satisfied and that you will be satisfied only when you kill the Church which our Fathers planted in loyalty and love. If that group just cannot let us alone, then, in Heaven's name why will they not pick up their hats and go wherever they may want to.⁷⁸

Mr. John Barron, Synod Treasurer, felt that union was not the "best plan." He assessed the financial condition of the denomination, saw weaknesses, and felt that the denomination could remedy these shortcomings. He found Erskine to be in excellent condition with the best physical plant the school had ever possessed. The retirement plans of both the UPCNA and the PCUS were superior to that of the ARP Church. With better participation by congregations, Barron calculated, the denomination could provide for retirement better than either of the other two denominations.⁷⁹

Mr. John E. Gettys devoted a long letter to an examination of the effects of union on Erskine College. Noting that the PCUS plan would not provide for Erskine after ten years, he concluded: "they have no place for the orphan,

but are willing to pay the burial expenses." Erskine recruited many of its students through church contacts, he claimed. Gettys contended that union with the PCUS would result in the loss of students since that denomination had numerous colleges that would attract children from former ARP churches. Union with the UPCNA, he admitted, might strengthen the college and seminary. But there was another factor mitigating against the welfare of Erskine should union with the UPCNA occur.

Gettys was concerned about the direction of United States Supreme Court decisions on racial segregation and public education. Some Southern state legislatures were considering closing public schools which would have an impact on Erskine. Gettys favored "the Negroes having equal facilities, but separate schools, churches and colleges." He felt that all "unsettled political conditions" on these issues came from above the Mason-Dixon line where the UPCNA was located. He conceded that there were many good people "there," but "they don't have the same ideas that we do on these social problems. . . ." Conjuring up the ninety year old Southern spectre, Gettys asked his readers to "please remember the War Between the States" when brother fought brother because they lived on different sides of the Mason-Dixon line.⁸⁰

In other correspondence race emerged as an issue in the union with the UPCNA. Mrs. Mary Hemphill Greene told of her grandfather, Mr. William R. Hemphill of Hopewell, Chester County who went before a UPCNA presbytery to be licensed to preach in the early nineteenth century. The license was "denied him because he did not give an unequivocal answer that he was opposed to slavery." She felt "such questions" might be asked young men "foolish enough to go north for their education. The UP's say there will be non-segregation in their churches and Due West can make its own plans."⁸¹ Mr. Allen B. Smith also contended that union with the UPCNA would result in joining a church that "advocates and encourages social . . . practices which are contrary to principles . . . [such as] the breakdown of social segregation of the races. . . ."⁸²

The Rev. Ebenezer Gettys became editor of the *ARP* during the debate over union. He presented the most com-

plete criticism of union through a series of long editorials published on the eve of the 1951 meeting of Synod. He found ministers in all three bodies who were sincere and preached "a true gospel." He knew some ministers in each denomination who were "liberal." He felt that both the UPCNA and the PCUS were true to Calvinistic principles but feared that future unions with other denominations would result in a church with "non-Calvinistic doctrine." He predicted the closing of Erskine College and "other ARP institutions" within ten years of union with either of the larger bodies. A greatly enlarged church membership would reduce proportionately the voice of individual members and churches. "We would be expected to give just as liberally, but have little part in the planning."

Gettys answered Louis Patrick's sermon by contending that Patrick had misinterpreted the will of Christ. The unity of which Christ spoke in John 17 was spiritual, not organic. To argue as Patrick did, Gettys countered, would be to advocate one worldwide denomination and to repudiate the work of Martin Luther.

The editor was one of the few who did not see union as beneficial to the cause of foreign missions. He argued that the Montgomery Field in Pakistan was too scattered to survive as part of the self-sustaining Punjab Synod of the UPCNA. ARP churches in Mexico, he believed, would join the Methodist mission, not that of the PCUS.

Proponents of union argued that UPCNA members moving south and ARP Church members moving north would be able to find a compatible church home after union. Gettys could not see why this cooperative ministry required organic union.

He noted that the UPCNA had adopted a "non-segregation" policy. "Personally, that does not disturb me at all, but I do not think our church in the south is ready for it." Union with that denomination "would give us work among Negroes." He informed his readers that one ARP congregation had begun "Negro work" and if others so desired the whole denomination should carry it out. "To join a church which has Negro work in order to say we do it is a long way around the question." This comment should have struck the quicks of those ARP Church per-

sons who considered themselves "liberal" on race.

Both union plans called for the retention of a separate Erskine Theological Seminary. Gettys felt this was the one institution that would benefit from union. A united seminary would allow for a more specialized curriculum, equal seminary training for all ministers, fellowship among persons training to be future church leaders, and reduce costs. This, in his opinion, was the only true economic saving that would accrue from union.

Gettys concluded his series of editorials on union by warning that each side had failed to be charitable toward the other during the union debate. "We become suspicious and critical when some use unworthy methods to carry their point."⁸³

The Fairlea Church, near Lewisburg, West Virginia was the location of the 147th meeting of the General Synod. The union question was on the agenda for discussion on the afternoon of Wednesday, June 6, 1951. There was little debate on the question. The procedure agreed upon was to vote first on the question of union. If that vote was in the affirmative, the delegates would then determine with which of the two prospects the denomination would unite. The ballot stated "Does the General Synod approve the idea of union?" There were fifty-nine yeas and 103 nays, almost a two-to-one margin. The rejection of union was not a repudiation of the denomination's leadership for the Moderator was R. C. Grier, a member of the "Central Committee," and the Moderator Elect was P. L. Grier, who introduced the original union memorial in First Presbytery in 1943.⁸⁴ The victors were making a reconciliation move to sooth the bitterness of the defeated.

The defeat of the union issue marked the beginning of an even more bitter period for some church members.

After Synod an unspecified number of church members from First Presbytery asked for their letters of membership so they might join the PCUS.⁸⁵ There is some evidence that the true objective of those from First Presbytery who initiated the union movement was union with the PCUS and that some moderates opposed to union with the PCUS had developed the move to unite with the UPCNA as a compromise.⁸⁶ Those involved in the move to

unite with the UPCNA included representatives from the more traditional ARP families such as Lauderdale, Grier, Plaxco, Ranson, and Edwards. Non-traditional ARP Church members from the newer urban churches, such as those in Charlotte, preferred to unite with the PCUS and had been strong advocates of hymns. Some of these persons were not satisfied with the adoption of the Praise Overture. They sought the adoption of hymnals similar to those used by the PCUS and non-presbyterian churches. The more traditional ARP leaders first attempted to compromise the issue of Psalmody by adopting the UPCNA Psalter-Hymnal. The non-traditionalists felt betrayed when certain traditional ARP leaders who agreed to the Psalter-Hymnal compromise at Synod emerged in the presbyteries in opposition to the Praise Overture. Non-traditionalists felt a double betrayal when they won the Praise Overture vote calling for a new ARP song book, and had Synod's Committee on Bills and Overtures adopt the UPCNA Psalter-Hymnal until an ARP song book might be produced. By 1951 there seemed to be no evidence of a new song book and no indication that if such a book were adopted it would prove to be different from the UPCNA Psalter-Hymnal.

These non-traditional ARP church persons also felt ill-treated during the union movement. Not only were they diverted from their real objective with the move to unite with the UPCNA, some might even have seen the movement as a way to defeat any union movement. Doubtlessly, some who preferred union with the UPCNA would rather remain ARP than become PCUS. Some who would accept union with the PCUS would prefer to remain ARP rather than become UPCNA members. By voting for the question of union first, those who opposed union with anyone were joined by those who preferred the status quo to the chance that the denomination would unite with an undesirable partner.

It is difficult to see how a different method of voting would have improved the situation. Had Synod voted for union with each of the potential partners in turn, roughly the same alignments would have taken place.⁸⁷

Some definitely felt betrayed in the 1946-51 period. This

does not mean there were churchmen who practiced duplicity. In interpersonal conflict there is the human tendency to feel suspicious of opponents. Feelings of betrayal do not substantiate the existence of betrayal.

At the fall meeting of First Presbytery the Sardis congregation asked to be transferred to the Mecklenburg Presbytery of PCUS. The First ARP Church of Charlotte asked that the entire presbytery transfer to the PCUS. If that motion were to be denied, First Charlotte asked to be transferred to the PCUS as soon as Synod released the church's property. Tabernacle ARP Church presented a petition requesting presbytery to ask for a special meeting of Synod to resolve the crisis. A motion by the Rev. Robert Marshburn postponing a decision on these issues was passed. A called meeting of First Presbytery was set for December 11, 1951 at Chalmers Memorial ARP Church.⁸⁸

First Charlotte expressed its sentiment in an "Open Letter" adopted on October 28, 1951. The congregation reluctantly recognized that their thinking was alien to that of Synod: "as far apart as the poles." Some of the most active members prepared to transfer to the PCUS after Synod, and the congregation could remain intact if it transferred as a body. "As far as the church law is concerned, we gladly leave it to the Presbytery and to the Synod to say whether or not our request is according to Presbyterian practice." Seventeen of nineteen elders, twenty-three of twenty-four deacons and over eighty per cent of the congregation adopted this "Open Letter."⁸⁹

A planning committee of First Presbytery consisting of the Revs. J. H. Buzhardt, chairman; S. L. McKay, clerk; J. W. Carson, and Elders A. T. Boone and W. E. Blakely was appointed to review the items to be considered at the December 11 meeting. In addition to the items of business from the fall presbytery meeting, there was a proposed compromise from the Rev. Murray W. Griffith, one from a meeting held in Due West, and papers presented by minority groups from First Charlotte and Sardis.⁹⁰

At the December 11 called meeting a letter from Synod's Moderator, Paul A. Stroup, was read. Stroup re-

quested that First Presbytery consider only the compromise proposals. He suggested that a five year "cooling-off" period be observed during which cooperative efforts with other presbyterians could be emphasized.

The reports on the two attempts at compromise were discouraging. Griffith reported on his activities which included the Due West compromise effort. On September 24, prior to the fall meeting of First Presbytery, a meeting was held at Tabernacle to discuss the crisis at Sardis, First Charlotte, and other churches. This group decided to attempt to generate some support for a reconsideration of union with the UPCNA. Evidently Tabernacle's request for a called meeting of Synod was one result of this first meeting. On October 5, four days before the October 9 meeting of First Presbytery, a meeting was held in Chester between ministers from First and Catawba presbyteries. This group decided that a meeting involving ministers from First, Catawba, and Second presbyteries might be able to save the unity of the denomination. They arranged for such a meeting in Due West. This third meeting was held at the home of the Rev. W. W. Boyce on October 11. Present were the Revs. W. W. Boyce, C. B. Williams, R. C. Grier, J. P. Pressly and E. Gettys of Second Presbytery; W. R. Echols and A. M. Rogers, of Catawba Presbytery; and S. L. McKay and M. W. Griffith of First Presbytery. This group "spent nearly four hours going around in circles." The group could find "absolutely no plan" that could receive their endorsement. The group asked Williams and Grier to write to the First Presbytery's planning committee expressing the deep concern of everyone. Griffith concluded his report by noting "it is my understanding that the 'Compromise Movement' is dead."⁹¹

First Presbytery defeated the petition from Tabernacle to request a called meeting of Synod. First Charlotte's petition for the withdrawal of the entire presbytery was defeated by a vote of twenty-eight to twenty-three.

A series of substitute motions and amendments to the petition of Sardis church failed. The original motion by Robert Marshburn granting Sardis' request for dismissal passed and was followed by a request that Synod make a

fair assessment of the properties of Sardis and First Charlotte. The last motion to pass this meeting was that of E. N. Orr requesting Synod to re-open the question of union with the UPCNA.⁹² At the spring 1952 meeting of First Presbytery that body granted the request from the Sardis congregation that they be released at once to join the PCUS. Sardis and its minister, the Rev. W. M. Boyce, were to remain in First Presbytery until they were officially accepted by the Mecklenburg Presbytery of the PCUS. Acceptance by the PCUS would automatically mark the dismissal of Boyce and the congregation from First Presbytery. There was confusion over the process involved in the Sardis withdrawal because such action was unprecedented. E. Gettys questioned the legality noting that he could find no provision for the withdrawal of a church from a presbytery. He searched the Books of Government of the UPCNA and the PCUS as well as that of his own denomination. R. A. Lummus requested Catawba Presbytery to memorialize Synod to review First Presbytery's dismissal of the Sardis Church. He contended that only Synod could dismiss a church.⁹³

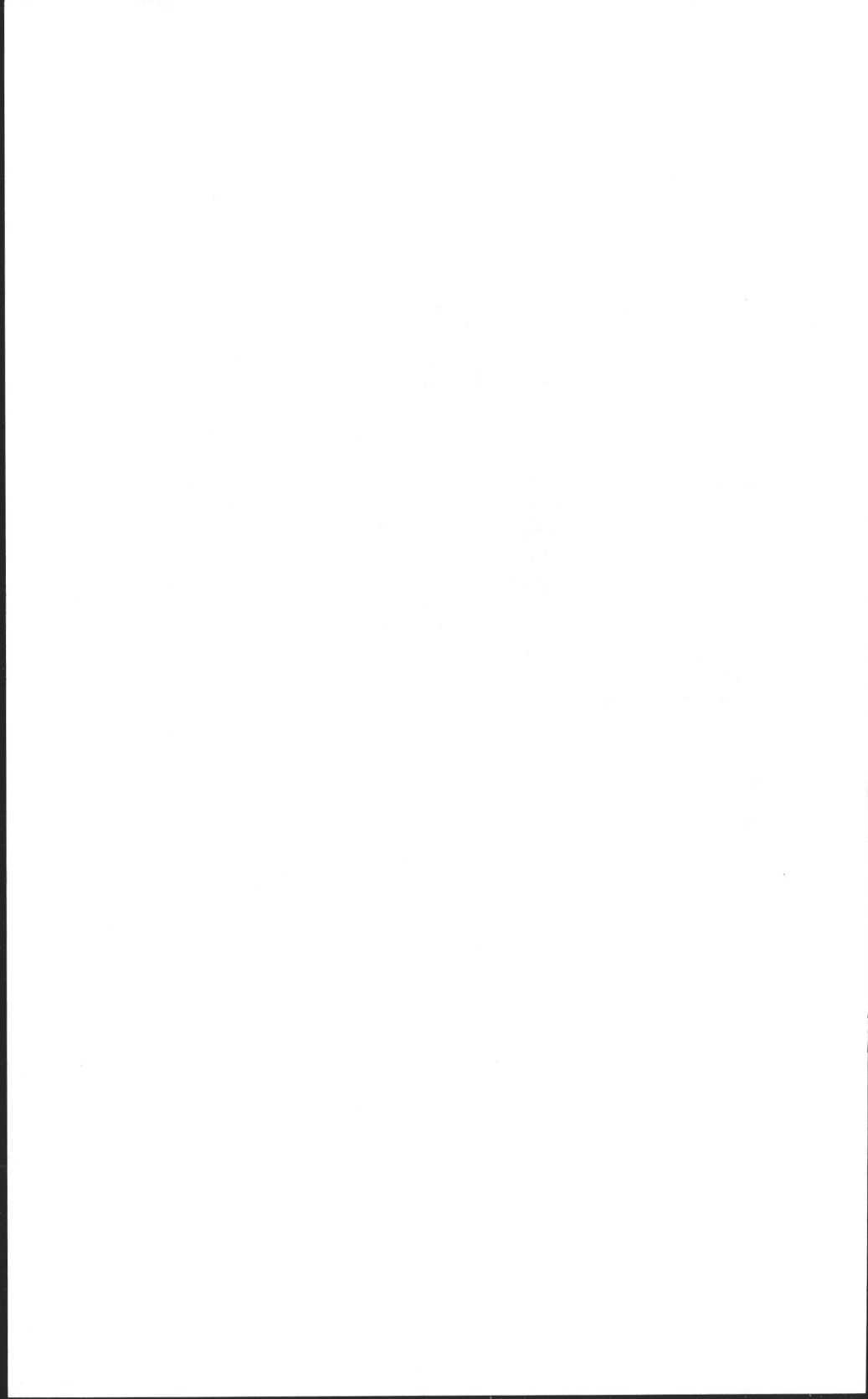
At the 1952 Synod Lummus' idea was expressed in a motion he made for Synod to overrule First Presbytery's action in transferring Sardis Church. After a long debate Lummus' motion was defeated by a two-to-one vote. A memorial from Second Presbytery requested Synod not to give property to any group withdrawing or "seceding" from the denomination and not to sell property to any such group except at a fair market price under terms approved of by Synod's Board of Trustees. A substitute motion to establish an ad hoc committee for a property settlement passed by a vote of eighty to fifty-nine. Next Synod discussed First Presbytery's memorial to reconsider the union issue. After defeating a motion to table the memorial for five years and then one to table for three years, Synod defeated the memorial by a vote of seventy-four to fifty-eight. J. H. Buzhardt introduced a resolution not to have any discussion of union for a period of five years unless those in opposition reopened the issue, and providing congregations leaving the denomination were dismissed with Synod's love and blessing. Buzhardt's mo-

tion, which passed, was made because union had been defeated at two consecutive Synods and continued agitation would further damage the New Life Movement, an evangelistic program.⁹⁴

Synod's Board of Trustees decided not to sell the Sardis and First Charlotte Churches' property to the majority desirous of withdrawing because in each situation a minority wished to remain in the denomination. The majority group at Sardis continued to use the church facilities even though they were in the PCUS.⁹⁵ The First Charlotte majority group agreed to withdraw and leave the church property with the remnant. Synod's Board of Trustees asked Sardis' majority to vacate the church property. An attorney responded to the request by informing Synod's Trustees that the property would be retained.⁹⁶ The Sardis majority filed a demurrer in civil court, but the court over-ruled.⁹⁷ An appeal to the North Carolina State Supreme Court was over-ruled.⁹⁷ Synod's board and the Sardis majority prepared for a civil trial in Mecklenberg County court. A trial date was delayed by the presiding judge until the two sides could agree to a set of facts. The case was settled by common agreement of the parties and the court accepted the settlement ruling "that the title to the property belonged to the Trustees of the Sardis A. R. Presbyterian Church." The majority group was given a sixty-day option to purchase the property for \$62,500. This option was exercised in the spring of 1955. The minority group at Sardis proved not to be viable by 1954. The \$62,500 was deposited in a savings account under the name of the Trustees of Sardis A. R. Presbyterian Church.⁹⁸ The 1956 Synod accepted this fund from the Trustees of Sardis A. R. Presbyterian Church as a trust fund, the interest of which was used as scholarships for ARP students of theology at Erskine Theological Seminary.⁹⁹

Though the issue of the disposal of the Sardis Church property continued until the spring of 1955, the emotional intensity of the union issue began to ebb after the 1952 Synod. Deep scars were left in the church and quite a few individuals left the denomination. Those leaving included several young ministers who exhibited characteristics which indicated potential for denominational leadership.

Within the decade quite a few younger ministers abandoned the denomination.¹⁰⁰ One cannot assume that all, or even most left because of the Praise Overture and Union issues but these fights certainly were influential with some who transferred to other denominations. The denomination historically has been a training ground for excellent ministers who have served the Lord in other churches. Certainly some of those potential leaders who left the ARP Church because of the Praise Overture and union issue could have been persuaded to remain had more compassion, understanding, and Christian love been evident. This is not an attempt to lay the blame on any group or the advocates of any position. Both "sides" in these struggles contributed to the bitterness many felt. E. Gettys noted that "these matters caused heartaches and disappointment. Unfortunately, some sharp remarks were made." If one reads history so that it is not relived, then all would do well to consider the harvest that follows the sowing of such bitter seeds.



Chapter II

FROM SCOTTISH SIMPLICITY TO INERRANCY

There was much less controversy over doctrinal matters in the years before 1960 than in the period between that year and 1982. That does not mean that doctrine was unimportant nor does it indicate a lack of doctrinal diversity among members of the denomination. The tendency before 1960 was to tolerate various doctrinal differences. After 1960 there was more contentiousness on the part of Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church members. The one issue that produced considerable disagreement before 1960 was that of the "social gospel" discussed elsewhere. Yet on this issue there was a considerable amount of latitude among various individuals. Those maintaining different positions were comfortable with the diversity. None of those writing on the "social gospel" identified this position as the denominational position to which every ARP must adhere.

It was not pure doctrine that made the denomination unique in the 1930's, though none would assert that the church's doctrine was impure. According to the Rev. R. L. Robinson, Dean of Erskine Seminary during the 1930's, the uniqueness of the church was due to several factors outlined in the Rev. James Strong Moffatt's address at the Centennial Synod. Robinson interpreted Moffatt's speech as listing four unique aspects of the denomination: exclusive use of the Psalms, a "spiritual conception of the Church," the "purity of communion," and the fact that "we maintain that the Church consists of men and women who are in Christ, who know Him by direct and personal experience and have surrendered themselves entirely to Him."¹

The Rev. R. M. Stevenson phrased the denomination's uniqueness in a different way. He felt the Scottish origin of the denomination made it unique in America. The five "Scottish" beliefs this ARP editor specified were different in some respects from Robinson's ideas. Stevenson felt that one Scottish belief was the "Sabbath Sanctity," though he admitted that the American environment im-

pinged on this principle to cause "relaxation." The additional legacies from the Scottish church were the exclusive use of the Psalms, the maintenance of dogma (the Catechism and the Confession of Faith), and religious teaching in the home. The fifth Scottish inheritance was a simplicity of worship characterized by carefully prepared sermon outlines, "distinctly scriptural" sermons, and messages "aimed at the hearts" of the congregation.²

In the next forty years the church would have significantly more "relaxation" on "Sabbath Sanctity" so that it was no longer different from other presbyterian bodies. The "purity of communion" and the exclusive use of Psalms are aspects of the church that have been abandoned. The church may or may not be composed of "men and women who are in Christ" and who conduct religious training in the home. These are subjective characteristics. Together these two lists included seven aspects of the denomination in the 1930's. By the 1980's most Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church members would probably characterize their church as retaining a "simplicity of worship" and adhering to dogma. Certainly there are some who would dispute this contention, but the denomination has not strayed radically from its dogma. Compared to other presbyterian bodies, the denomination has relatively simple worship services.

Stevenson complained that too many sermons in the 1930's had insufficient doctrinal content. He contended that what a man believes lies at the foundation of what he does. Doctrine, to Stevenson, was the basis of duty. He called for more doctrinal preaching, but warned that the method of preaching doctrine must be relevant to the audience to whom the message is addressed. He noted that Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine preached doctrine and attracted as many as 3000 listeners. From his reading of the Erskines' printed sermons he concluded that their style of presenting doctrine could not be imitated in the twentieth century. To be attractive in the present age, doctrinal sermons must be in an "attractive style" which was defined as compact, short, with popular illustrations, and devoid of abstruse theological terms.³

The Rev. G. G. Parkinson felt that preachers, not doc-

trinal preaching, were "dry." Doctrine, to Parkinson, was God's Truth "concerning God and duty and destiny." Doctrinal preaching allowed the preacher to impart this truth so that it was brought to bear on his congregation. It was a "monstrosity, a tragedy, a sin" to omit this Truth from a sermon. Preaching the Truth could make people over in the likeness of Jesus. The doctrinal sermon was a mirror the preacher used to reflect God to the congregation so that they might be transformed by His Truth. Parkinson described the process of excellent doctrinal preaching from the Bible. The minister may "take the transient things of life," penetrate below them and elucidate the "great underlying Scriptural principles." He warned that many who adopted this method "fail to get below the superficial crust of daily happenings," and delivered sermons that were without value as Gospel with "little worth as current comment." Yet preaching with no reference to contemporary events could produce timely preaching with timeless messages. One essential ingredient for any minister of the gospel was constant learning. Parkinson insisted that ministers should devote hours each week to reading and study. New knowledge could be obtained no other way, and even if new ideas were not presented directly in sermons they added depth to the message. "Intellectual suicide is a common sin of the clergy." One whose intellectual horizons were not broadened constantly might fall into a practice of cheap preaching "whose chief end is in one way or another the preacher himself. He stands on holy ground. If he would entertain, that is sacrilege." The danger of intellectual pursuits was that the preacher might not preach at the intellectual level of the congregation. Parkinson recommended a diet of spiritual milk for the young and spiritual meat for adults. Above all, he informed his ministerial audience, the Holy Spirit makes an excellent assistant.⁴

Most theological concerns in the 1930's and 1940's were centered around methodology rather than dogma. One theological issue that received slight attention was that of millenarianism which became the hobby horse of some electronic ministers of the 1970's. The traditional ARP dogma was the amillennial approach, the view of Luther,

Calvin, and the church creeds. The amillennialist argued that no amount of Scriptural study could reveal to the finite mind the time or place of Christ's second coming. Stevenson rejected the post-millennialist view, that Christ's thousand year reign would be attained through the spiritual presence of Christ in the use of ordinary means of grace, and the pre-millennialist view (later characterized by the "Rapture"), that Christ would appear in person to usher in the millennium. Stevenson noted that "Paul and Peter had taught the imminence of the event, which [their followers] . . . misunderstood to mean the imminence of the time." He showed that Jesus rebuked the Disciples when they discussed the time of the event. The imminence, according to Stevenson, described the event itself and did not imply immediacy.⁵

As at all times in the denomination's history, ministers worried because of congregational disinterest in the church. It was frightening to Stevenson that there was so little congregational interest in church activities in the 1930's. He estimated that the average ARP congregation could be expected to have fifty-five per cent of the membership present at the Sabbath morning service. About ten per cent attended Sabbath school, twenty per cent were usually at evening worship and only twenty-five per cent gave personal service to the church. As for Wednesday evening prayer meetings, Stevenson claimed so few attended a percentage could be "scarcely computable." To remedy this he suggested that ministers spend more time in their "workshops" and less time visiting the sick, developing young people, and in other time consuming activities. He insisted that more reading and study would produce the sort of preaching that would attract the congregation. One wonders how unlimited study could enable one minister to produce three scintillating messages every seven days. Stevenson thought that ministers should disturb their flock's lethargy and complacency. Having parishioners think of God as a "glorified Rotarian" would, Stevenson asserted, not produce a "disturbance in the human conscience."⁶

The type of "disturbance" of which Stevenson wrote was intellectual, not emotional. He warned young people

that there were few things in which they were more liable to err than "to suppose that religion is a matter of temperament." He did not agree with Christians who "think that religion is largely a matter of the emotions." Such Christians "think one who does not feel like shouting on some occasions, or on other occasions cannot cry readily," is "destitute of religion." Stevenson knew that one's temperament influences his piety. "Some are not sanguine and cheerful, while others are naturally gloomy and despondent." "Conversion does not change the temperament." One who is despondent will receive little emotional joy from religion and one who has a cheerful disposition will receive "comfort and divine encouragement" from worshipping God.

"Making religion chiefly a matter of emotion is an error that leads to unnecessary anxiety in the minds even of those who are in the judgment of charity good Christian men and women." Stevenson pictured the "emotional Christian" as a sailing vessel dependent upon the impulse of wind whose progress will depend largely upon the strength of the impulse. For such a Christian to "move forward rapidly" there must be favorable conditions, Christians who "insist more on the will than the emotions," were seen by Stevenson to be analogous to a "steamer which is moving from a propulsion within, sets at defiance outward obstacles and advances steadily toward its destination through calm or storm, whether clouds or sunshine prevail." Such a Christian "may lack order" but does possess stability and tranquility.⁷

Church persons adhering to the legacies of the Scottish style of simple and dignified worship services would be astonished to learn that some ARP Church members of the 1970's were involved in the charismatic movement. Yet if Stevenson, Parkinson, and Robinson were alive in the 1970's they might have agreed with First Presbytery's position on the charismatic movement. These church leaders of the 1930's were practical men who sought harmony and peace in the brotherhood of believers. They were not condemnatory of diversity. First Presbytery defined the charismatic Christian as one who speaks in tongues, interprets tongues, possesses powers of healing,

exorcism "and other practices not normally associated with the denomination's accustomed style of congregational life." Speaking in tongues was defined as glossolalia, "the utterance in prayer and worship of sounds that give the impression of being either ecstatic or a language hitherto unknown to the speaker."

First Presbytery declared that no church court could determine if any specific instance of charismatic experience is or is not a true manifestation of the Holy Spirit. It found the gifts of charismatics not essential to full experience in the New Testament and not the higher gifts Christians were urged to seek in I Corinthians 12:31. First Presbytery declared there was no place in the ARP Church for any group claiming exclusive or superior possession of the Holy Spirit, for "no gifts are of value without love." It then elaborated on the nature of the Holy Spirit indwelling in every Christian. First Presbytery provided guidelines for dealing with practical problems that might arise from the charismatic movement, and encouraged respect and affection among all church members.⁸

ARP writers generally favored new translations of the Bible when they were the result of modern scholarship. R. L. Robinson was particularly interested in and favorable toward new translations. Between September 1936 and January 1937 he reviewed four different translations in a column he wrote in the *ARP*. The only translation he did not endorse unconditionally was the Moffatt Translation which he felt did not compare "in simplicity and melody" with the King James Version. He admired other aspects of the revised edition of Moffatt's Translation. He noted that "no translation is, or ever will be, without flaws." He was particularly impressed with the Cambridge University Press's Authorized Version of the Bible in 1936. The King James Version was a "masterpiece" and still preferred by laymen. "Yet it has to be said that here and there it trips and there are opaque passages, which, now that we have a better original text, may be cleared up by a better translation."⁹

In November 1939 Stevenson wrote an editorial on various versions of the Bible. He agreed with the consen-

sus of a panel discussion he attended at a national convention of the American Bible Society. The experts on this panel concluded that the King James Version contained the most beautiful language even though later translations give a more accurate translation of Scripture. He mentioned five translations that could be used as "commentaries" on the King James Version. Stevenson felt that the 1881-85 English Revision could be expected to replace the King James Version. He found the American Standard to be the most accurate translation but recognized that most Americans purchased the King James Version. He found the latter to have defects such as "faulty renderings and occasional interpolations, failure to bring out the different shades of meaning of some passages, translations of two or more words in the original by one word in English, and making distinctions for the sake of variation where faithfulness to the original required the same word." Stevenson knew that the "common people" had faith in the King James Version's scholarship and loved its "matchless vocabulary and style" which he found "beyond comparison."¹⁰

The Rev. C. B. Williams welcomed a new edition of the American Standard Version in 1941. Most persons he knew preferred it above all others for "its greater accuracy and clarity." Williams never appreciated the substitution of "Jehovah" for the older "the Lord" and was glad the new edition had reverted to the latter term.¹¹

The Rev. Joseph L. Grier recommended the Revised Standard Version when it became available. He felt it would be excellent because it incorporated the latest scholarship and retained some of the poetic language from the King James.¹² The Rev. Ebenezer Gettys also endorsed the Revised Standard Version and was glad to find that this most recent work of scholarship did not deviate much from the King James Version. This similarity showed him that the King James was still a valued translation. He noted that "word meanings" had changed since the age of James I and was glad that obsolete words had been altered in the newer translation. He considered the Revised Standard Version essential for every minister.¹³

Williams was excited to read of the discovery of the

Dead Sea Scrolls in 1950. He did not believe that antiquity alone was the test for authenticity but he thought that in general the more ancient the manuscript, the less likelihood there was of variations from the originals. He noted that there were serious discrepancies between the Masora, a Hebrew text dated around the tenth century AD, and the Septuagint, a Greek Old Testament translation dated before Christ. Because of these differences, William noted, scholars thought that different sets of manuscripts could have been used as a basis for these two texts. He speculated that the Dead Sea Scrolls, dated as early as the third or fourth centuries BC, could clarify some discrepancies. He reported that the Dead Sea Scrolls contained Isaiah and it varied little from the King James version. "This fact reflects the extreme care of the ancient Hebrew copyists, the scholarship and fidelity of the English translators, and the supervision of the Spirit in preserving in pure state the true revelations made to man."¹⁴

Not all commentators were positive toward the results of scholarship. Although others endorsed "The Interpreter's Bible," the Rev. J. Alvin Orr could not fully endorse that work. Orr's review was different from that of all others mentioned above in that the other reviewers commented on the particular works under examination without mentioning individual scholars involved in the work. Orr was much more concerned with those who contributed to "The Interpreter's Bible" than with the content of their contributions. He found many to be "conservative" with no neo-orthodox men involved in the endeavor. He was concerned that three of the final editors were professors at Union Theological Seminary in New York. Orr wrote to one of these men and requested answers to five questions. These questions must indicate what Orr considered to be essential theological tenets. They included the divinity of Christ, the vicarious atonement of Christ, the literal resurrection of Christ, and the belief that regeneration by the Holy Spirit was necessary for eternal life. The other question asked "Do you believe the Bible to be God's self-revelation of Himself and of eternal truth, or is the Bible man's best thought as to God?"

These questions reveal nothing other than Orr's conception of basic beliefs for he received no response. Since he received no direct answers, Orr read some other writings of the unidentified professor and concluded that that person would not have answered the questions in a satisfactory manner. On this basis he expressed reservations about the *Interpreter's Bible*.¹⁵

Orr's review of the *Interpreter's Bible* included a charge that the Roman Catholic Church was more determined than ever before to become supreme. He was afraid that the *Interpreter's Bible* might not espouse doctrines essential to the Protestant Church and thereby give aid to Roman Catholics. This opposition to the Roman Catholic Church was a minor theme of ARP theology. For some, such as Orr, the Roman Catholic Church in the United States was a real danger to the ARP Church.¹⁶

In 1940 Synod adopted a memorial from Second Presbytery which lodged a "vigorous protest" with the United States government over its decision to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican. C. B. Williams felt that a more formal observance of Lent by the ARP Church might be beneficial if it could be saved from "formalism." He believed the observance of Lent developed early in church history which made it Catholic rather than Roman Catholic. Observance of Lent "degenerated into that externalism and formalism which characterize Roman Catholic ritualistic worship in general." Williams' editorial emphasized a theological disagreement Reformed Churches had toward the Roman Catholic Church without exhibiting the emotional intensity bordering on fanaticism of some ARP Church persons in the 1940's.¹⁷

The 1943 Synod passed a resolution opposing the appointment of certain Roman Catholics to governmental positions and complaining of the cooperation between the Vatican and Mussolini.¹⁸ In 1951 J. Alvin Orr wrote an article entitled "The President and the Pope." He had heard that President Truman was to appoint General Mark Clark as a representative to the Vatican. Orr felt this action to be a violation of the principle of church-state separation. Orr argued that the Vatican could not be both a state and a church. If it were a nation, Orr considered the

appointment of a representative unconstitutional without Congressional approval. If the Vatican were a church, Orr considered the appointment of a representative an unconstitutional breach in the wall of separation between church and state.¹⁹ E. Gettys wrote a letter to Truman and one to each of South Carolina's United States Senators protesting the appointment of a personal representative to the Vatican. He urged all ARP readers to protest this action. He noted that the National Council of Churches had also protested Truman's action.²⁰ Orr felt that this was a question that threatened religious liberty in America and was fearful: "what, think you, may come next?"²¹

E. Gettys was fearful that a protestant would not be elected President in 1960. "As a Protestant country we should certainly have a good Protestant to head our government." He pointed out that protestants were denied rights in countries such as Spain and Colombia "by governments under control of the anti-Protestant church." He printed a circular from the Catholic Committee for Historical Truth which was entitled "America Is a Catholic Country." This article was an updated version of one published during the 1928 Presidential Election when "Al" Smith ran as the first Roman Catholic nominee of a major party for the Presidency. It was designed by the opponents of Smith and was reissued by opponents of John F. Kennedy in 1960. It called on Roman Catholics to vote for Kennedy for "if we elect a Catholic as President to take his place at the head of the Army of God," the United States would "defeat Communism and make the United States a Catholic country. . . ." The ARP editor was unaware that this publication was a campaign tactic and thought it was a genuine document. Gettys considered it a "clear declaration of purpose by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in America to take over the government if possible." He felt that parochial schools were alien to the American system of education.²² As on other issues editor Gettys was of the "old school" of ARP ministers when it came to his attitude toward Roman Catholics.

In 1975 Synod adopted a memorial from Florida Presbytery to amend the *Confession of Faith* of the denomination by deleting from chapter XXV, paragraph

VI the section that referred to the Pope as the anti-Christ. The deleted passage read: "nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head [of the Church] . . . but is that anti-Christ, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the church against Christ, and all that is called God." This passage was replaced with the following: "nor can any mere man in any sense be the head [of the Church]. . .
"23

On at least one issue some ARP Church members adopted a position barely distinguishable from that of the Roman Catholic Church. The position of some Church members on abortion, that the only acceptable form of abortion was that performed to save the life of the mother, is the historical position of the Roman Catholic Church rather than the reformed church.²⁴

The theological position of the denomination can be elucidated by examining its attitude toward various ecumenical organizations.

During the 1930's the ARP carried notices of various ecumenical organizations but did not endorse or even express approval of any body. Stevenson wrote an editorial to show that a committee of the UPCNA had examined the work of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. He explained that some "conservative" denominations were suspicious of the Federal Council which was deemed to be too "liberal." This committee of the UPCNA found "adverse propaganda that was being circulated about the Council." Stevenson's comment was that many persons were so opposed to "radical tendencies of a social gospel that they look with suspicion upon any tendency, or fears of leanings in that direction." The UPCNA committee recommended that that denomination remain connected with the Federal Council of Churches and commended the work of that organization.²⁵

Stevenson's editorial neither endorsed nor opposed the Federal Council of Churches. His comments give an indication that he found nothing particularly objectionable to its activities. J. Alvin Orr was definitely opposed to that body because of what he saw as a "liberal" theology, a social gospel outlook, and his belief that the organization cooperated with non-Christian bodies. Orr attended the

constitutional convention of the Association of Evangelicals in Chicago during the summer of 1943. He felt this organization to be an excellent one and that its basic objective was evangelism. Orr did not object to an evangelical body but preferred one that believed social work to be secondary to evangelism.²⁶

The ARP Church did not become a member of the National Council of Churches in Christ in the United States of America when it was constituted at Cleveland, Ohio in December 1950. The denomination's Board of Christian Education joined the council's Division of Christian Education but the ARP Board of Foreign Missions voted not to join the Council's Foreign Missions Conference. R. C. Grier, Synod's Moderator-Elect, attended the constituent meetings of the council. Gettys did not oppose the council and printed the optimistic literature supplied by that body. He also reprinted a long article by a Southern Baptist observer at the Cleveland meetings. Gettys printed this long and negative assessment of the council to balance the favorable material he had received from the National Council of Churches. If the tone of Stevenson's editorial on the Federal Council of Churches is characterized as passively supportive, then E. Gettys' treatment of the National Council of Churches in 1950 can be characterized as passively negative. He devoted more space to criticism than to material supportive of the council.²⁷

In 1953 a move was made to have the ARP Board of Christian Education sever its connections with the National Council of Churches. Synod voted during the same year to support the Board of Christian Education's request that it remain affiliated with the Council's Division of Christian Education. One reason given was that the presence of an ARP representative in the Division of Christian Education provided a "conservative" influence. Because there was criticism of material reaching ARP churches from the council, Synod's Director of Christian Education agreed to edit material from the council before it was mailed to ARP churches.²⁸

Five years later, ARP supporters of the National Council of Churches attempted to have the denomination become a member of that body. At the 1958 Synod a mo-

tion passed to have the Moderator, the Rev. B. L. Hamilton, appoint a committee to investigate the possibility of the denomination's joining the council. The Revs. R. C. Grier, J. B. Hendrick, and Harry Schutte were appointed to this committee and recommended to the 1959 Synod that the denomination not affiliate with the National Council of Churches. In adopting this report Synod did not alter the relationship of the ARP Board of Christian Education to the Council's Division of Christian Education.²⁹

Affiliation with the National Council of Churches was to some degree an issue by which one might judge the general attitude of the ARP Synod. By 1966 the sentiment of Synod had shifted away from any association with the National Council of Churches. Mr. C. D. Baring of Lake Placid, Florida, wrote a letter to the ARP in which he attempted to demonstrate that a number of persons associated with the council also were affiliated with the objectives of Communism.³⁰ At the 1966 Synod a motion was made by the Rev. J. Calvin Smith to sever the connection of the ARP Board of Christian Education with the National Council of Churches. A substitute motion to have an ad hoc committee of nine study this relationship was defeated by a substantial 103 to fifty-three vote. A second substitute motion to request the Board of Christian Education to withdraw from its affiliation with the council passed. This fifteen year relationship between an ARP board and an agency of the National Council of Churches had always been a controversial one. It was a typical experience, for any participation with ecumenical bodies usually produced controversies within the denomination.³¹

On the local and presbytery levels ARP churches have always been active in supporting cooperative ventures with other churches. Local ministerial associations in areas with ARP churches have profited from the leadership provided by ARP ministers. First Presbytery has participated in a state-wide Christian Action Council of North Carolina for years. In 1951 the South Carolina Christian Action Council was created out of the State Temperance League. That former organization had received strong support from ARP delegates. The only Executive Director

of the South Carolina Christian Action Council, the Rev. Howard McClain, worked closely with ARP laymen and ministers after he was elected at the organizational meetings of the South Carolina Christian Action Council. The ecumenical organization has not enjoyed consistent support from Second Presbytery for there was criticism of the affiliation in 1976.³²

The ARP Church has participated in some international ecumenical activities. C. B. Williams attended an international gathering of reformed churches in Evanston, Indiana in 1954. Williams was enthusiastic over the Evanston meetings. He was particularly impressed with the Rev. John Baillie, Principal of New College and Dean of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh. When Williams introduced himself to Baillie, the Dean instantly recalled the names of several ARP theological students who had attended the University of Edinburgh. Baillie pronounced all of these students as excellent representatives for the ARP Church.³³

The Rev. Leon McDill Allison was Director of Young People's Work in 1952. Working through the Board of Christian Education's connection with the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches he helped arrange for an ARP young person to attend the third international conference of Christian youth. This Third World Conference of Youth was held in Kattayam, Tranvancore, India between December 11 and 25, 1952. Mr. Edward Stuart, a member of the Bartow, Florida Church, was selected as the ARP delegate to this conference. Stuart visited the ARP mission in Pakistan during his sojourn in the Far East. He was an unusually articulate young man whose enthusiastic reports from Pakistan and India were informative to readers of the *ARP*.³⁴

In 1950 the denomination joined the Reformed Ecumenical Synod but did not participate in that body's activities until 1963. At the 1963 Synod the Inter-Church Committee considered withdrawing from the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, but delayed that decision for one year and sent a delegate to the Fifth Reformed Ecumenical Synod in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The Rev. Grady Oates

attended that meeting and was excited about the organization. His report to the 1964 Synod calling for a "more vital relationship" with the Reformed Ecumenical Synod was adopted.³⁵ This Synod created a committee consisting of the Revs. M. B. Grier, W. O. Ragsdale, and Mr. John A. Bigham to seek ways to cooperate with other presbyterian bodies. In 1965 the Inter-Church Committee accepted a fraternal delegate to Synod from the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, yet this delegate was not invited to bring fraternal greetings.³⁶

In 1971 the National Presbyterian and Reformed Fellowship was created. This association was characterized in an unsigned *ARP* article as containing "conservative" presbyterian and reformed denominations. The organization grew out of a 1969 rally of the Presbyterian Churchmen United, a group of "conservative" PCUS churchmen. The National Presbyterian and Reformed Fellowship was composed of members of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod, and the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America. Later the Christian Reformed Church, the PCUS, the Reformed Church in America, and the United Presbyterian Church (UPCUSA) sent delegates to the Fellowship. In 1971 members of three more denominations were considering membership in this Fellowship. These churches were the ARP Church, the Conservative Congregational Christian Conference, and the Reformed Episcopal Church. Membership in the Fellowship was open to ministers and elders or their equivalents from any presbyterian or reformed church. Membership in this body was not granted to denominations but was restricted to individual church members.³⁷ The keynote speaker for the fellowship's fourth annual meeting in 1973 was the Rev. Kenneth C. Seawright, Moderator of the ARP Church.³⁸ Ministers and elders who subscribe to the fellowship's statement of purpose and to the doctrines included in *The Westminster Standards*, *The Canons of Dort*, *The Belgic Confessions*, and *The Heidelberg Catechism* may join the organization. The body's purpose is "to join for encouragement and mutual assistance those who seek . . . the unity of a pure witness to

the Word of God. . . ." In 1975 Synod gave its approval for any eligible ARP to join the fellowship. ARP ministers and laymen have attended the organization's annual meetings as "observers."³⁹

In January 1975 the Committees of Inter-Church Relations of five denominations met in Philadelphia and drew up a proposed constitution that was taken to their General Assemblies and General Synods for approval. This new organization was known as the North America Presbyterian and Reformed Council (NAPARC). The five denominations were: The Christian Reformed Church; The Orthodox Presbyterian Church; The Presbyterian Church in America; The Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod; and the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America. Representatives of the Inter-Church Committees of the ARP Church and the Reformed Church in the United States (Eureka Classis) were present as observers. The proposed constitution had been formulated by representatives of the five denominations after an initial meeting held in Jackson, Mississippi in October 1974. The proposed constitution declared the purpose of the council was to encourage cooperation among member denominations. Since 1975 this purpose has been altered to include the possibility of organic union of denominations under NAPARC. There was no indication that union was an objective when the 1975 ARP Synod considered the recommendations of the Inter-Church Relations Committee that the denomination continue to observe NAPARC's activities. Moderator Randall T. Ruble's committee on Inter-Church Relations substituted the following for the standing committee's recommendation: "That we notify the North American Presbyterian and Reformed Council that we desire full membership and participation in that body." The substitution was passed by the 1975 Synod.⁴⁰ In October 1975 Moderator-Elect Gordon Parkinson and Mr. Dodd Vernon were observers at the NAPARC conference. The next year Moderator-Elect Grady Oates and Mr. Dodd Vernon attended the annual meeting at Grand Rapids, Michigan. NAPARC delegates met with a "broad spectrum" of ARP Church leadership at the Synod of 1977.⁴¹

In the fall of 1977 NAPARC postponed action on the ARP Church's application for membership until a study of the denomination's position on the issue of "inerrancy and infallibility" was completed.⁴² ARP editor Zeb C. Williams changed his attitude toward NAPARC membership with his announcement of the council's decision. After talking with representatives of NAPARC and studying the issues and commitments involved in membership, he expressed serious reservations about joining the group. Williams could see no more reasons for joining NAPARC than for becoming a member of the National Council of Churches. The process of joining NAPARC would inevitably spawn renewed controversy in the ARP Church. "At this time we need more controversial issues like Job needed more boils."⁴³

Vice-Moderator E. Reynolds Young provided three reasons to consider joining NAPARC in a letter to the ARP. Both NAPARC and the ARP Church were members of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod and the denomination had cooperated on the mission field with the latter body. Two missionaries from the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, (a member of NAPARC) who were currently in Ethiopia were considering joining the Pakistan ARP mission field. Young also felt the NAPARC was a group that was very interested in missions. As for organic union, Young assured his readers that development would not necessarily occur for denominations composing NAPARC.⁴⁴

The standing committee on Inter-Church Relations recommended to the 1978 Synod that the denomination withdraw its application from NAPARC. Moderator Charles Todd's Inter-Church committee modified this recommendation to suspend the application until the denomination resolved the issue of the inspiration of the Scriptures. Synod accepted the modified report.⁴⁵

The 1979 Synod certified that Gordon Parkinson had been an observer to NAPARC and the \$75 formerly paid to that council for dues was transferred to the Inter-Church Relation Committee's expense account.⁴⁶

The standing committee on Inter-Church Relations recommended to the 1981 Synod that the application for

membership be withdrawn from NAPARC. A majority of the committee felt "that NAPARC has served its purpose in the union proceedings of three of the member churches and therefore there is no need for the ARPC to participate in this body at this time." Dodd Vernon offered a minority report advocating reactivation of the denomination's application for membership and that Synod instruct the Inter-Church Relations Committee to send two delegates to the 1981 NAPARC meeting. These ARP delegates were to be instructed to "strongly support" the application for membership. Vernon argued that the reason for postponing consideration of the application from the ARP denomination was no longer valid. He felt that the denomination's differences over the "inerrancy and infallibility" issue had been resolved because of two developments. The seminary faculty that Vernon thought represented one of the factions in the dispute had undergone "a very substantial change" in personnel. In 1979 a statement of the Scriptures had dissolved the major differences of opinion regarding this issue within the ARP Church. He felt that the factors which led to the initial application for membership in NAPARC still existed. "These factors are the problems, challenges and opportunities arising from similarities in size, in close adherence to the Reformed standards and—in the case of two denominations—our shared heritage of Covenanter experience." Moderator W. W. Orr's Committee on Inter-Church Relations adopted the minority report with the following amendment: "That the ARPC application for membership in NAPARC be continued and that the committee on Inter-Church Relations send observers to future meetings of NAPARC and its committees." ⁴⁷

At the 1981 denominational assemblies four member churches of NAPARC received proposals for organic union. This movement failed in 1981. In 1982 the general assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in America and the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod voted to unite. Although the Presbyterian Church in America voted against ARP membership in NAPARC in 1982, three of four members of NAPARC voted favorably on ARP membership. Thus in June 1982 the ARP denomination became the fifth member of NAPARC. ⁴⁸

The division within the ARP Church over the inspiration of the Scriptures is one that may or may not have run its course. The words "inerrancy and infallibility" are the tip of an iceberg whose base is found only after fathoming the depths of fifty years of church history. The major difficulty in this examination resides with the dearth of written material on the beliefs of the ARP Church persons. As E. Gettys noted, the meanings of words change over time and it is not possible to discover the precise differences and similarities of beliefs represented by words used in the context of the 1930's with thoughts represented by words used in the 1970's.

The attitude of Dean R. L. Robinson toward the inspiration of the Scriptures was not stated in terms comparable to those used in the 1970's. He advocated adherence to the beliefs of the past in describing the purpose of the seminary. Though he recognized that times change, the great "elemental verities are unchangeable." He pledged that the seminary would "remain true to the spirit and . . . traditions of its founders. . . ."⁴⁹ In writing on the unique characteristics of the ARP Church, Robinson referred to the Rev. J. S. Moffatt's speech at Centennial Synod as containing the ARP view on the inspiration of the Scriptures. Robinson interpreted Moffatt as committing the denomination to a "spiritual conception of the Church."⁵⁰ Although Robinson did not define the phrase "spiritual conception of the Church," Stevenson indicated that this was a phrase used to distinguish those who supported a "man-centered Modernism" from those who supported a "supernatural fundamentalism."⁵¹ Stevenson wrote an editorial, entitled "Faith in our own Mission," in which he pointed to Robinson's article on the unique aspects of the ARP Church as containing an excellent summary of ARP beliefs. The emphasis on "spiritual conception" and "supernatural fundamentalism" was designed to separate ARP beliefs from those who were "Modernists." The Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, "a repentant Modernist" in Stevenson's opinion, had broken with that movement and was rated by the editor as standing between insufficient modernism and the position of the ARP Church. Stevenson further stated his position on the authority of the Scriptures as he attempted to articulate the ARP position of his day. Fosdick was quoted approvingly on some issues.⁵² Stevenson wrote:

there is a need to take a firm stand on the plenary or full and complete inspiration of the whole Bible, and for that we testify in Creed and pulpit. We may perhaps represent the current belief today to be that the Bible contains the word of God, rather than that it is the word of God. We may not be able to reconcile all the teachings of the Bible with each other or with science, but the fault is not with the Bible but with the shortcomings of our understandings or the misconceptions of science. Our church expects us to accept what the Bible says 'without speculation, trimming or reservation,' as Dr. Moffatt said in his address at the Centennial Synod, 'no matter how incompatible with human reason or incomprehensible to human understanding it may be.'⁵³

Stevenson quoted Moffatt's claim that the ARP Church "wastes little time upon what is known as 'Higher Criticism.'" Stated positively the denomination stood for simplicity in life and worship, and for truth and honesty in all aspects of life. Two other basic aspects of ARP theology were a sacred regard for the Sabbath and opposition to worldly amusements. Stevenson was quick to point out that the denomination was not the only one opposed to the "liberalizing" tendencies of "the times," but it was "peculiarly conservative in doctrine and practice."⁵⁴ A major complement of the uniqueness of the ARP Church for Stevenson was the use of only inspired Psalms in worship.

One key issue in understanding the views of ARP ministers on the inspiration of the Scriptures is the relationship between science and religion. One ARP minister, the Rev. James P. Pressly, delivered a paper on "The Church and Modern Science" to Second Presbytery in 1937. Pressly proposed to describe the "supposed conflict" between science and religion and then provide what he considered to be the proper attitude that should prevail. He argued that early scientists such as Galileo, Kepler, and Newton were religious men who saw no conflict between their ideas and religion. There was a supposed conflict because "there have been gross errors and blunders on both sides." He complained of scientists who spoke with a voice of finality so that to disagree with them was to display one's ignorance. Pressly quoted from a science text

he studied to show that the history of science was filled " 'with the wreckage of hypotheses which have been accepted for a time, used, worn out and cast aside as worthless.' " He accused some scientists of being unwilling to concede that Christians could discern things based on a Spiritual "sixth sense." Other scientists used a theory such as evolution to attack revealed religion. On the part of the church, some had maintained an unreasonable opposition to science. Pressly used the church's rejection of the Copernican heliocentric view to illustrate his point. He quoted from the charges of heresy leveled against Galileo by the Inquisitors. Pressly thought the men who made these charges held sincere religious beliefs.

They believed whole-heartedly that the teaching of the new Astronomy was contrary to the Holy Scriptures. Whereas, as a matter of fact, it was not contrary to the Scriptures. Just as there are scientists who are not careful to distinguish between hypothesis and fact, so there are churchmen who do not make a clear distinction between Scriptures. Most of the conflicts between the church and science occur in the sphere of hypothesis and interpretation, not in the sphere of fact and the Scriptures.⁵⁵

Pressly argued that the relationship between religion and science should be a beneficial one. The "proper attitude" between science and religion was one of cooperation. They do not represent two foes encamped "on opposite sides of an impassable gulf. Rather, the truth is, there is a great deal of overlapping." The church and science, Pressly insisted, "are engaged in a common quest." Each seeks the Truth, sometimes spoken of as Reality. The church has revelation from the Word, both the written Word and the Incarnate Word. "The scientist has the revelation made in the material universe."⁵⁶

The Rev. S. L. McKay's thesis, written for his B.D. degree in 1939, was published in the *ARP*. All seminary students at Erskine in the 1930's were required to write a thesis and McKay selected the inspiration of the Scriptures as his topic. He described the process whereby God's word came through men yet still remained infallible by

stating two extreme views, then selecting a moderate explanation.

The first extreme position McKay described used a process by which human faculties were suspended and God used the writer as one might pluck a harp. This "mechanical" explanation held that God dictated to the human authors who recorded only what was dictated to them by God." McKay rejected this view because "it is easy for a thinking mind to see that this theory utterly destroys the human element which is so obvious in Scripture."

The second extreme view McKay presented held that God revealed His Truth to human writers who wrote books in their own language including some of their own ideas. This view was unacceptable to McKay because he accepted the Bible as infallible and a book containing divine and human material could not be infallible. "And we know that there is no imperfection in Scripture: it is inerrant."

McKay accepted a "conservative view" which was a "happy medium" between the two extreme views noted above. "This theory of the inspiration of Scripture may be briefly defined as the method whereby the God-prepared writer's choice of words, in recording God's message, though true, is so influenced by the Holy Spirit, that his words are rendered also the words of God." The choice of words was free and the writer's faculties were not suspended. In the case of some prophecies and the "tables of the law," writers received material as a direct revelation. "But in most cases they got their material as any human gets it, from what they saw, or read, or heard, or divined." God "bore them along" so that they selected only what He intended for them to record. McKay argued that his theory harmonized with the facts and was Scriptural.⁵⁷

The ideas presented by the above writers in no way describes the "ARP position" on the inspiration of the Scriptures. Certainly there were numerous ARP ministers who would have agreed with one of the "extreme" views McKay presented.

McKay was not the first ARP writer to use the word "in-

errant." Others, as McKay, used it as a synonym for "infallible." The latter was much preferred but the former word was used for variety. In 1944 the Rev. W. A. Macaulay, in writing about the issue of union, stated that the church must be "founded upon the inerrant and infallible Word of God."⁵⁸ The Rev. David T. Lauderdale wrote that ARP Church persons were true to the "old faith in the inspiration and inerrancy of the Bible, the Godhead of Jesus Christ, His virgin birth, His blood atonement of our sins, and all the other fundamentals. . . ."⁵⁹ The use of the word "inerrant" caused no recorded concern and seemed to carry no connotation beyond the word "infallible" which was used in the church Confession of Faith.

Lauderdale used the word "fundamentals" to describe several basic beliefs he considered essential for members of the denomination. From the description of science and religion given by Pressly, the word was not used to describe the militant anti-intellectual fundamentalism of the teens and 1920's. That form of fundamentalism was followed by only a very few educated clergy after the 1925 Scopes Trial.⁶⁰ Stevenson used the word "fundamentalist" to describe the Rev. John Murray, professor at Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, who gave an address in Chester, South Carolina. Murray had defended the "plenary inspiration" or full inspiration of the Scriptures.⁶¹ The term "supernatural fundamentalism" was used to describe the ARP Church as one that opposed the modernist and adhered to certain "fundamental" beliefs such as those enumerated by Lauderdale.

One way to understand the theological position of ARP spokesmen in the 1930's is to take notice of their attitudes toward theological issues and personalities outside the denomination.

Stevenson followed the struggle between the Rev. J. G. Machen and the PCUSA. The editor never endorsed Machen but certainly favored his "conservative" position to that of his opponents.⁶²

R. L. Robinson attempted to expose seminary students to the best minds available. He drove with students to Charlotte, Atlanta, and other cities to hear excellent

speakers. He was responsible for bringing the Rev. Emil Brunner to Due West in 1938. The Rev. John Leith, a student in 1938, was selected to take part in the program when Brunner spoke in the Due West ARP Church on Christmas Sabbath. Leith recalls that a letter from Brunner to Robinson expressing appreciation for his hospitality arrived shortly after Robinson's death on January 10, 1939. Stevenson gave an enthusiastic review of Brunner's address, characterizing it as a "masterpiece." Robinson and R. C. Grier held a reception for Brunner at which all "were delighted with his charming personality and great learning."⁶³

The Rev. C. Brice Williams endorsed the Rev. Karl Barth's 1943 call for a new reformation similar to that of the sixteenth century. Although he stated that he did not go "all the way" with Barth's theological views, Williams felt that the theologian's call should be heeded. He also reported on theological disputes between the Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr and Barth. He agreed in part with the ideas each presented in this argument.⁶⁴

ARP Church leaders were aware of major theological issues in the 1930's and 1940's. They were not "exclusive" in their outlooks, but sought to keep members of the denomination informed about all perspectives and viewpoints within the reformed tradition. They endorsed neither Machen nor Brunner but they were anxious to make *ARP* readers and seminary students aware of the ideas of these and other theologians.

C. B. Williams addressed a question that should be constantly on the minds of presbyterians who have a systematic theology. Dogma is constantly being assessed as the cultural milieu in which it exists presents it with secular challenges. In an editorial entitled "Contending for the Faith," he showed that ARP Church persons must not "fight over non-essentials" but should "draw the line" to protect basic Christian beliefs. For Williams, as for most sincere Christians, the problem was where to draw the line. "It seems to us, in a word, that the line ought to be drawn between those who accept Christianity as a supernatural religion and those who do not." The conversion experience was more than a "psychological experience,"

more than the "normal reaction of the mind to natural influences."⁶⁵ Williams frequently referred to the adaptation of scientific methods by the church. By this term he meant systematic and rational processes in the structure and organization of the church. Science and religion were seen by him in much the same way as Pressly viewed them in his 1937 paper. Williams warned that one should be humble toward "over-vaulted scientific knowledge." He thought new archeological discoveries supporting the Bible would be a "shock to scientific confidence in theories that run counter to the revelations of the Scriptures."⁶⁶ He followed scientific ideas, but always advocated devotion to the "authority of the Scriptures in matters of faith and practice. . . ." He warned that many laymen did not live as though they accepted "the inspiration, and therefore the trustworthiness and authority, of the Bible as the only basis of doctrine. . . ."⁶⁷

When he became Dean of the seminary in December 1941, the Rev. W. W. Boyce pledged to maintain the same emphasis on the "Word of God as 'the only infallible rule of faith and practice' " that had been advocated by those who founded the seminary over one hundred years before.⁶⁸ He adhered to this view of the Scriptures during his years at the seminary because, as Parkinson put it, the Standards "are the most accurate embodiment of the Truth of God's Word."⁶⁹ Both Parkinson and Boyce stressed the need for seminary students to remain intellectually alive to theological ideas.⁷⁰ The Rev. Renwick C. Kennedy called on the seminary to turn out ministers prepared for "the main stream of American life rather than predisposed to the back-waters and side-currents . . . often found among churchmen of small, extremely conservative bodies like ours."⁷¹

In August 1951, Mr. F. W. Bradley, Chairman of the Board of Trustees for the college and seminary, announced the decision to seek accreditation for the seminary.⁷² This quest lasted for three decades and involved procuring a seminary faculty that held advanced academic degrees. This requirement of accrediting agencies was designed, in part, to assure that the education offered did not produce graduates "predisposed to the back-

waters and the side-currents" of theology. The development of a faculty with academic degrees from major educational institutions resulted in a seminary whose teachings were not agreeable to some members of the denomination. This process of accreditation begun in the 1950's would produce theological conflict in the 1960's and 1970's.

As the seminary began its thirty-year quest for accreditation, the editorial reins of the *ARP* were placed in the hands of E. Gettys, a spokesman for a different tradition of the denomination. Gettys epitomized one who adhered to Stevenson's description of the unique characteristics of the ARP Church. He loved the Psalms, his life was spent fighting for the sanctity of the Sabbath, his home was one where religious training was supreme, he believed in simplicity of worship, and he never for one moment deviated from the church's Standards. Though the modern environment impinged on his beliefs to some degree (he drove an automobile to preach on Sabbath rather than using the Saturday train) he accommodated himself to the post-World War II age with as few changes in practices as possible. He once wrote that he never knowingly disobeyed a decision of a church court even when he felt a decision to be unwise. In contrast to most ministers he took no vacations; time away from his pulpit and desk was spent in church conferences or on trips for the church. His lifestyle was a model taken from the idealistic writings of early church fathers: simplicity and frugality were his watchwords. He might be criticized for his frugality as Secretary for the Board of Foreign Missions. But his health had been damaged on the mission field in India when his church had been without sufficient funds to cover his meager salary. His frugality enabled others to serve in mission fields without the fear of suffering in a future depression. He might be accused of having a lack of tolerance. But his theology was a pure one which brooked no deviation from that which he believed to be the essentials. There is a natural tension between that aspect of the ARP tradition emphasized in the seminary of the 1960's and 1970's. These two traditions were united in the person of G. G. Parkinson, a unique individual who joined simple

piety with impressive academic achievements. The fact that among ARP churchman Parkinson is unique demonstrates the natural tensions inherent in these two aspects of the church's tradition.

At the 1959 Synod Mr. Charles L. Taylor, Executive Director of the American Association of Theological Schools (AATS), addressed the body on the standards that Erskine Seminary had to meet in order to be accredited by the association. He stated that the fundamental prerequisite was for the school to exhibit a "will to excellence. . . ." The AATS Standards outlined the several specific objectives that the association required for accreditation. To meet these requirements called for the expenditure of considerable monies. Some standards were that the faculty would have to consist of no less than six persons with advanced academic degrees, a system of sabbatical leaves, significant increases in library resources, and such characteristics of the academic world as tenure, promotion policies, and a retirement plan. Students would have to have an earned degree from an accredited college or university and must have a challenging academic experience. "The Seminary is not a place to pick up a few tricks of the ministerial trade; it is a place in which students may develop a theologically trained mind." Faith, Taylor told his listeners, is not a matter of opinion: it has intellectual content.⁷³

Within a month after Taylor's speech Boyce retired from the seminary. The Rev. L. M. Allison then took the position as Dean. Allison prepared for the seminary faculty by one year of study at Princeton University, followed by a year of work at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. His doctorate of theology degree came from the latter institution. Erskine's Board of Trustees elected other men to the seminary faculty in 1959: The Revs. Carl Losen, T. B. McBride, and C. M. Coffey. In 1960 the Rev. Kenneth Morris was elected as the fifth new seminary teacher in a span of two years.⁷⁴

In his inauguration address of December 10, 1960, Allison described the type of theological school he hoped to create. Accrediting agencies encourage faculties to examine their institutional statements of purpose continually. Allison presented a new one in 1960. "The purpose of Erskine Theological Seminary is to serve the Church and

her mission by providing those called to be ordained servants of God with guided experience in being witnesses of the Word to the Church and through her to the World." He expressed no desire to "create a cleavage" between the theological position of the denomination and that of the seminary. The "conservatism which we are content to champion" must be "a constructive conservatism which will promote rather than hinder the cause of good scholarship." He insisted that it not be the kind "which identifies conservative thought with dogmatic narrowness of any description." The type of outlook he advocated would produce a highly qualified theological education. "Let us be thankful that the most influential force in contemporary theology is constructively conservative in character."

Allison wished to deal with the world in the second half of the twentieth century. He saw the church in the 1960's as strongly ecumenical in outlook. He disavowed any aim at organic union but recalled that John Calvin taught that the church should not be a "pocket of isolation." He gave notice that "the present administration of the Seminary is determined that its outlook and character shall never be such that it will be known as a pocket of isolation within the world of sound scholarship." There were three denominations represented on the seminary faculty and four represented within the student body. He took note of the need to be conscious of the power of electronic communications and the progress made in the sciences of psychology and psychiatry. "Regardless of the warning of Karl Barth, there can and ought to be contact between God's redemptive work in the Christ event and His general activity in the world at large!"

Allison closed his remarks with a pledge to do everything possible to meet the accreditation standards of the AATS.⁷⁵

The ARP printed Allison's speech twelve days before the inauguration address of John F. Kennedy. Each presented a dream of new beginnings. Neither would see their dreams come to full fruition.

In January 1962 E. Gettys wrote an editorial on ARP Church doctrine. He stated that it was based on the Bible, the Westminster Confession, and the Catechisms. As he read the Westminster Confession, it was so clear about the Bible that there could be no reason for misunderstanding. He noted that all ARP ministers were bound by their or-

dination vows to church doctrine. His belief was that no teaching not agreeable to the church Standards should be done in ARP churches. "In Christian teaching mental reservations are not valid, nor is academic freedom permitted." Gettys said there were many teachers of false doctrine in "our land." Some went from door to door and were trained to ask questions laymen could not answer. "Some are in classrooms and trouble the minds of the students who have heard the truth in the homes and Churches. Some statements of the Bible are ridiculed, or are called myths, and faith in the Scriptures is undermined. Some of these are in high places, preaching from the pulpits of the land, prominent and publicized with frequent mention and headlines."

Gettys agreed that there was much material in the Bible that human minds cannot comprehend. He thought that faith would allow one to accept these mysteries in the Scriptures. He believed that most of "our leaders" accepted this and that all had accepted before men "the infallibility of the Word of God and its authority, and have agreed publicly their acceptance of the Westminster standards."⁶

In April 1962, the Rev. Paul A. Stroup was sponsor for Synod's program on "Christian Doctrines." He invited Allison to write an article on Christian doctrine in preaching. The Dean returned to a theme of his inauguration speech and called on ARP ministers to address the needs of the "people living in the second half of the twentieth century." He warned that they would fail if they simply repeated traditional terminology. "This is not to discredit the creeds," he added. He called on all to follow the example of those who wrote creeds for their day and present the same Truths in modern terminology.⁷

In October 1962, Gettys called for "A Strong Church." There were numerous ways to strengthen the ARP Church. Church members should live Christian lives, be active in Christian service, use only constructive criticism, practice stewardship and be faithful in attendance. The first in his list of suggestions was to practice loyalty to God's Word. He believed the Bible to be "the only infallible rule of faith and practice . . . in the originals, which of course we do not have, . . . the Scriptures are without er-

ror. I think those who try to point out errors, so-called, in the Bible, are rendering a real disservice to God's people."⁷⁸ Gettys may have been concerned about the college Bible Department, the seminary, or there may have been some other source of concern. He was not the only ARP person with such concerns but he was the one whose position allowed him to record these concerns. He reflected a growing feeling among some church persons over the new direction of the seminary.

In December 1962, Allison was invited by Synod's sponsor for that month, the Rev. Z. N. Holler, Jr., to write an article on John Calvin's doctrine of the authority of the Scriptures. Allison's doctoral dissertation was on John Calvin and he presented a scholar's analysis for laymen. One principal point he made was that Calvin did not base the authority of the Scriptures solely on inspiration. "The Scripture has objective authority by virtue of its inspiration but it gains authority in the lives of people only by 'the internal witness of the Spirit.'" "God's Word would never gain credit in the hearts of men until it is " 'confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit.'" Both Luther and Calvin emphasized a new principle of theology; that Truth became the possession of a believing mind by the power of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁹

Allison possessed the body of an end on a football team from those days when the gridiron was covered in grass rather than carpet and players were of normal physical proportions. Educated at Davidson College, he came to the Erskine Seminary after a brief career as a high school teacher and coach. He held three pastorates, was active in evangelical work, youth work, and in his last charge in Gastonia helped create a scholarship fund for the Seminary. Though normally of a placid disposition he became excitable quickly. He flushed with anger while never exhibiting petulance. His English surname belied his attachment to things Scottish, from reformed theology to golf. His appearance and voice were perfect for the dignified Calvin scholar he became. During his tenure as Dean of the seminary he never sought controversy and much preferred the shadows of the study to the spotlight.

Yet he felt a calling to impart the theology he has im-

bibed to his students. Convinced that the ARP Church must have its traditional beliefs stated in words attractive to the vast numbers who ignored the Gospel, he felt a presbyterian responsibility to educate young men to proclaim that message. Hired to lead the seminary toward accreditation, he was dedicated to that end. He intended to take the seminary in this new direction, but believed with all his heart that this would strengthen its appeal, not deviate from historic beliefs.

Dr. E. Reynolds Young posed several queries about the church's position on the inspiration of the Scriptures to readers of "Open Forum" in the *ARP*. Disturbed by reports that churches had deviated from historic positions, Young argued that a majority of presbyterian church members of different denominations shared his sentiments. He felt that leaders of some churches and seminaries had betrayed laymen in setting aside the fundamentals of the faith and the reformed tradition and embraced new ideas, theories and philosophies. Young believed God had kept the ARP Church small for a reason. He speculated that the denomination might serve as a standard around which other presbyterians might rally.⁸⁰

At the 1967 Synod meeting Young read a paper entitled "A Call for Unity in the Faith" which echoed a call for unity issued by Allison, the Retiring Moderator. He characterized the time as one of uncertainty and doubt in the church as well as in the secular society. Young argued that unity and peace in the church would follow a rededication by Synod to the essential doctrines of the denomination summarized in the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. Declaring his belief that there was an attack against the inspiration, authority, and truthfulness of God's Word, he called for a renewal of "our faith in the Bible as the infallible and authoritative Word of God Written." Synod adopted this paper reasserting its historical position in Young's terminology.⁸¹

In October 1968, the Rev. Gary W. Letchworth wrote "A Fundamentalist's Answer" to those who he claimed ridiculed a "fundamentalist" speaker at the 1968 Synod. He was "thrilled" when Young's call for unity was adopted but was disappointed at the 1968 Synod. He

claimed that some ARP ministers did not abide by their oaths to uphold the infallibility of the Scriptures. Letchworth felt the church must have purity which he argued could not exist when some denied the historicity of certain Biblical passages such as Genesis 1-11. He stated his position explicitly. He believed the Bible to be infallible, incapable of teaching error; inerrant, not liable to prove false or mistaken; and that its inspiration was plenary (extending to all parts alike), verbal (including the actual form of language), and confluent (products of two free agents, one human and one divine).⁸² His description was similar to that of McKay's 1939 thesis. McKay had used the words "plenary" and "verbal" to describe his belief. Though he had not used the word "confluent," his description of two free agents matched Letchworth's definition of "confluent." One key difference between the two positions was that McKay believed the writers "in most cases" obtained material "as any human gets it, from what they saw, or read, or heard, or divined."⁸³ Letchworth's definition of "verbal" included the actual form of language. This difference was of utmost importance. Under McKay's process writers could introduce cultural beliefs, practices, and traditions that might be vehicles for God's message but in and of themselves might not be the essential Word of God. Letchworth's process would not allow for that possibility. In practical terms Letchworth's position would insist on a literal interpretation of Genesis 1-11. McKay's process would allow for the possibility of a scientist's acceptance of Genesis 1-11 as a "faith statement" and the theory of evolution as a scientific statement of the same events of creation.⁸⁴

The month after Letchworth's letter to the ARP, "An Open Letter to the ARP Church" by the Rev. Fred Archer appeared in "Open Forum." Archer expressed sympathy for those "striving for correctness in Church dogma" and for those attempting to show the relevancy of the Gospel "even at the expense of doctrinal correctness." He deplored the confusion in the denomination where "polemics have become the liveliest of our practices." He called on readers to ponder two "facts." He said nothing was sacred but God; "neither the liberal camp, nor the fun-

damentalist has ultimate value." Then he reminded all that "confession is the first word man speaks before God." Archer hoped these two "basic facts" would provide the structures for reconciliation. He considered Associate Reformed Presbyterians to be ambassadors for Christ, not for the Westminster divines. He characterized the church's confessions as tools and aids, not altars. He sought reconciliation: "to be delivered from the powers and principles of hatred and vengeance."⁸⁵

Frank Y. Pressly agreed with Archer's call for unity and with his "two facts." Yet in one of those seemingly minor disagreements which meant everything, Pressly noted that the Westminster Confession bears testimony to Christ. By adhering to the Westminster Confession, Pressly asserted, one became an ambassador not for that document, but for Christ.⁸⁶

In the early 1970's Allison attempted to secure accreditation for the seminary by joining the Atlanta Theological Association composed of Columbia Theological Seminary, Candler School of Theology, Erskine Theological Seminary, and the Interdenominational Theological Center (a group of six predominately black schools). The Rev. James T. Corbitt wrote a letter of protest to Erskine officials which was published in the *ARP*. Corbitt was against exposing the denomination's theology students to the "liberalism, humanism, universalism" he claimed were so rampant in that organization. As a former Methodist he testified that he knew of "shipwrecks of faith" that had occurred in that church's seminaries. He knew of no reason to believe Candler had changed in recent years. "How sad, then, to see our seminary pursue the wide road of academic respectability rather than the narrow path of uncompromising Christianity." He felt that joining this organization would "eventually destroy the doctrinal purity of the denomination." Corbitt called on Erskine's Seminary to reverse its decision to join the Atlanta Theological Association because "Scripture is too clear on the dangers of toleration and association with apostasy. . . ."⁸⁷

The Rev. George Lauderdale, a former *ARP* minister with an independent ministry based in the Atlanta area,

joined Corbitt's opposition to the seminary's connection with the Atlanta Theological Association. Lauderdale believed at least one faculty member of a member school died without being a Christian. He reported that a class from one of the association's schools attended night clubs not to witness, but to gather material for sermons.⁸⁸

Faced by opposition articulated through these two letters, Allison explained the decision to join the association. The Executive Director of the AATS suggested that membership in the Atlanta Theological Association might facilitate Erskine's application for full accreditation. Cooperative theological education enabled Erskine to expand its curriculum and library resources without increased financial investment. The association allowed Erskine students to spend an academic term in an urban environment. Allison argued that Erskine Seminary offered the association an educational milieu it lacked: a Biblical Calvinistic, rural, and small seminary.⁸⁹

This relatively minor disagreement delineates the two directions open to the denomination in the 1970's. One road led to a more inclusive church receptive to new formulations of the denomination's historical mission. The more narrow path led to a more exclusive church reiterating past doctrine in more restrictive language to maintain purity in the midst of a society permeated with a secular humanism.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's some theological students who would have the denomination take the more narrow path chose not to attend Erskine Seminary. Reformed Theological Seminary in Jackson, Mississippi was not the only alternative to Erskine Seminary. It was not the cause but became a symbol of the division within the denomination. For those who attended it, Reformed Seminary offered a theological education similar to what they believed Erskine Seminary once provided. Members of the ARP Church at Reformed Seminary were seen by some who supported Erskine as refusing to accept their denomination's official theological position embodied in the church's official seminary. For about three years the presence of ARP students at Reformed Seminary was an issue that did not surface in the denomination. It seemed

that some believed silence on this issue would make it disappear.

In the April 12, 1972 issue of the *ARP* this issue became "public" in the form of a full page advertisement for Reformed Theological Seminary. The Rev. Don R. Allen, then a student at Erskine Seminary, wrote "An Open Letter to Readers of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian." Allen was disturbed by the advertisement which he saw as evidence of schism. He felt the advertisement implied that the Good News was available only at Reformed Seminary.

He was complimentary toward that institution and ARP students there. Allen was sure he made the right choice in attending Erskine Seminary. Favorably impressed by a laudatory article on Erskine by Rev. Randall T. Ruble, Allen called on members of the ARP denomination to feel positive toward their seminary. He argued that problems within the denomination should be worked out within the ARP Church and its institutions. "Christ did not minister by using guerilla tactics." He knew of no two ARP Church members at Erskine Seminary who agreed on everything. If apostate views were creeping into our church, Allen argued, they should be fought at Erskine Seminary.⁹⁰ In March, 1973, Allen preached his sermon for licensure before Mississippi Valley Presbytery. His application was not sustained but he was later accepted by First Presbytery.⁹¹ The alienation between ARP ministers is illustrated by this experience.

In May 1972, Mr. Dodd Vernon reported on a visit he made to Reformed Seminary. He was told that ARP students there were the best at the institution. He found complaints that the institution threatened to bring schism to the ARP Church false, and that contrary to the contention of some, the school was not founded to perpetuate segregation. Vernon thought Reformed Seminary had a good academic program and noted that it was an associate member of AATS. The seminary was independent of denominational ties, advocated the reformed tradition, and based its dogma on the Bible and the Westminster Confession.⁹²

The next spring Mr. Charles H. Carlisle, Vice President for Business and Finance at Erskine College and

Moderator of Synod, visited Reformed Seminary where his son-in-law was enrolled. He was favorably impressed with the institution which expected to receive full accreditation from AATS. Carlisle stressed that his visit was not "official," but that he had been in the vicinity visiting ARP churches as Moderator. He noted the division in the ARP church over Reformed Seminary and professed that he sought to allay the concern of some to encourage denominational unity. Carlisle explained that as an employee of Erskine he was supportive of its seminary. But, he argued, Reformed Seminary was a reality and had a place outside the ARP Church. He felt closer relationships should exist between the ARP Church and those who "hold reformed doctrines similar to our own." He assured readers that his visit was honorable and that since becoming Moderator he had also visited Union and Columbia Seminaries of the PCUS.⁹³

In 1976 a newsletter from ARP students at the Jackson Seminary carried news from the contingent of theology students there. ARP students at Reformed Seminary formed the "A.R.P. Fellowship" which was visited by Moderator Gordon Parkinson in 1977.⁹⁴ By the early 1980's fewer ARP students were enrolled at Reformed Seminary. However, students of non-ARP backgrounds attended the Jackson school, came in contact with the ARP Church, and eventually became ARP ministers.

Two subjects dominated the meeting of Synod in 1977. A major controversy occurred over social regulations at the college, and Synod adopted a resolution requiring that a particular interpretation of the inspiration of the Scriptures be taught at the seminary and by the college Bible department.

The first action at Bonclarken occurred at a meeting of Catawba Presbytery on June 5. Theological student Mr. Tom Robinson was not recommended for licensure by the Minister and His Works Committee. The committee found Robinson unacceptable because of his views on the authority and authenticity of the Scriptures, that Genesis 1-11 was not historical, and because of his views on universal salvation. Catawba Presbytery heard his case at a called meeting on June 8. A student at Princeton School of Theology, Robinson accepted a position with a church in Philadelphia before the June 8 meeting of presbytery. At that meeting a motion to reject the recommendation of the

Minister and His Works Committee failed. A motion passed to accept the report as information with the notation that after hearing Robinson's views presbytery found him not objectionable.⁹⁵

Florida Presbytery submitted a memorial to Synod asking that body to direct Erskine's Board of Trustees to require that "those teaching Bible will personally affirm and teach the Scriptures as the infallible and inerrant Word of God." Moderator Grady R. Oates' committee on Educational Institutions modified the memorial by substitution of the words "strongly recommend that the Board of Trustees" for the phrase "directing the Board of Trustees." In addition the Moderator's committee substituted the phrase "Word of God, the only perfect rule of faith and practice" for the phrase "as the infallible and inerrant Word of God." The wording selected by the Moderator's committee was taken from the church's Confession which does not include the word "inerrant." Rather than accepting the wording of the Moderator's committee, Synod adopted the original wording. Thus Synod directed Erskine's board to require those teaching Bible personally to affirm and teach "The Scriptures as the infallible and inerrant Word of God."⁹⁶ The Board of Trustees agreed to consider other actions of Synod as "advice and recommendations" rather than as "directives," but refused to comply with the directive requiring Bible teachers to affirm and teach infallibility and inerrancy of the Scriptures. The board appointed a committee to explain its inability to comply with that directive.

The seminary faculty adopted a statement noting that the view of the Scriptures adopted by Synod was one of many views, but it was not necessarily based on the wording of the ARP Church standards. The college faculty adopted a statement objecting to Synod's action which it claimed would make one particular theological view more important than the search for Truth, and noted that "neither faith nor reason could flourish in such an environment." The college Bible Department adopted a statement which asserted they believed "the Bible to be the Word of God. To hold this [inerrancy] or any other position rigidly and exclusively, not subject to study and revision, is idolatry, the worship of the work of our own minds." They also pledged that they trusted in the "work of the Holy Spirit for guidance for ourselves and for our students."⁹⁷

The seminary faculty began work on a more complete

statement of their position which was published in the September and December 1977 issues of the *ARP*.

Reaction to the action of Synod and the educational institutions was relatively scanty in the pages of the *ARP*. The Rev. J. Frank Beard wrote a letter attempting to define the word "inerrant" as the idea that "the Bible is perfect in any matter it mentions." He quoted from the Bible, the Shorter Catechism, and the ministerial vow of ordination. He concluded that these authorities demanded that the Bible not be lowered to the level of other literature and that other concerns should not be lifted to the level of "faith and practice." He called on those advocating the inerrancy of the Scriptures to study the "historic orthodoxy" of the *ARP* Church.⁹⁸

Mr. Clarence L. Hemphill of Moreland, Georgia, called on the college and seminary faculties to cease writing in generalities and point out "errors" in the Bible.⁹⁹

The Revs. J. B. McFerrin and J. P. Pressly wrote that in their days in the seminary before 1932, no distinction was made between the words "infallible" and "inerrant." Pressly quoted from J. S. Moffatt's Centennial Synod address to show that he used the word "inerrant" and endorsed the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures as part of the beliefs of the denomination. McFerrin contended that the Revs. G. G. Parkinson, F. Y. Pressly and R. M. Stevenson used the word "inerrant." "The claim that it was not taught at Erskine Seminary is not correct."¹⁰⁰

The Rev. Charles Wilson of White Oak, Georgia, mentioned several religious journals that carried discussions of the issue of "inerrancy." He also pointed out that it was a major issue in the recent split in the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod. Wilson felt that all should know the meaning of the "inerrancy" issue. Mr. Wayne Stanchfield of Louisville, Kentucky, wanted the faculty to explain what he saw as "massive evidence" of inerrancy in church history, how the faculty could be "deeply convinced" of the "trustworthiness of the Scriptures" and hold that they err, and how they interpreted Jesus' statement of not changing an iota of the law in Matthew 5:17-18.¹⁰¹

Mrs. W. B. Gosnell of Monticello, Arkansas, wanted the Church to accept the Bible as it is written. She felt the faculty was correct in its concern over the issue of "iner-

rancy." "It has come to stand for a school of theology which defends the indefensible. . . ." She contended that modern scholarship had validated the Truth of the Bible. "What our professors are trying to warn us against is a modern school of thought (rightly or wrongly) which is so bad it would make the Westminster Confession blush. Most of us don't even know it exists. But it does and it is a murky swamp which should be avoided at all costs."¹⁰²

The Rev. Manfred G. Gutzke, Bible professor at Columbia Theological Seminary was at the Greenville ARP Church in the fall of 1977. He suggested that the denomination should not have internal conflict when so many unbelievers were about. He suggested that ARP Church persons should not attempt to coerce everyone in the church to believe exactly the same way. He thought the denomination should assert that the Bible was God's Word and end the argument at that for he believed " 'all the rest is speculation.' "¹⁰³

The Erskine Seminary faculty produced an introduction to their position on Biblical authority in September 1977. In December that group published "The Bible's View of its Own Authority." They asserted their belief in the Confession of Faith and that their curriculum had a strong Biblical emphasis. The word "inerrancy," they claimed, had a dictionary definition similar to that of "infallible" but in theological language the two words meant different things in the 1970's. The framers of the seventeenth-century Westminster Confession used the word "infallible" three times, but theologians could argue endlessly about their real intentions in its use. The faculty believed the Confession pointed

to the Scriptures as the unfailling instrument of the Holy Spirit to provide 'that knowledge of God, and of His will, which is necessary unto salvation' (Confession of Faith 1:1), and such knowledge is reliable and trustworthy.

It is our conviction that the Westminster Standards present the Bible, not as a substitute for textbooks on science, or geography, or any other human subject, but rather as a spiritual document without parallel, the supreme authority for faith and life.

The Bible, they stated, does not fail in its purpose of presenting the things necessary to be known for salvation. They pointed to a late nineteenth century movement which argued that the Holy Spirit inspired writers so that every word was completely without error of any kind. That view held the Bible to be correct in geography, grammar, semitic history, math, science, and medicine. The seminary believed that Synod's action was an attempt to modify the ARP Church standards. They maintained the Westminster Confession allowed a wide range of views but Synod's action would narrow the range of unacceptable beliefs to one view.¹⁰⁴

The seminary faculty argued that although the Bible asserts its own authority it not only does not claim to be "verbally inerrant," it does not even provide a "substantial basis" for that theory of inspiration. They distinguished passages where Paul states that he is giving his own view and not that of God, yet they considered Paul's view inspired. They did not believe that God dictated the Bible but that He is the author as He is the author of life. He is the source and ultimate creative power in Scripture. They showed that New Testament writers were flexible in quoting from Old Testament passages.

In a section on the "Word of God" the faculty introduced the concept that behind the written words of the Bible there is a "dynamic word:" the dynamic will of God "present and active there." Citing various passages as their proof, these men demonstrated their point through Biblical situations where the form of God's Written Word was carried out, yet His demands for justice and righteousness were not followed. The Sermon on the Mount was used as an illustration. Jesus quoted from the written word when He recalled the demand of an "eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Jesus expressed the active will of God when He commanded Christians to turn the other cheek. The authority of the Scripture, they argued, was derived not from the letter of the law, but "from the mind—the intention—the Spirit of God." In phrasing this contention in contemporary terms they said, "Jesus maintained that the will of the Father was perfect, but this did not mean that the words of the law were 'inerrant.' "

They claimed that most Christians agreed with their distinction between the written words "on the surface and the deeper Living Word." Most Christians consider the Old Testament an inspired work but do not consider themselves bound by the ancient laws and ceremonial customs found there. They believed few Christians would follow Leviticus 19:19 and keep cattle of different breeds apart, sow only one kind of seed in each field, or refuse to wear a garment of two kinds of material. As they saw it an "inerrant" interpretation of this passage would forbid hybrid cattle, mixed crops, and blended fabrics. They argued that this was not a section of Leviticus that is ceremonial in nature for Leviticus 19:18 says, " 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.' " Jesus made this the great commandment.

II Timothy 3:16 was an important passage in their opinion. This passage says that all Scripture is inspired and they thought it was used by many to support inerrancy. They pointed out that when II Timothy was written the New Testament did not exist so that it referred to the Old Testament only. The word translated as "inspired," they translated literally as "breathed into by God" or "God-breathed." They maintained this to be a metaphor, for God, a Spirit, does not breathe. Furthermore, they argued that II Timothy 3:16 does not tell how Scripture was inspired, just that it was inspired. They felt that a fair reading of II Timothy 15 would lead one to the conclusion of the Westminster Confession: it was to be used as "the rule of faith and practice."

The seminary faculty returned to a basic position at this point. Scripture is the rule for a Christian's faith and life and not for peripheral matters of science, arithmetic, geography, etc. They pointed out some discrepancies in facts within the Bible and concluded these were of no consequence for the purpose of the Bible. These errors were pointed out, they said, because some had argued none existed in the Scriptures. Some explain these errors as those of copiers. These men contended that copiers made some errors and corrected others found in earlier manuscripts, but not in later ones. The "Originals" are not available. To

say the "Originals" contain no errors is to admit that present copies have errors.

They closed by noting that Jesus Christ is the Word of God. He is the Word by which all other words are to be judged. Jesus told the Jews that they searched the Scriptures for eternal life but the Scriptures bear witness to Him.¹⁰⁵

The Rev. James T. Corbitt of Greenville, South Carolina, answered the seminary by quoting what he termed the absolute authority on the Scriptures, Jesus Christ. By a series of rhetorical questions, he argued that Christ did not teach or imply that the authority of the Scriptures was "limited to matters of faith and practice," and He did not question the historical accuracy of the Scriptures. Corbitt maintained that Christ never spoke of the Old Testament being in error. He noted that some say that Christ rejected the Old Testament in the Sermon on the Mount, but that Christ came to fulfill the law, not abolish it. Christ spoke against the tradition of teachers who perverted the true meaning of Scriptures. Corbitt claimed that "in fact, often, the expression 'the Law' means the entire Old Testament." Every book in the Old Testament except Obadiah and Nahum was mentioned in the four Gospels, so "obviously every portion of the Bible is authoritative."

Today, Corbitt said, critics reject the historical accuracy of the Old Testament because it conflicts with scientific theories such as geological speculations and evolutionary doctrine. Adam, Jonah, and Noah were the characters most frequently questioned as historical figures, but Christ affirmed the historical reality of all three. Corbitt provided Scriptural quotations showing that Jesus mentioned these three Old Testament figures. "In each case it would destroy the lesson Christ was teaching to deny the historical reality of the illustrations." He also claimed that Christ's statement that He must die on the cross to fulfill Old Testament prophecy affirms the historical accuracy of Scripture.

Corbitt believed in the "plenary verbal inspiration" of the Bible. To support this belief he noted that Christ spoke of every jot and tittle of the law: "so Christ spoke of even

the letters of the words standing until the end of the world!" John 10:34-36 stated, in part, that "the Scripture cannot be broken." Corbitt took this to mean that the Bible cannot be changed which was nothing less than the claim of inerrancy extending to every word. The only alternative to his view, Corbitt asserted, was to deny that these were Christ's words, appeal to an accommodation theory, or impute error to Christ. He then rejected each of these three alternatives and concluded by questioning the religious position of those who believed the Bible "errant." "If we believe the Bible to be 'errant' in history we don't stand with Christ."¹⁰⁶

The Rev. Stephen Irby expressed sadness when he read the faculty statement on inerrancy because it said adherence to a particular theological position would inhibit the search for Truth. He said he loved the college and wished to help, not destroy it.¹⁰⁷

The Rev. Rodney A. Foster wrote that Corbitt's article on inerrancy was, at best "bibliolatry." He argued that at worst it assumed that Jesus endorsed a "right" position in a modern controversy. Foster saw the issue as one between historical accuracy versus the plenary verbal inspiration.¹⁰⁸

Mr. Meredith Cavin, Mr. Joe R. Blevins, and Mr. Robert P. Brawley, theology students at Erskine Seminary, wrote a letter to the *ARP* on the issue of Scriptural authority. They felt that the Scripture does not depend upon outside evidence to establish its authority. "There are many among the students here at Erskine Seminary who affirm that Scripture is ultimate authority and as such it is infallible in *all* matters that it speaks on [their emphasis]."¹⁰⁹

The Covenant Church of Florida Presbytery submitted a memorial in the fall of 1977 that was discussed in February 1978 and passed in April. It called on a change in the denomination's ordination vows for ministers, elders, and deacons. The new wording would include a statement that the Scriptures as originally given were without error in all that they affirm.¹¹⁰

The session of the Sherwood Forest Church of Catawba Presbytery adopted a paper calling for an end to the "present official inquiry" into the issue of infallibility and inerrancy.

rancy, and no resumption of the issue until it was introduced through proper church channels as outlined in chapter fifteen of *The Form of Government*.¹¹ Evidently this group was concerned over the actions of the Executive Board of Synod. Moderator Grady Oates was working hard to bring about a compromise on the divisive issue of inerrancy. The Executive Board of Synod had created a committee of one representative from each presbytery. Oates reached back into the recent history of the church and quoted a 1956 statement written by the Revs. E. Gettys and W. C. Alexander. That statement said that the "Originals" were without error, the translations that exist today are not perfect, but are essentially in accord with the "Originals" and "are the infallible rule of faith and practice." Oates hoped this statement was narrow enough for the more narrow groups and broad enough for those desirous of more theological diversity.¹²

This Ad Hoc Committee on the Definitions of "inerrancy" and "infallibility" met in November 1977, and consisted of the Revs. Ronald Beard, Chairman; L. M. Allison, David Rockness, Arthur Allen, Charles Edgar, James Bell, and Robert Penny. This committee provided definitions of both terms that may have satisfied scholars of theology in dispassionate research, but could not be oil for the troubled waters of the denomination.

"Inerrancy" meant that the "Originals" were without error including all intended assertions of the text relative to all categories of life, faith and knowledge. The application of "inerrancy" was qualified to those things that were the professed or implied purpose of the writer.

"Infallibility" meant that all the Scriptures were given by Divine inspiration and are the ultimate authority concerning all things necessary for God's own glory and man's salvation, faith and life. As the written Word of God, it is wholly trustworthy in all that it teaches and is totally reliable when interpreted according to its context and purpose.¹³

If each side in the dispute had sought an end to conflict, these definitions might have sufficed. Both statements reflected the Confession of Faith fairly well. Those concerned with "errors" could find comfort in the assertion

that the "Originals" were without error. Those who did not believe the Bible should be used as a "textbook" for science could argue that both definitions asserted that Biblical authority extended to "all intended assertions" ("inerrancy") and was the "ultimate authority concerning all things necessary for God's own glory" ("infallibility").

Few seemed to want to compromise at this juncture. Perhaps some were thinking what Zeb Williams wrote a year later when he asked if the real issue were a "power struggle as to who will control the ARP Church."¹⁴

Grady Oates was an exponent of a type of social gospel. He simply loved people. From the Tirzah ARP Church in York County, South Carolina, he went to Erskine College and Seminary. From the New Albany Church he emerged as a ministerial spokesman during the denomination's "compliance" question in the mid-1960's. By 1965 he was minister at the Bartow, Florida ARP Church. Some who knew of Oates only because they opposed his position on the compliance issue were pleasantly surprised to see how well he worked bringing together men of different views. With a quiet and dignified public appearance, he was able to sit down informally with a small group and communicate effectively. He was at home on the Erskine campus talking with the young adults whose social life had become an issue with Synod. Having children at Erskine helped break the ice for him. His ability to communicate with students and church leaders alike was a major reason the issues of 1977-78 were resolved without disastrous results for the college and the denomination.

An avid sportsman, Oates was at home with God's natural creation spending time hunting and fishing in his adopted state of Florida or wherever his travels took him. Associating with persons of different backgrounds gave him the ability to minister to anyone regardless of his or her level in society.

As Moderator, Oates proved to be one whose time was devoted to bringing different factions together. His articles in the *ARP's* "Moderator's Corner" contained carefully-worded attempts to make statements acceptable to both "sides" on the inerrancy issue. He was, however,

unable to resolve this difficult issue. By the 1979 Synod Oates had developed what appeared to be an acceptable compromise.

Oates traveled considerable distances to talk with different factions in the weeks before Synod. He felt that "we will be wise enough to realize that two people can be equally sound in the faith and express themselves in different ways." Recognizing the differences that existed between graduates of Reformed and Erskine Seminaries, Oates talked with the Revs. Sam Patterson and Randy Ruble, the respective heads of the two institutions. Patterson believed presbyterians should seek peace and purity within the church. To emphasize one too much could damage the other. He told Oates that everyone should "guard against radicalism or fanaticism which can be so obstructive to the church." He agreed with Ruble that various views on the inspiration of the Scriptures were allowed by the Catechisms and the Westminster Confession. Ruble did not disagree with the word "inerrancy" but preferred "infallible" to keep with the wording of the Confession of Faith. Casting about for a suitable basis of compromise, Oates suggested one on which all could agree: "the Bible is the infallible Word of God to which nothing is to be added and from which nothing can be taken away at any time or upon any pretext." He doubted that God had given anyone commission to squeeze every ARP into the same mold.¹⁵

The Florida Presbytery's memorial to add to the ordination vows that the Scriptures, "as originally given, . . . [are] without error in all that they affirm" came before Synod in 1978. Moderator Charles Todd's Committee on Memorials deleted "as originally given" from this memorial and recommended its adoption. A substitute motion to postpone the memorial indefinitely passed on a roll call vote by a majority of twenty-one votes. Seventy-two ministers and sixty-five elders, one missionary and the moderator voted not to postpone; and thirty-six ministers, forty-five elders and two missionaries abstained. Representatives from churches voted together with no major differences between the voting pattern of teaching and ruling elders. Twenty-four percent of the 333

voting delegates abstained, a significant number whose attitudes cannot be determined.¹¹⁶

In a detailed report on Synod for the *ARP*, the Rev. Gerald R. Hallman presented the arguments for postponing the memorial. Numerous delegates were anxious lest conflict over "inerrancy" discourage the "2000 by 1982" evangelistic goal of the Church Extension office. Many argued that they had taken ordination vows that did not include "inerrancy." To add this requirement would change the nature of the church. Some felt that the issue was not a significant one. One delegate told Hallman that "inerrancy" was not understood by the laity and that group did not care about it. One argument against postponement of the memorial was that many delegates wanted the church to take a stand on the issue. The Centennial Synod speech of J. S. Moffatt was quoted to show that the *ARP* Church endorsed "inerrancy" in 1903. Moffatt used that word in describing the denomination's theological position. James T. Corbitt gave Hallman a copy of the Moffatt speech and the latter quoted from it to show that Moffatt recognized "errors" in the Bible. The quotation showed that Moffatt believed the "Originals" were without error, but attributed errors in modern translations to copiers.¹¹⁷

Hallman made no further analysis of the inerrancy vote. Although the Synod meeting did not resolve the dilemma over inerrancy, it did show that the denomination could agree on the church Standards. A memorial from Second Presbytery calling for a reaffirmation of the Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechism passed by a large majority on a voice vote.¹¹⁸

Dr. E. Reynolds Young, Vice-Moderator at the 1977 Synod, wrote on the forthcoming 1978 Synod in the June issue of the *ARP*. He argued that the *ARP* Church suffered from an identity crisis and called on Synod to establish a standard that would speak for the denomination. He was not willing to have the denomination stand on the Westminster Confession "because the definition of the word infallible has been changed. Our seminary made this clear in their official statement. . . ." He felt the denomination's view of scripture, "and hence our identity," was an "open question." He speculated that the

church was at the "valley of decision" in 1978.¹¹⁹ The vote at Synod in 1978 did not endorse the "inerrant" view. It did substantiate Young's contentions that the denomination was divided and unable to take a definitive stand.

In the summer of 1978 a group of ARP laymen organized the Alliance of Loyal Laity known by the acronym ALL. Reaction to the announcement of ALL's creation was expressed in the *ARP* in November. Dr. James H. Young of Anderson noted that the constitution of ALL "was submitted by my good friend, first cousin and fellow physician, Dr. E. Reynolds Young." J. H. Young's opinion was that churchmen should not have such an organization "halfin and halfout" of the church. He advocated working with problems according to the form of government of the ARP Church "as we elders promise to do. We need each other." J. H. Young felt that certain tensions and differences of opinion were healthy and that the church functioned best when the church structure was used.¹²⁰

Mr. Tunis Romein of Due West took note of J. H. Young's suggestion that lay movements are more appropriately developed within church structures. He thought the "church fathers" could declare ALL out of order, but that the organization could proceed anyway since it was independent. Romein's solution was to have the denomination bring ALL within its structure. He envisioned an enlarged "Open Forum" containing articles rather than brief letters. This section of the *ARP* would require merely the addition of a few extra pages, and Romein thought interested laymen would subsidize this venture. He predicted such a development would reduce the tensions and divisions in the denomination.¹²¹

E. R. Young answered his critics in the December 1978 *ARP*. He provided a description of ALL's development in which he traced organizations of laity to the mid-1960's when the Conservative Coordinating Committee was founded.¹²² He expressed regret that the "CCC" died out. Young claimed his motives in founding ALL were not divisive, and noted that the division in the new denomination existed prior to the creation of ALL. The question at hand, he contended, was not the denominational cleft but the development of grounds for reconciliation. The

organizers of ALL wanted to publicize all presbytery meetings of church boards and agencies. He felt that much was done in the church about which most knew nothing. He professed the organization was not in competition with anything and pledged his support for all the denomination's efforts.¹²³

In November 1978, the first *Highroad* was published by ALL in Augusta, Georgia. It claimed to be "an organ of information and discussion for the Alliance of Loyal Laity." ALL's President, E. R. Young, wrote an article to describe the issues in the church. He stated several reasons for the creation of ALL. There was concern over the denomination's view of the Scriptures. He felt that it was apparent that "the denomination's theologians are hardly willing to discuss the issue, much less reach a consensus. . . ." He noted that he had requested Synod to discuss the issue of the inspiration of the Scriptures in 1966 before he returned to Pakistan as a missionary, and was consoled by the discussion that followed his request. Young argued that the issue inherent in the "inerrancy" question could not be dismissed as easily as some would have it.

The second purpose for the existence of ALL was to provide detailed and open discussion of Synod's affairs. Young thought that important issues were determined by church boards and agencies and then were presented at meetings of Synod for "rubber stamp" approval.

Young was concerned about the ministers entering the denomination from "outside." He stated that he knew of one Bible-believing minister who was rejected by a presbytery and another who said he did not accept the first eleven chapters of Genesis as historical and yet was admitted to a presbytery.

Young envisioned ALL as an organization that would involve laymen more actively in the work of the church. He believed that laity were not working hard enough for the Lord.

The first issue of the *Highroad* described the August 4, 1978 organizational meeting of ALL in Greenville, South Carolina. This issue also reported that each spring an announced meeting of the group would be held which would be open to all laymen.

This publication was issued in February, April, May, June, and July in 1979. Each issue contained articles by lay men and women on church news and issues. Winter, spring and summer issues were published in 1980. After 1980 issues were published irregularly.¹²⁴ Officers from 1978-1980 were: Dr. E. Reynolds Young, President; Dr. Andrew C. Miller, Vice-President; Mr. Frank Lesslie, Secretary; Mr. Robert Kennedy, Treasurer; and Mr. Dodd Vernon, Editor. These officers were reelected to serve until August 1980 at the meeting of August 3, 1979. Sixty-three persons attended that supper meeting at the Hendersonville, North Carolina Holiday Inn. The Rev. Norman L. Geisler spoke on the issue of "inerrancy." A number of those present were not members of ALL "because it was the first meeting to be announced publicly." The group voted to hold annual meetings on the Friday before the Denomination's Laymen's Weekend. In August 1979, 900 names were on the mailing list of the *Highroad*.¹²⁵

Vernon noted the opposition to ALL in a February 1979, editorial. He compared those who attacked ALL to those who attacked Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine when they established the "Seceder Church" in eighteenth-century Scotland. He charged that some persons would support the Bible as infallible but redefined the word so that it meant "fallible" or false.¹²⁶

In October 1978 the New Sterling ARP Church Session memorialized First Presbytery to request that its Executive Board explore the implications of ALL, determine its legitimacy, and evaluate its worth to the denomination. Reasons given by the New Sterling Session were: the organization was outside the church government structure, the presbyterian form of government allows for laity and clergy to share government, ALL's publication would compete with the ARP, and the great need was church unity, while ALL was divisive.¹²⁷ First Presbytery heard the report of its Executive Board on February 15-16, 1979. This report noted the successful conference for reconciliation held that January in Due West, expressed the feeling that ALL's supporters were sincere churchmen, feared that the organization was representative of a portion of the denomination who wished to have their views adopted,

and speculated that the continued existence of *ALL* would encourage those of opposite views to create a competitive organization, thus causing still more division. The Executive Board asked First Presbytery to request Synod to ask *ALL* to disband.¹²⁸ First Presbytery memorialized Synod to disband *ALL*, but the Rev. Clyde T. McCants' Moderator's Committee on Memorials recommended that Synod not adopt the memorial. The Synod sustained this recommendation as well as a recommendation to adopt a memorial from Second Presbytery that embodied the suggestions made by Tunis Romein in his letter to the *ARP*. Second Presbytery's memorial asked Synod to "offer to extend official standing as recognized voluntary-organization groups to such groups as are now functioning in support of a stronger witness and service to include Woman's Synodical Union, the Young People's Christian Union and the Alliance of Loyal Laity." These groups, once recognized, were to "carry out functions consistent with the Westminster Confession. . . ." The memorial also provided that members of such groups "shall continue to be responsible to Church courts as individuals as has always been the case, rather than as organizations since such organizations are not the ascending Session—Presbytery—General Synod line of official Church courts."¹²⁹

During the winter of 1978-79 the inerrancy issue was kept alive by heresy charges in Catawba Presbytery and a reconciliation movement that produced a statement of "compromise" for Synod's consideration.

The Rev. C. Tom Fincher brought charges to censure the Revs. Ray A. King and C. M. Coffey, Erskine Seminary faculty members, at the fall meeting of Catawba Presbytery. Fincher attempted to bring similar charges against the Revs. Randall T. Ruble, L. M. Allison, and Kenneth G. Morris, also members of the seminary faculty. Charges were not recognized by the presbyteries to which the latter group of ministers belonged because Fincher was not a member of those presbyteries. Moderator-Elect McCants, the only other member of the seminary faculty, was not charged by Fincher because McCants was not a faculty member when that group adopted its statement on

the authority and inspiration of the Scriptures. A commission of Catawba Presbytery found neither King nor Coffey guilty of a censurable offense. Fincher had charged the two with holding views counter to the denomination's position on the inspiration of the Scriptures. The commission failed to sustain the charges because it could find no clear definition of the denomination's stand on inerrancy and infallibility, and because Catawba Presbytery allowed latitude in this area of belief. The commission's recommendation was made by a five to one vote. Catawba Presbytery approved the Commission's report by a thirty-one to sixteen vote.¹³⁰

Fincher appealed the decision of Catawba Presbytery to the Ecclesiastical Commission on Judicial Affairs. The Commission, acting as a Moderator's Committee, referred the appeal to Synod for a hearing. After debate Synod refused to sustain Fincher's complaint. A resolution was adopted noting that this decision did "not in any way reflect a position by this Synod regarding inerrancy." The Rev. Charles Wilson brought a complaint regarding the matter of censure against Ruble and Morris in Second Presbytery. Wilson contended that Fincher, a member of Catawba Presbytery did have standing to make a charge to censure members of another presbytery. Synod declined to hear Wilson's complaint.¹³¹

The emotions of some members of the denomination were inflamed over news of the heresy charges in Catawba Presbytery. Zeb Williams articulated the feelings of many with an editorial in December 1978. "I wonder, is the heart of the problem really our differing views of 'inerrancy' and 'infallibility' or is it only a part of a larger power struggle as to who will control the ARP Church?"¹³² The Executive Board of Synod, Chaired by Moderator Charles B. Todd, adopted a motion at its meeting of November 10, 1978 to create a committee to plan for a reconciliation meeting. This committee of four consisted of two persons representing each "side" on the inerrancy issue and consisted of the Revs. Roy E. Beckham and Randall T. Ruble, and Drs. R. C. Grier and E. Reynolds Young. This committee met on November 30, charged with selecting a representative group of not over forty persons who could

come together in an attempt to resolve some of the deep divisions within Synod. At this November 30 meeting forty church leaders were selected to meet in Due West on February 15 and 16, 1979. The committee expressed the conviction that God alone could heal the divisiveness abroad. The February meeting was to glorify God by promoting the peace, unity, purity, and prosperity of the denomination. Any decisions reached by this Reconciliation Conference would be submitted to the Executive Board of Synod.¹³³

The Rev. W. W. Orr reported that the meeting, held in the Due West ARP Church, was designed to eliminate whispered conferences by alternate seating. None of the twenty from each "side" was seated beside one holding the same position on "inerrancy." At the first session the Revs. James Coad, Jr. and Lonnie Richardson laid out the positions of "inerrancy" and "infallibility." After questions the conference broke up into groups of four persons each for discussions. One of these groups presented a report signed by thirty-eight representatives. The Revs. Stephen Irby and Tom Fincher preferred not to sign the statement.

Each "side" agreed it sought no split in the church. Neither "side" was to hold any secret "strategy session" between February 15 and the meeting of General Synod. The Reconciliation Conference discussed items of interest other than the "inerrancy" and "infallibility" issue. Among these concerns were the possible relocation of the seminary, a separate Board of Trustees for that institution, the small number of ARP students at Erskine Seminary, and the feeling that newcomers to the denomination were considered "outsiders."¹³⁴

The Rev. Robert Elliott felt a spirit of reconciliation at the meeting. He reported a general agreement that the issues of inerrancy and infallibility were not matters affecting salvation offered by Jesus Christ. Most agreed that no "perfect text of Scripture" exists. Though original texts are unavailable all believed they were accurately given to the original "autographers." The consensus was that present translations of the Bible were reliable but not perfect. The latitude essential for a statement acceptable to thirty-

eight of the forty representatives was provided by leaving out the "code words" of "inerrancy" and "infallibility."

Elliott also reported that other issues were discussed. In addition to some mentioned by Orr, Elliott noted that some consideration would be given the "inerrancy" position in hiring new faculty. Ruble defended the seminary faculty by claiming charges circulating about them were false. Both "sides" feared the other sought union with either the PCUS or NAPARC. All agreed to work together without seeking union with any larger body.¹³⁵

The "Resolution on Biblical Authority" adopted on February 16, 1979, did not solve the conflict, but it did reduce the tensions that threatened the whole church. It proclaimed that

we believe Christ is the Son of God. We believe God the Father gave His Son to save us from sins. We believe that the Holy Spirit reveals Christ to us through the Holy Scripture which is the Word of God written. While we do not have the original autographs as proof, we believe on faith that God's Word in its entirety was accurately recorded by the original writers through divine inspiration and reliably transmitted to us. We affirm that salvation is by grace through faith in Jesus Christ and Him alone.¹³⁶

The Rev. James P. Pressly died on February 26, 1979. The same issue of the *ARP* that carried the notice of his death included an interview with him which had been conducted in mid-February. Pressly put the issue of "inerrancy" in perspective. He did not believe that issue was the most divisive one of the church during his lifetime. "Inerrancy" and "infallibility" were synonyms to Pressly who thought the debates over hymns and church union were just as intense as this latest church argument. He thought the current struggle was "not worth getting upset over." The church survived the union and hymn issues and "we will get through this one."¹³⁷ Dr. R. C. Grier was not so optimistic. He reported feeling as if the Reconciliation Conference was a great success at its conclusion. The next morning he spoke with one minister on the issue of

women's ordination. After that conversation Grier realized that the same words meant different things to different people. ALL claimed a "major role" in the conference which produced a "strongly Scriptural statement of agreement."¹³⁸

In June General Synod adopted the Reconciliation Conference statement as well as one by the Rev. Grady Oates that affirmed the Scriptures "to be without error in all it teaches." An amendment to include the word "infallible" as well as another to add the words "infallible and inerrant" to Oates' motion were defeated. The statement written at the Reconciliation Conference was amended to change the phrase "while we do not have the original autographs as proof" by substituting the word "evidence" for "proof."¹³⁹

There was some feeling that moving the seminary to an urban location would improve its ability to attract students. The Rev. Joseph Blevins felt that the reason the seminary did not enroll large numbers of ARP students was theological rather than geographical. Erskine Seminary, he contended, lacked the theological perspective of Covenant, Reformed, and Westminster Seminaries. Blevins attended both Erskine and Reformed Seminaries and claimed that a quick check of the libraries of these two institutions would support his contention. "Unless an internal change is made in the theological stance of our seminary itself, I would seriously doubt" that its enrollment will increase.¹⁴⁰

The February 1980 issue of the *ARP* contained a "Covenant of Integrity" signed by a sizable number of church persons. This group said it wanted to maintain the stability and integrity of the denomination and reaffirm its inclusive position of theological belief. The statement quoted the church Standards on the authority of the Scriptures, the "Oates statement" passed at the 1979 Synod, and the statement from the Reconciliation Conference. Claiming that some interpreted these 1979 statements as supporting an "inerrancy position," the group contended these statements were efforts to reconcile differences. Expressing deep concern over the direction and future of the ARP

Church, the statement argued that continued controversy hindered the denomination's historic, ecclesiastical, and fraternal relations with other bodies and the church's witness to the world as a progressive body. They stated that the 1979 statements of Synod should not be seen as "inerrancy statements." Finally the group pledged its willingness to work with and accept persons of differing opinions within the traditional doctrine of the denomination.¹⁴¹

The Rev. James T. Corbitt claimed that the "Oates statement" of the 1979 Synod "is the inerrancy position." He agreed that Synod said the positions it adopted were not to be interpreted as adoption of the "inerrancy" position but Synod never directed how they were to be interpreted. Corbitt charged that the "Covenant of Integrity" was divisive because it reopened the inerrancy issue settled by the 1979 Synod.

This document does a disservice to our church. It inflames issues that should have been put to rest. What we need is the integrity to say either the Bible is true or it is not; an integrity that uses words as the dictionary does. If we had more of that sort of integrity we wouldn't need a Covenant of Integrity.¹⁴²

The Rev. Jan Senneker wrote a letter to Florida Presbytery because those signing the "Covenant of Integrity" seemed to "refuse to accept Synod's clear and plain statement." He agreed with Corbitt's position that the group signing the Covenant of Integrity had reopened deep wounds in the church. He thought they should conform or leave the church. Senneker advocated "that we uphold the decision of inerrancy as formulated by the 1979 Synod and that the dissidents within our Synod must be dealt with." To "appease the opposition" would do a disservice to the Winter Haven Church, in his view.¹⁴³ A suggestion was made at the February 23, 1980 Florida Presbytery to memorialize Synod to bring disciplinary action against those who did not accept Synod's 1979 statement.¹⁴⁴

To understand the "Oates statement" adopted at the 1979 Synod and Senneker's strong feelings, one must realize that Florida Presbytery's largest church, the

Winter Haven Congregation, was in the process of withdrawing from the denomination. That congregation withdrew from the denomination because the church would not endorse the inerrancy position.

Oates' statement was an extremely well-worded one designed to appeal to the advocates of "inerrancy." Of all the suggestions of "compromise," Oates came closest to providing the ideal statement. Its key phrase was that the Bible was "without error in all it teaches." Neither "infallible" nor "inerrant" was acceptable, for both were "code words" whose endorsement spelled victory or defeat. "Without error" affirmed the meaning of "inerrant" for those insisting on "inerrancy." The phrase "in all it teaches" was one the "anti-inerrancy" group could accept.

Florida Presbytery did not memorialize Synod in 1980, but the Mississippi Valley Presbytery did. The Lawndale Congregation of that presbytery eventually withdrew from the denomination because, among other things, they wanted the denomination to take a stronger stand for "inerrancy." The memorial from Mississippi Valley originated in the Lawndale Session and called on Synod to endorse "inerrancy." The memorial asked Synod to define

the terms 'infallible' in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and 'perfect' in the *Book of Church Order*.

We, the Session of the Lawndale Presbyterian Church memorialize Presbytery to memorialize Synod that these words in every sense mean inerrant and therefore, we are going on record as defining the words 'infallible' and 'perfect' to say that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God and therefore are inerrant, verbally inspired, and totally trustworthy, including areas of science and history.

Moderator Joseph Patrick's Committee on Memorials recommended that this memorial not be adopted. The substitute motion carried "that Synod reaffirm its statement of 1979—"that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God without error in all that it teaches."¹⁴⁵

The "Oates statement" had achieved what none other

could in recent years. It won the endorsement of two consecutive Synods. The silence of the 1981 Synod lent further support to the "Oates statement" as a solution for this vexatious issue.

No sooner did the conflict over inerrancy begin to diminish than another theological debate flared up in the denomination. As early as 1932 the *ARP* carried news of women officers in presbyterian churches. Stevenson noted the election of a woman as Moderator of the Abilene Texas Presbytery of the "Northern Presbyterian Church."¹⁴⁶ The first evidence of the issue of women's ordination in the *ARP* Church came in 1956. In its June 5, 1956 meeting, Second Presbytery rejected a memorial from Young Memorial Church asking "that women be made eligible to election as Elders and Deacons."¹⁴⁷

The Committee to Revise the Constitution of the denomination proposed making women eligible for the offices of deacons and elders in 1969. That version of the Constitution was defeated in overture by a 141 to eighty-nine vote. There were several objections to this proposed constitution and presbyteries voted on the whole constitution rather than on each chapter separately. Though this process did not measure the sentiment of the specific issue of women's ordination, it was one of the proposed changes drawing considerable criticism.¹⁴⁸

The Rev. James Coad, Jr. opposed the ordination of women at the February 23, 1969 meeting of Second Presbytery. A report of his remarks at presbytery appeared in the *ARP*. Coad felt that modern society had forced women out of their God-given roles. So much of the tensions "and disorders plaguing women today are a result of their being forced by society into roles beyond their ability." He refuted the arguments of the pro-ordination advocates by using Scripture which he interpreted as being opposed to women's ordination. He asserted that the real issue was not the ordination of women, but the authority of the Bible.¹⁴⁹ The Rev. J. H. McFerrin, a member of the committee that revised the constitution, argued that opponents of the ordination of women quoted I Timothy 3:1-13 where Paul seemed to specify men for the offices of elders and deacon. To be consistent, McFerrin

argued, the new constitution should say that only men could teach in the church. He insisted that "there is no weakening of the Scriptures in the proposed ordination vows for elders and deacons."¹⁵⁰ Mr. John Brawley felt that the structure of the church must change to meet changing conditions. He speculated that in some future situation the office of elder may even die out. In fact, he argued, the entire institutional church might die out so that the universal church might flourish.¹⁵¹

After the defeat of the proposed revised constitution, the committee changed its proposal to allow for the ordination of women deacons but not women elders. This proposed constitutional revision passed in overture with very little opposition.¹⁵²

In 1973 Mississippi Valley Presbytery passed two memorials dealing with the ordination of elders and deacons. Moderator Kenneth C. Seawright's Committee on Memorials recommended against the adoption of these memorials, and Synod agreed. Three women wrote to the ARP in support of women's ordination prior to the 1973 meeting of Synod. Mrs. Jean W. DeWitt contended that the ARP Church had done little to make itself "sensitive to the oppression in its own culture and it is doing no better on the issue of women." Mrs. Trudy Boyce Peryam spoke of Christ's treating of women as equals, and advocating their engagement in traditional male roles. Mrs. Elizabeth J. Dinner took passages of Scripture used in the Mississippi Valley Memorial which would have denied women the role of deacon in the denomination. Dinner argued the passages quoted in the memorial were taken out of context. She argued that Paul's attitude toward women reflected the Greek culture of which he was a part. Greek culture required women to wear veils in worship. Dinner also asserted that Biblical society held women in a low position and the Scriptures reflected the culture of the day. She advocated ordaining women as ministers and expressed the hope that Synod would open all positions to women. Mrs. Ann M. Reed did not support this change and argued that woman was created by God to be a helpmate for man.¹⁵³

In 1976 First Presbytery memorialized Synod to alter

the church constitutions to allow for the ordination of women elders. A paper by the Rev. Lonnie Richardson advocating the ordination of women, was characterized by Zeb Williams as "excellent." Moderator Gordon Parkinson's Committee on Memorials recommended the memorial not be adopted and Synod concurred.¹⁵⁴

In 1977 Mrs. David L. Pressly, a member of Synod's Committee on Lay Ministry, asked that "Layman's Day" be designated as "Laity Day" and Synod accepted this recommendation. Pressly looked forward to the day when women "will be included in all phases of the work and worship of the denomination."¹⁵⁵

The 1978 Synod did not adopt a memorial from Catawba Presbytery "to delete the position of 'Advisory' as it applies to Women's Synodical Union, from all boards and standing committees. . . ." The memorial called for a regular position with voting rights on all Synod's boards and committees except where church law forbids a woman to serve. Synod accepted as a substitute for this memorial a recommendation from Moderator Charles Todd's Committee on the Executive Board of Synod. This recommendation provided for Synod's Nominating Committee to nominate one woman whose name would be submitted by Woman's Synodical Union, to every board and committee of Synod as part of the Nominations Committee's regular list of nominees to Synod. In addition, where applicable, the "At-Large" member of boards and agencies would become the Woman's Synodical Union's "position."¹⁵⁶

First Presbytery considered motions on the woman's ordination issue virtually every year from 1974 through 1981.¹⁵⁷ In 1980 First Presbytery requested Synod's Executive Committee to allot forty minutes on Synod's program for women of that presbytery to present a program on the "Biblical Basis for Women's Role in the Church."¹⁵⁸ The Executive Committee of Synod provided a time on the evening of the last day of Synod for this presentation and asked that a group from First Presbytery be selected to present opposing arguments.¹⁵⁹

The First Union Church in Charlotte, a union church belonging to the Mecklenburg PCUS Presbytery and the

First ARP Presbytery, presented a memorial to First Presbytery in 1980 asking for women's ordination. First Presbytery adopted this memorial and sent it to Synod. In January 1981 Mr. Ben Johnston, editor of the *ARP*, wrote an editorial interpreted as being opposed to this memorial. A letter signed by the Rev. Billy A. Howell, Jr. and session Clerk James G. Shaver answered this editorial. These men expressed sadness after reading Johnston's editorial which they characterized as full of negatives and appeals to prejudice. These two men were from The First Union Church and assured readers that their congregation contained good women leaders. They argued that to deny these women an opportunity to serve as elders was a denial of the activity of the Holy Spirit.¹⁶⁰ The Rev. L. M. Allison wrote that the Erskine Seminary had educated some excellent young women. He also stated that there were excellent women elders in other presbyterian denominations. Allison argued that the Bible contained many examples of women being treated as equals of men and there was no indication of women being inferior to men in the account of creation. Furthermore, he stated that Jesus challenged discrimination against women, and his teachings about marriage, divorce and adultery contained no double standards. Allison argued further that Peter's sermon at Pentecost proclaimed human equality. Allison interpreted the New Testament as containing evidence that both men and women preached in the early Christian church. Although Paul told a group of disruptive women to be quiet in the church, Allison pointed to Paul's great document on Christian liberty as saying men and women were equal in Christ. He contended that the Holy Spirit was bestowed on males and females. Mrs. Sue C. Goodwin stated that since Paul said men and women were equal and were one in Christ, there should be women elders. Mrs. Anita Pressly believed the Bible said that women were equal to men, and hoped the denomination would agree.¹⁶¹

The Rev. John Coad agreed that men and women were equal in salvation, but argued they had different roles to perform. He noted that I Timothy 2:12 said that women were not to teach or exercise authority over men but should remain quiet. Coad contended that these strictures

were not culturally bound, for subsequent verses refer to the order of creation as the basis for these restrictions. Mrs. Helen Wallace Pressly, a former member of the PCUS, felt that denomination experienced turmoil with congregations withdrawing, following passage of women's ordination. She predicted a split in the ARP church if women's ordination passed.¹⁶²

Mr. Fred Caldwell agreed "exactly" with Allison and thought a compromise might be possible if the church would approve one women elder per congregation. The Rev. Charles Wilson noted that the denomination's membership was declining, and that Synod's goal of 2000 new members by 1982 "has become an embarrassment." He felt that "our survival" was in question. He saw the issue of women's ordination as very divisive for the denomination, and felt that to adopt it would be to reject the church's Biblical heritage. He did not want to copy "the aberrations of other Presbyterian bodies. . . ." Those opposed to the ordination of women who wrote letters to the *ARP* greatly outnumbered those writing in support of the issue, all of whom are noted above. Others opposing women's ordination who wrote letters to the editor signed their names: Mrs. James Robinson, Hugh Dale, Flora Nashy, Rev. J. B. McFerrin, Linda Hughes, Libby Draffin, Rev. James T. Corbitt, Jane Shaw, Eva Gardner and Michael Johnston.¹⁶³

In the June 1981 *ARP* Ben Johnston presented papers by a representative of each position on the issue of women's ordination. Mr. Tunis Romein opposed the move in an article that argued from a philosophical perspective. Although he acknowledged proponents of the memorial could point to certain Scripture to sustain their position, the "whole counsel" of God, he believed, was against women holding church office. Romein saw the Bible as endorsing a family structure based on a hierarchy stemming from the different functions of various family members. All members of the unit were equal before God. He quoted Emil Brunner to contend that equality's fundamental aim is "independence" and the Biblical foundation for real community is "dependence." Different functions among various family members create a dependence upon which

a real community can be based. It was difficult for Romein to separate the movement for women's ordination from the secular humanism growing out of the enlightenment. He saw this secular drive for freedom and equality as having undesirable results. Romein granted there was injustice in the church and even conceded there might be some in the ordination issue. He felt there should be a better way to surmount the struggles "which periodically weaken [the church's]...life and ministry."¹⁶⁴

Mrs. Anne Alexander's article supported women's ordination by examining Scripture and several commentators. She contended there was no inequality between the sexes during creation with the pre-fall relationship being one of equality. When sin was introduced both man and woman were punished. Woman was punished by being ruled over by man. Alexander pointed out that if man had authority over woman from creation there would have been no need for this punishment after the fall. She saw Christ as restoring mankind's broken and distorted relationships, "first to God and then to each other." Those who accept Christ become "new creatures whose citizenship is in Heaven and who no longer look at persons or life from the world's viewpoint." She felt Christ treated women as equal because He changed society's accepted order of authority from an obedience to authority to a voluntary response to love.

Alexander thought that Paul, in I Corinthians 11, was answering a specific question about covering heads in worship. She contended that men covered their heads purely for religious reasons in Jewish worship. Women wore veils for cultural and social reasons. Christian men were to put aside caps which had religious significance only, but women were to wear veils to denote married status and their place in society. In this passage and in I Timothy 2, she argued that Paul was dealing with specific issues and not formulating doctrine for the church universal. She reported that her research indicated great disagreement among scholars over these passages whose real meanings are at best obscure. Alexander questioned if the Father's will could "be done on earth as long as tradition shackles the church."¹⁶⁵

Moderator W. W. Orr's Committee on Memorials did not recommend the adoption of the memorial on women's ordination to the 1981 General Synod. The Rev. Robert M. Wallace, Jr. presented a motion to cease debate on the issue, and to establish a study committee to examine the Biblical basis of the woman's issue. Supporters of the motion characterized it as a compromise and that it merely called for a study of the Scriptural position on the subject. Those opposed to the motion argued that the issue had been debated thoroughly and that such a study would keep alive a divisive issue. Wallace's motion failed by a vote of 136 - 101. At that juncture three women supporters of women's ordination requested the privilege of speaking to Synod. By a 160 to eighty-three vote Synod denied them this privilege, and voted 173 to fifty-five to end the debate on this subject. One of the dramatic moments of recent Synods transpired at the end of the last session in 1981. Moderator Orr, citing his poor eyesight, arthritis, other health problems, and the belief that he would be identified with emotional issues Synod had dealt with, and thus would not be welcomed in some churches, resigned.

The Revs. Lonnie Richardson and Michael E. Woodard, leaders for women's ordination, embraced Orr. Richardson expressed the opinion that God's will was done and "many in Bonclarken Chapel became misty-eyed." The court refused to accept Orr's resignation and he "accepted the will of the court and led in prayer and benediction."¹⁶⁶

The issue of women's ordination continues to divide members of the denomination who have different theological positions. In 1982 it was not evident if the theological differences within the ARP church are so divisive that the denomination can survive without a schism. The extreme positions appear irreconcilable yet the denomination always has contained diverse viewpoints, especially since the Second World War.

Chapter III

THE WHOLE GOSPEL

Synod's Committee on Theological and Social Concerns was created in 1976. From 1932 there was a committee of Synod, under various titles, whose concern was the society in which the denomination existed. The 1932 Committee on Reform outlined the "sins and iniquities" that made the 1930's "distressful times." Societal problems identified by this committee were hostility to prohibition, refusal to obey Sabbath observance, high divorce rates, opposition to the use of the Bible in public schools, political corruption, and organized crime.¹ An end to prohibition in 1933 provoked a "Call to Arms" from Synod's Committee on Reform: "The old fight to the finish is on again."² The issues of alcoholic beverages and "Sabbath desecrators" were the two most consistent evils identified in American society. This committee expressed concern for the "war upon the home" in 1934. "Denominational colleges, even, . . . are voting to permit the modern dance, one of the most prolific sources of immorality, its very nature being such as to come under the indictment of Jesus as violative of the commandment that guards the sanctity of the marital relationships."³ Motion pictures were condemned for displaying "cigarette smoking girls" and "drinking and ribald scenes" which contributed to moral degradation. The love of money was blamed for the invasion of the home's privacy by "salacious magazines and similar implements of obscenity" portraying "cigarette smoking women and girls."⁴ The "withering hand of greed" encouraged the spread of slot machines, pool rooms, and "gambling devices of various kinds" which would "filch money from the public purse." Gambling was seen at all strata of society. "Those who gamble at bridge are rewarded by having their names in the society column while the negro with his game of alley dice finds his name in the police court records."⁵

In 1935 Synod changed the Committee on Reform to the Committee on Regeneration to commit the denomination to the task of regenerating society and politics so that the doctrine of the sovereignty of God might cover these

secular realms. To answer criticism from any who might oppose such a move, Synod noted that the Christian is a citizen upon whom the regeneration of society devolves because of his Christianity. The editor of the *ARP*, the Rev. R. M. Stevenson, defended Synod's activities in the secular sphere by recalling the Seceder and Covenanter past. Those religious forebearers were, in the editor's mind, protesting against societal and governmental corruptions and this activity was what condemned them "to ejection from their pulpits in many cases and not infrequently even to death."⁶ Stevenson agreed that some emphasized social regeneration too much, but argued that most *ARP* ministers preached on social issues too infrequently. Synod noted that some feared the word "social" or "social gospel" and equated it with socialism or Marxism. These, Synod argued, were "bogies" and "Christians often shy at bogies." The report from the new Committee on Regeneration professed loyalty to the "economic status quo; though few would claim it is Christian." The true religion, Synod argued, had always been intensely social because man is a social creature. To regenerate society would be to remake society based on Christian principles by beginning with saved individuals who would transform the larger group. This process would transform society into the Kingdom of God on earth. This theme of a society transformed into God's Kingdom was a common one during the years of the Great Depression. It was not dissimilar in outward respects from secular humanistic movements growing out of the enlightenments' conviction that man's reason could produce the utopian society. The central theme for *ARP* writers remained soundly Christian in that any societal regeneration was predicated on the individual's altered life following conversion.

The 1937 Synod approved the report of the Committee on Social Regeneration that included an endorsement of the Roosevelt administration as the first "socially minded" in United States history.⁷ This committee continued to condemn the social ills noted above and emphasized the evils it saw stemming from the automobile. "Night automobile riding and night revelling in disreputable road houses are prime factors in the spread of

syphillis."⁹ Rum sellers and gamblers were blamed as exploiters of the youth of the day. The committee called on school officials to devote less resources to "frills of education" and more attention to the fundamentals of education including an effort to teach honesty, frugality, sobriety, and industry. Synod did not hesitate to speak out on any societal issue it deemed important though the bulk of concern remained pietistic in nature.¹⁰

During the fifty years after 1932 the formal and informal terminology Synod used in describing social issues changed considerably. Synod's committee on Reform became the Committee on Regeneration and then the Committee on Social Regeneration during the 1930's. Informally, writers frequently used the term "social gospel" to describe their message. At no time did any who used this term fit the description commonly applied in more recent years. Though doubtlessly influenced by the international social gospel movement, ARP ministers always insisted that the first step in social regeneration must be a saved individual soul.

During the post World War II period the term "social gospel" was used infrequently and its use eventually ceased. More often than not the social issues addressed during those years by writers such as the Revs. James P. Pressly, David T. Lauderdale and Ebenezer Gettys, were issues commonly identified as pietistic ones such as alcoholic beverage consumption, Sabbath observance, divorce, etc. With some exceptions these types of issues were the ones addressed by Synod in the 1960's and 1970's. The formal terminology also changed. In the 1950's Synod's Committee on Social Regeneration became the Committee on Morals and Public Welfare. During the reorganization of Synod in 1976 it became the Theological and Social Concerns Committee.

The Great Depression awakened the ARP Church to what was called the whole gospel. Most advocates of the whole gospel prefaced their remarks with an assertion that salvation was the primary goal of the denomination. Yet, once saved, the Christian individual was exhorted to reconstruct or regenerate society.¹¹

The term "whole gospel" was coined by the Rev. G. G.

Parkinson, professor at Erskine Seminary and briefly editor of the *ARP* during an illness of R. M. Stevenson. Parkinson asserted that Christ's ministry was to save not only souls but also lives and bodies. Healing was an integral aspect of His work and "there is no ground in Scripture or reason for giving an exclusively spiritual meaning to all such details." To preach only the spiritual message was for Parkinson, to give less than the whole gospel. Though he saw the spiritual as the more important message, Parkinson insisted that only with the addition of the physical side of Christ's ministry would the whole gospel be proclaimed. Foreign mission work was justified by this whole gospel message. Medicine, sanitation, education, and agricultural work in foreign fields were important to Parkinson. "It is commonly said that these open the way for the gospel. Rather, they are the gospel in its simplest and perhaps most appealing expression." One who cares for the body in its present needs can be entrusted with the soul. Christ's interest in men's bodies made it easier for them to believe in His concern for their souls. Parkinson asserted that this whole gospel was needed at home as well as in foreign lands. The only hands available to Christ in the 1940's are "ours, we are the body of Christ [and we can] . . . bring the whole gospel to a world which needs no half-way salvation."¹²

One of the most interesting exponents of the whole gospel was Mr. Arthur W. Calhoun, a professor of German at Erskine during the mid and late 1930's. Calhoun was a Christian Marxist. Some of his ideas were influential in *ARP* circles. Calhoun drew an analogy between the social disorders of the 1930's and those faced by Christ. Marx's dialectical analysis of a class struggle was applied to the society confronting Jesus. The "unscrupulous aristocracy," having been defeated by the middle class, gave Christ few problems. The "revolutionary proletariat" clashed scarcely at all with Jesus and He might endeavor to calm the impatience of "the Bolshevik party." Jesus clashed constantly with organized pharisaism which was seen as the "leadership of the middle class gone to seed."

According to Calhoun the contemporary middle class

"took the world away from a mouldering feudal aristocracy," created modern history, and has protestantism as its spiritual expression. Big-business was for Calhoun the culprit that twisted the world made by the middle class and suppressed that group into a broken, frustrated, and dangerous clan. The middle class of the 1930's was seen as modern pharisaism. In Germany and Italy it vented its frustrations by creating fascism. The contemporary middle class had repudiated "its historic ethical and spiritual values. It becomes bigoted, clannish, provincial, medieval,—in a work Pharisaic." Calhoun drew parallels between Adolph Hitler's defense of the abuses of public utilities and big business, his anti-semitism, his anti-organized labor position, and his emphasis on nationalism and the middle class in the United States which seemed to agree with the German Chancellor. Calhoun considered the world menace to be "the out-dated middle class" which was trying to cling to power in "a world where nothing can any longer be done on the petty scale to which the middle class is wedded." He called on readers of the *ARP* to revise their basic conceptions of life "to fit a new world, where there is lessening scope for the old-fashioned petty private enterprise on which we were reared and where everything is going to be done by collective effort on a world-wide scale."¹³

From this Marxist analysis of contemporary society, Calhoun moved to a Christian solution. In a series of long articles published in the *ARP*, Calhoun outlined his "Theology of Social Regenerations." These ideas sparked a series of editorials on "Group Applications of the Gospel" by Stevenson. Stevenson agreed, in part, with Calhoun's solutions for society's ills. Calhoun saw orthodox trinitarian belief as a pattern of "complete solidarity and entire cooperation" for society. God, according to Calhoun, was calling His people to end their "exaggerating individual separations and private rights," to "transcend selfishness and pettiness and to achieve an inclusive collectivism of interest and purpose. . . ." Each individual should attempt to fit into God's overall plan for mankind. "If we become Christians in fact we shall be unqualifiedly socialized, and shall find in such socialization

the meaning and value of life, just as Jesus did in His participation in the divine society when He made the doing of the Father's will His very sustenance."¹⁴ Calhoun envisioned God as the Creator, as a doer in opposition to the Greek ideal of a god as one who practices contemplative leisure. This God is favorable to those who "live by their own collective labor rather than by parasitic exploitation of the less fortunate." This God, continually active in creative work, sets the pattern for man to emulate. John 3:16, for Calhoun, established God's first purpose: to save every man. John 3:17 demonstrated for Calhoun that God's broader goal was the redemption of the social order. He believed that the whole Bible points to the consummation of the Kingdom of God on earth which provides the societal framework within which the individual life obtains meaning.¹⁵ When we pray "Thy Kingdom Come," Calhoun argued, we ask not for an abstract spiritual state "but a very tangible, concrete and practical order of human society. . . ." To bring about this earthly kingdom, those who are saved should strive to emulate the conditions to be encountered in heaven. For Calhoun the revolutionary vanguard for God's earthly kingdom consisted of the Christians on earth who have been "set apart as the shock troops responsible for the ushering in of the new kingdom." One joins the shock troops by a personal salvation experience, the real meaning of which lies not in the individual's personal salvation as much as in the selfless work that one does to save society. The unregenerate seeks self-interest; the regenerate is engaged in the struggle to bring about the Kingdom of God. "The drawing power of the Cross, however, is capable of winning him from his self-centered isolation and futility, identifying him with Christ, and socializing his whole being, so that he is not merely serviceable in the cause of the kingdom but is in fact 'saved.'"¹⁶ Those who are saved must engage in evangelism to usher in "the Christian righteousness."¹⁷

Calhoun saw a similarity between the Israelites under Moses and the Covenanters in Scotland. Each saw the need to regenerate society to make it moral.¹⁸ Calhoun was critical of a society wasteful of natural resources, where "predatory profits" were allowed, and where humans

became tools for others' gain. Jesus undertook the regeneration of society but His church was betrayed when Christianity became a legal religion in the Roman Empire. The Empire, according to Calhoun, did not become Christian. Rome made the church pagan. John Calvin and the Covenanters attempted to re-establish divine sovereignty over human affairs but the modern world witnessed the triumph of secularism over the church. He argued that Christians allowed the world to triumph because they refused to see that Christ sought a temporal kingdom. Christians should enter politics to secure the rule of God on earth.¹⁹

R. M. Stevenson's editorial on "Group Applications of the Gospels" ran for several weeks during early 1937 in the *ARP*. He ignored Calhoun's opposition to the economic order and did not view society as being composed of competing classes. Stevenson did adopt the primary idea Calhoun advanced: "Christianity is meant to ameliorate society, as well as convert and develop the individual."²⁰ He saw God's kingdom on earth in social, not individual, terms and as "a present, and not wholly a prospective order." It could exist under various forms of government and would not conflict with governmental authority or interests. When Christians pray "Thy Kingdom Come" they ask for the "reign of Christ in the hearts and lives of men, and the kingdom advances as men are brought more and more under the reign of Christ and become more and more loyal to Him in their lives and conduct." Stevenson quoted G. G. Parkinson's Sabbath School lessons for the third quarter of 1935 as containing an ideal description of how salvation works through the individual to various human organizations until all society might be Christianized.²¹

Stevenson's articles were much more practical than the more theoretical writings of Calhoun. The editor catalogued specific social evils that Christians should oppose and listed several examples of the gospel at work in society and politics. Stevenson warned against an over-emphasis on the social gospel and re-asserted the primary goal of the church as the saving of souls.²²

Not all contributors to the *ARP* endorsed the whole

gospel. A sermon by the Rev. R. A. Lummus printed in the June 23, 1938 issue of the *ARP* contained attacks against the popular "social Conscience" that many ARP ministers espoused. To Lummus there was a great deal of hypocritical nonsense being preached. As a Biblical example Lummus noted that John the Baptist did not preach against social conditions but told Herod to his face of his evil actions. This example illustrates a characteristic of ARP critics of the whole gospel in the 1930's and 1940's. Although some denounced the whole gospel as diverting attention away from the essential work of salvation, these same critics were loud in denunciations of governmental policies and societal practices in areas such as Sabbath Day observance, alcoholic consumption, and gambling. In fact, Lummus' sermon denouncing the social gospel contained a considerable amount of material critical of crime, gambling, and other social issues.

When the Rev. J. Alvin Orr arrived at Erskine in 1941, the ARP church had acquired a sharp critic of the whole gospel. Orr emphasized evangelism and saw an "increasingly evident issue between two irreconcilable positions. On the one side is a philosophy of confidence in the efficacy of human struggle; on the other the belief that Christ is the only answer—God's answer, to man's need."²³ Orr came from the United Presbyterian Church of North America (UPCNA) and brought with him the conflicts that had been raging in that denomination. He condemned the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and noted that one objectionable aspect of that organization was its emphasis on human betterment by social programs and its "lack of emphasis on vicarious atonement."²⁴ Orr's position illustrates the difficulty with terminology. His attacks were against the social gospel practiced elsewhere. The ARP Church's whole gospel never lost sight of the centrality of the salvation message.

When the Rev. C. B. Williams became editor of the *ARP* in June, 1941, he deplored the decline in evangelism in the ARP Church. Although some of this decline was blamed on professional evangelists, another important cause was the emphasis on the social gospel.²⁵ Yet Williams supported the whole gospel and warned that the church

should not "slink behind any false interpretations of its evangelistic mission to dodge the responsibility of bringing its aroused moral conscience to bear upon public issues."²⁶

The Rev. Renwick C. Kennedy was the most consistent advocate of the whole gospel in the denomination from 1932 through the 1950's. In 1934 Synod requested the *ARP* to publish Kennedy's paper on "God in Society." Kennedy noted two ways for man to come to God: by mysticism and by rationalism. He argued that man should be able to come to God via a third route, the social approach. To see God in society, Kennedy had to search carefully, and succeeded in discovering Christ in action in some "hospitals, orphanages, and other organized ministries of mercy. . . ."²⁸ Society contained many ills which must be corrected before one could find God there without a long search. But, Kennedy lamented, the church was too timid to confront society's evils. The evils Kennedy saw in society were those of exploited and undernourished children found in the bituminous coal industry and the cotton mill village.

Kennedy asserted that the true gospel was personal and social. Once his soul was saved, the Christian should make the "present world a better place . . . attempting to set up the kingdom of God here and now."²⁹ Hosea, Micah, and other Old Testament Prophets carried this message and Jesus asserted that He came to give man a more abundant life. "The kingdom of God is a social ideal, a society or people who live by the ideas of Jesus here and now." Kennedy noted that many churchmen who shy away from the whole gospel "are rabid in their opposition to liquor." Misuse of alcoholic beverages presented a social evil to Kennedy, but so did child labor, "wages and hours," tenancy, and war. He was aware that the Christian church in the United States was a middle class church and warned that it should not identify solely with one class.³⁰

After the Second World War, Kennedy continued to criticize those who limited the whole gospel so that no concern was expressed for the great social problems of the post-war period: war, peace, temperance, racial feelings,

marriage and divorce, and labor.³¹ His inclusion of labor as an area of concern resulted in a letter from a friend who considered the labor movement to be anti-church, anti-God, and un-christian. To Kennedy this was a "defeatist and antediluvian attitude." He charged that the Roman Catholic Church had appealed to labor much better than protestants. He called on the denomination to appeal to the millions of organized and unorganized laborers.³²

For Kennedy other post-war problems paled before the two foremost issues facing the church in the 1950's: the threat of communism and the control and use of atomic power. Neither Synod's Committee on Morals and Public Welfare nor Kennedy could produce human solutions to these problems. He saw a turn to Christ by society as the only hope of mankind.³³

By the mid 1950's Kennedy turned his attention from social evils that seemed permanent, such as alcohol, to others that were being addressed by government action, such as a "just wage" for labor. War was still a major issue but there was little the church could do. Kennedy noted that racial prejudice was a great social evil in the mid-1950's that was especially evident in the South. Kennedy felt it ironic that the "Church is [a] bastion of segregation." He argued that race seemed to be an insoluble problem for any action would "be more disastrous than segregation in the southern states." He seemed to offer an intellectual answer that was emotionally unacceptable. "As long as the church proclaims a universal salvation for all men and a gospel of human brotherhood the inconsistencies of race prejudice are going to trouble it and make it unhappy."³⁴

In the mid-1950's Kennedy felt the church was beset by problems of abundance rather than those of poverty. The threat to American churches in 1956 was that they were tempted to fall under the control of wealthy individuals and a secularized culture. Kennedy recalled that "there was something obscene about the depression," but that the New Deal has solved many social ills of those years. The liberals of the 1930's had their ideas endorsed by Eisenhower Republicans. Yet society was not redeemed. The redemption of society was a process without end,

Kennedy explained. New evils constantly emerged in society and the great intractable social issues of the 1950's, war and race, seemed worse than ever before. The cold war horrors were magnified with the emergence of atomic power. Kennedy saw great racial injustice, but was growing more determined that segregation was the only way the two races might coexist in great numbers. Nature made a difference between races, and integration would be good for neither race.³⁵

Many persons in the denomination differed with the social criticism represented by Kennedy. The Rev. E. Gettys did not like the term "social gospel." The Rev. James P. Pressly spoke for many when he wrote "we should hold fast to the great historic doctrines of the Church as found in the Word of God and continue to place the chief emphasis of Christianity upon personal salvation from sin through a crucified and risen Redeemer. This emphasis must never be made secondary to a corporate plea for social action."

Yet the difference between those ARP ministers espousing a "social gospel" and those emphasizing a "personal gospel" was one of degree. No person advocating the whole gospel ever failed to place the saving of souls as the first priority. Those who stressed personal salvation never denied the need for the whole gospel. Pressly continued the quotation above with the following:

In saying this we would not be understood as seeking to minimize the obligation of the Christian and of the Church in regard to economic, social and moral conditions in the world about us. This obligation is very real and far too often neglected. Jesus came that men might have life and have it more abundantly. He ministered to the physical as well as the spiritual needs of men. His heart was ever going out to the poor, the afflicted, the oppressed. Upon those who showed no sympathy for a man with a withered hand, Jesus looked with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts.

To Pressly "Social Redemption" meant "the cleansing of society of the evils in the relationships of citizens to one

another." He gave specific examples of social problems the Church should address, such as drunkenness, divorce, low morals, low integrity of elected officials, and the actions of those who exercise authority by the use of wealth and power.³⁶

New issues were addressed by Synod's Committee on Morals and Public Welfare after the Second World War. A remarkably prescient assessment of the issues facing the post war world was made in 1945. The committee noted that the United States population was six percent of that of the earth's total, yet Americans consumed fifty percent of the world's luxury goods. The committee called on the "haves" to share resources with the "have nots."³⁷

An awareness that demographic changes affected the denomination resulted in an editorial by C. B. Williams calling for the denomination to be aware of the plight of urban laborers. He felt the ARP Church presented the Gospel in a way that was "adopted to the more privileged classes only." The denomination should not wait until other agencies raised the economic and cultural levels of laborers. Labor's needs should be addressed. Williams advocated a whole gospel for all white southerners, but few followed his advice.³⁸

Each year before the 1970's the ARP devoted a column in September to social issues as part of Synod's program. In 1948 the Rev. James P. Pressly invited the Rev. John Leith, a Due West native serving as a Presbyterian Church of the United States (PCUS) minister, to write on John Calvin's sense of social responsibility. Leith contended that Calvin's decisive test of the Christian faith was not church attendance but rather the love of neighbor exhibited by the Christian. Man's social responsibility required an independent, not separate, church and state, and missionary work. Leith noted that Calvin spoke against Christians evaluating persons on the basis of race or position and taught that social responsibility was the very nature of the gospel message.³⁹ During the same month C. B. Williams wrote an editorial charging that Calvinists in America have "allowed themselves and their Gospel to be pushed into a rather restricted sphere." Reformed church-

ches, he asserted, must recognize "a responsibility to society in its organized life."⁴⁰

Ebenezer Gettys was elected editor of the *ARP* in 1950 and assumed the office in late August of that year. His view of the whole gospel was more restrictive than that of former editors. Yet he listed numerous societal ills that should be remedied: alcoholism, improper sexual activities, weakening standards of home life, war, disregard of God and the law, crime, poor government, race relations, and relations between the employer and employees. Gettys wrote that the state should pass laws regulating community morals and advised his readers to disregard the "howl" that morals cannot be legislated. He felt that the church's action should usually be directed toward the reconstruction of individuals rather than trying to effect change through the government. Yet he strongly defended governmental laws regulating Sabbath activities of all citizens. He preferred the term "practical religion" to "social gospel." "Practical religion" was practiced after one was saved, and consisted of the regenerate's doing good works. Gettys opposed ecumenical bodies that made numerous pronouncements on political and social matters.⁴¹

As the issue of civil rights for black Americans became so divisive in the South, interest in the whole gospel waned in the ARP Church. Synod's Committee on Morals and Public Welfare tended to emphasize traditional pietistic issues. The Rev. David T. Lauderdale wrote that committee's report in 1953, which contained the standard litany of social evils the traditional ARP minister fought. Synod adopted this report thereby condemning salacious literature, immodest dress of women that was "exciting the passions of men," the mania for gambling, and picture shows "of the unclean kind" which "take their fearful toll of the souls of old and young alike."

Radio brings into our very homes to poison the hearts of our boys and girls, advertisements of beer, words of profanity or leading to profanity, and other allurements of the evil one disguised in beautiful appearance. Television, showing women in immodest

dress, smoking cigarettes, drinking beer, and the like, sets wickedness before our innocent children in deceptive, appealing garb.⁴²

The next year the Committee on Morals and Public Welfare produced virtually the same report, but rejected the suggestion that Synod request the United Nations to open each session with prayer. This seemed to be an excellent idea until it was pointed out that each religion would demand equal time providing an opportunity for heathens to hold forth.⁴³

In the latter part of the 1960's Synod's Committee on Morals and Public Welfare presented a new approach. Rather than a recitation of the traditional litany of prohibitions, the committee phrased its recommendations positively and began to cope with the significant changes in public mores of the 1960's. In 1966 that committee recognized the different practices of the ARP Church members regarding the observance of the Lord's Day. The report called on all to do things to the glory of God. It recommended greater congregational involvement in developing a Christian view of sex which would be positive in keeping with an activity "grounded in the creative purpose of God." The committee discussed race relations but the unsettled status of this issue in Synod prohibited any forceful statement other than one calling on all ARP church members to obey the laws and encourage all others to do the same. This committee attempted to present a variety of acceptable Christian viewpoints rather than a single position.⁴⁴

During the 1970's the Committee on Morals and Public Welfare sought to lay before Synod papers on specific contemporary issues. An examination of the issues of hunger and poverty in 1970 resulted in Synod's endorsing a special Christmas offering for the hungry, and in the creation of a special Synod committee on low-cost housing. This ad hoc committee investigated the possibility of Synod's sponsoring a government-funded, low-cost housing complex. Government requirements were such that Synod was ineligible as a sponsor.⁴⁵ The new practice of the committee presenting papers on contemporary issues

encouraged conflict over controversial issues. In 1971 the Morals and Public Welfare Committee reported on sex, divorce and marriage. This report was postponed indefinitely but printed in the appendix to the *Minutes of Synod*. The report was modified and adopted in 1972. The committee was reorganized along with most of Synod's structure in the mid-1970's. Combined with the Theology Committee, the new Committee on Theological and Social Concerns continued to emphasize specific topics of concern for the denomination.⁴⁶

The most controversial issue in the late 1970's in the social area was that of abortion. In 1980 Synod voted to oppose abortion on demand and instructed the Theological and Social Concerns Committee to prepare a paper on abortion. That paper acknowledged that God is the Determiner of life and death and that in all instances "one should seek to preserve the life of the unborn child."⁴⁷

Although few ARP spokespersons would deny the concept of the whole gospel, there have been many who would limit it to issues usually identified as pietistic. Of these issues none have been identified with the ARP Church more closely than the issues of temperance and observance of the Lord's Day. The treatment of these two issues demonstrates the changes in attitude of ARP church members from 1932 to 1982.

The denomination's leadership fought hard for prohibition and was loath to see that experiment end in failure.

A correspondent asked R. M. Stevenson if prohibitionists should vote in the 1932 general election. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic Party candidate for President, was running on a platform which included a plank promising repeal of prohibition. Editor Stevenson refused to advise readers on this query. He did quote the advice of prohibition workers in New York calling on prohibitionists to vote for any "dry" candidate, and to vote for the Prohibition Party on a national ticket.⁴⁸

In 1933 voters had a chance to adopt the twenty-first amendment, repealing the Eighteenth "Prohibition" Amendment. In June Stevenson urged all adult readers to register for the November election. He felt that

Roosevelt's haste in getting the amendment repealed was "unseemly." The President, Stevenson argued, had fulfilled his platform pledge by submitting the issue to the people. He abandoned his policy of not advising readers on voting in the fall of 1933. Claiming that prohibition was being defeated because its supporters were indifferent, Stevenson urged prohibitionists to arm themselves with registration certificates and tax receipts as they went to the polls.⁴⁹

Following the repeal of prohibition, Stevenson noted that Roosevelt called on all to obey the new laws, but predicted that unlicensed dealers in alcoholic drink would flourish and that no law could keep "drunkards" from indulging to excess. His advice to prohibitionists was to work to educate the youth of America in Sabbath Schools and public schools so they would know the evils of alcohol. He thought the government was hypocritical in anticipating large revenue from taxes on alcoholic beverages and at the same time claiming to encourage sobriety. Stevenson would not speculate as to the causes of South Carolina voters reversing themselves and defeating prohibition. He attributed the election results to God's plan, a scheme beyond the understanding of men. He hoped that those who had never lived under a government which allowed the sale of liquor would soon see the evils indigenous to such a system, and would join the ranks of prohibitionists to restore South Carolina to the status of a dry state.⁵⁰

By 1935 Stevenson could be more philosophical about the question of alcoholic beverages. He wrote of stories he heard as a youth about drinking in the middle of the nineteenth century. He admitted that alcoholic consumption had been worse in former times. "One hundred and twenty-five years ago a certain presbytery adopted a resolution admonishing its ministers not to drink too much on public occasions." In a later editorial Stevenson advocated taking a long view on the temperance issue. He reminded readers that it took many years for northerners to abolish slavery and even longer for Southerners to view that institution as evil. He reminded his readers that in the days of elderly churchmen ARP pastors sometimes had

part of their "steepens" or salary paid in whiskey. He told of an old Virginia ARP minister who insisted on making the egg-nog at weddings and not infrequently "got pretty lively before the party was over." He recounted the story of a South Carolina congregation whose session could never discipline a member for the use of intoxicants because all on that body were "given to the use. . . ." Things were much improved in 1940, for ARP ministers practiced and preached total abstinence.⁵¹

Almost every mention of the whole gospel from the 1930's through the 1950's contained references to drinking alcoholic beverages as the great social evil. As R. C. Kennedy noted, those who opposed the social gospel when other issues were considered, were quick to call churchmen into the political arena to combat alcohol. Synod's Committee on Morals and Public Welfare rarely failed to carry sharp denunciations of those who consumed alcoholic drinks.

During the late 1950's ARP ministers gradually began to preach fewer sermons against the use of alcoholic drinks. Gettys speculated about the cause of this trend. Some were accused of believing the "Big Lie" that drinking alcohol was romantic. Others had prominent church members who used alcohol in moderation and feared strong temperance sermons might alienate these desirable churchmen. Still others tired of too frequent sermons about liquor and some were influenced by larger church bodies that constantly spoke out on other social problems, but rarely mentioned the evils of alcohol.⁵² Gettys was an ARP of the old school. He defined "temperance" as "the total abstinence from the use of alcoholic beverages," smoking and the unauthorized use of drugs.⁵³

By the 1960's many ARP churchmen defined temperance in the use of alcoholic beverages as permitting the moderate use of alcohol. Although no one can precisely substantiate these changing attitudes, no doubt the urbanization of church membership and the growing secularization of mid-twentieth century society in the American South contributed to different attitudes regarding the use of alcohol. Synod's Committee on Morals and Public Works presented a paper on the use of alcohol in

1969. This paper included an analysis of the causes of alcoholism, but could not find a Scriptural basis to support a blanket condemnation of "controlled" drinking. The committee concluded that "it is the weakness of man, and not the inherent nature of the act which demands caution with regard to the consumption of alcoholic beverages."⁵⁴ This report included guidelines to aid churchmen as they made decisions on the use of alcoholic drinking. Synod adopted a resolution creating a compromise between the church stance on alcoholic consumption and these more recent attitudes. This statement originated with a memorial from the Due West ARP church which said, in part: "even though our Christian freedom may allow moderate use of alcohol by an individual . . . it [shall] be stated that total abstinence from alcoholic beverages is both an ideal and a fitting expression of our Christian obligation to our fellowmen and our society." Synod thereby endorsed total abstinence as the highest expression of Christian love.⁵⁵

Though the denomination withdrew from a staunch position condemning any use of alcoholic drink, most ARP church members in the 1970's were not likely to condone alcoholic consumption in public places. The issue of alcohol was an explosive one on the campus of Erskine.

A second basic position of the denomination changed during the period between 1932 and 1982. Throughout the denomination's history the church had been famous for its insistence on a strict observance of the Sabbath Day. Long after reformed bodies adopted the term Sunday, the ARP Church insisted on using the Biblical term, Sabbath. In August 1935 the regular typesetters for the ARP were indisposed, necessitating the use of substitutes from Anderson, South Carolina. These "outsiders" changed all "Sabbaths" to "Sundays" for one issue of the church paper which "distressed some of our readers." R. M. Stevenson mollified his irate readers by assuring all that the paper was committed to the term Sabbath because "the use of the name Sunday involves loss to our sense of the sacredness of the day."⁵⁶ The Rev. David T. Lauderdale insisted on using a Biblical term such as Sabbath Day, the

First Day, or the Lord's Day rather than the "heathen nickname" Sunday. Sunday, he insisted, was a term that honored the sun as a pagan deity.⁵⁷ The Rev. M. R. Plaxco provided a thorough exegesis of the word Sabbath in a sermon reprinted in 1941. Through the 1950's Synod set aside one Sabbath, usually in January, as "Sabbath Day Observance Sabbath" and there were usually editorials in the *ARP* supporting a very strict observance of the Lord's Day.⁵⁸

No *ARP* was more supportive of the traditional Sabbath observance than Ebenezer Gettys. He never failed to support a strict observance of the Lord's Day, and considered that practice to be the distinctive feature of the denomination after the exclusive use of Psalms as songs of praise was abandoned. In 1968 the Erskine College Board of Trustees voted to allow certain student activities to occur on the Sabbath. Gettys, editor of the *ARP*, took the unique step of writing himself a letter, entitled "A Protest." He noted that when commencement was held on the Sabbath for the first time he protested with a private letter. The further relaxation of Sabbath observance "amazes and grieves me greatly." He requested the Board of Trustees to rescind their recent decision, before God caused the college to suffer.⁵⁹ To some the denomination's stand for strict observance was a nuisance, to some it was a quaint reminder that the church had its roots in a rural culture, to some, such as Ebenezer Gettys, a strict observance of the Sabbath was a theological issue based on the sacred Ten Commandments. To this latter group failure to adhere to the Sabbath observance was indicative of the growing secularization of the church.

Even E. Gettys began to change his practices of Sabbath observance. He developed a formula to guide readers as situations regarding Sabbath observance arose. One should only do "works of necessity" on the Sabbath. "I try to think of those things being necessary which can not wait until Monday and could not have been done on Saturday." He admitted that his practice had changed over the years, for as a young minister he rode a train on Saturday to arrive at a preaching assignment. After the sermon he waited until Monday to return home on the train. By the

1950's he drove his automobile hundreds of miles on the Sabbath to preach and visit the ill. During the First World War, E. Gettys was one of the first to volunteer for the Army from York County. The first Sabbath in boot camp he was ordered to chop wood for the noon meal. As Gettys was faithfully carrying out his order, none other than W. C. Halliday strolled by on his way to church. "Knowing my Sabbath scruples, that at Erskine I shaved Saturday night to keep from doing it on Sabbath, (I now shave every day, Sabbath morning included), it was too good to keep, and he told Prof. John L. Pressly about it. It was not long until Prof. Pressly was teasing me about it, but recognizing that it was necessary."⁶⁰

The ARP noted the changing practices of southern communities toward Sabbath observance. World War II saw numerous Sabbath Day activities occur that were not condoned during peace time. After 1945 many of these activities did not abate. E. Gettys felt these activities were necessary because of the war time emergency but were continued after the war because of the profit motive.⁶¹

C. B. Williams recognized a major change in the attitude of ARP church members from the last generation on the observance of the Sabbath. He felt that the denomination's reputation as strict observers of the Sabbath rested on past practices. "The disillusioning truth is that there is at present little if any difference between us and the general run of church people in this regard. The truth is that we never had a monopoly in Sabbath observance; others were strict as well as our own church fathers." Williams noted that ARP Church members took weekend trips, made purchases of non-essential items, and even did household chores on the Sabbath. He knew of no one who refrained from meal preparation on the Sabbath by 1949. Public amusements were regularly available during the hour of evening worship and "no longer seriously frowned upon." The average churchman followed the practice of the Roman Catholic Church in that he considered morning worship as sufficient and treated the remainder of the day as a holiday.⁶²

Williams' editorial laid the blame for the changes in Sabbath observance on the reformed churches, for it had

been this segment of the church that had insisted on an observance of the Lord's Day. Others might see a secularized culture and a largely urban environment as the influences leading to the changed practices of observing the Sabbath Day. By the 1970's all but a handful of elderly ARP churchmen treated the Lord's Day much the same as other protestants. The term Sunday virtually supplanted Sabbath in church publications. The statistical table in Synod's minutes dropped the term "Sabbath Schools" in favor of "Church Schools." Many urban congregations abandoned the Sunday evening worship service. Critics of these changes failed to realize that these same churches developed numerous activities for various groups within the congregation that were unheard of in former days. Active ARP churches provided special programs for various youth groups, the elderly, and other groups. Less emphasis on church activities on Sunday may be seen as a general decline in church activity. Yet the many new church activities that occur throughout the week can be seen as indicative of increased church activity as church leaders respond to the differing needs of a more pluralistic body of believers.

Changed attitudes toward the use of alcohol and Sabbath observance may be viewed as signifying the end of the traditional ARP church. Certainly there are some who sincerely bemoan the loss of the older customs. One hundred years hence, churchmen may look back on the three post-World War II decades as a period of re-birth for the denomination. Certainly those who have attempted to lead the church in changing times view changes as being necessary to meet the new characteristics of churchpersons in the second half of the twentieth century.

One of the greatest social issues between 1932 and 1982 was the civil rights revolution. Black Americans have not been encouraged to join the ARP denomination. This reluctance to appeal to blacks may be due to the economic and social position of ARP churchmen who are frequently employers or managers of blacks. Too often the attitudes of church members may have been motivated by feelings of race prejudice. The record of the denomination in this

greatest moral issue of the period is at best mixed. A few within the denomination vigorously resisted any change in the church's position toward blacks. Fewer still agitated for change. Most ARP church members sat back uncomfortably as their society was jolted by a moral revolution in race relations. By the mid-1970's the race issue ceased to be of concern to most church members. Those who sought a denomination open to any person regardless of race obtained official support for such a position in 1968. At the same time it has become evident that few if any blacks are interested in joining what has always been a white middle class church with a strong reformed theology.

The ARP alerted its readers to the racial intolerance in Hitler's Germany and used these events to awaken Southerners to the plight of blacks in America. R. M. Stevenson began to condemn Nazi anti-semitism only a few months after Adolph Hitler became Chancellor of Germany. All races were seen as originating from Adam and Eve and all were under the Providential system.⁶³

During the 1930's Synod set aside one Sabbath each year, usually the second in February, as "Race Relations Sabbath," when ministers were supposed to present a sermon on race relations. The denomination distributed literature from agencies such as the Atlanta-based "Commission on Interracial Cooperation."⁶⁴

Racial lynching occurred in the South in the 1930's and the ARP church spoke out against what was termed "collective murder."

May the time soon come when 'collective murder' will be as revolting to public sentiment as individual murder, when the general public will realize that it is really murder and that it will expose those who take part in it to the righteous judgment of Almighty God and to 'the quick and certain justice' of the civil government as well.⁶⁵

The ARP published a "survey of lynching" compiled each year by Tuskegee Institute to dramatize the extent of this "collective murder." In an editorial entitled "Guilt of Blood," G. G. Parkinson attributed the murder rate of the Southeastern United States, highest in the world in 1941,

to race relations. He noted the double standard whereby whites who killed blacks were punished lightly, and speculated that law officials were not zealous in developing cases against blacks who killed other blacks. He found race relations in the South to be utterly unchristian and "instead of mitigating . . . aggravate the guilt" of those who allow the situation to continue.⁶⁶

The Rev. R. C. Betts wrote a long article on "The Color Problem" in the *ARP*. He predicted "White Supremacy" political campaigns in South Carolina since this type of politics "is used as a stepping stone to the United States Senate." He noted that courts did not offer justice to blacks in Southern states and concluded that the basic problem was one the church should address.⁶⁷

In 1943 the North Carolina Council of Churches invited black churches to become members of the organization. C. B. Williams expressed delight "that steps have been taken to bring about an order that ought always to have existed." He did not advocate social equality for blacks but did hint that the future might see more harmony. "If there is any ground upon which both whites and Negroes can meet in full harmony at present," it should be in worship. He recommended that all ministerial organizations consider similar cooperative efforts.⁶⁸

Directors of Young People's Work attempted to challenge young people to treat blacks from a Christian perspective. The Rev. William C. Alexander warned his young readers that the racial theories of Nazi Germany were evidenced by many in the Southern United States who consider the white race "inherently superior to all others." He warned that some might seem to be inferior but these signs of inequality were often due to a lack of opportunity. He encouraged his readers to read Malachi 2:10 and to consider all human beings to be members of one family.⁶⁹

E. Gettys was outspoken on the race issue as Director of Young People's Work in the early 1940's. He argued that judging one on the basis of skin color was no different from being prejudiced over one's hair color. Frequently persons were prejudiced out of fear of competition and a need to satisfy one's vanity. He argued that Americans

were particularly ethnocentric but there were several reasons for Americans to accept blacks. He noted that all Americans were foreigners in a sense because all but Indians were descended from immigrants. Blacks, he pointed out, did not choose to immigrate to America: their ancestors were captured and forced to become slaves in America. Gettys' most important argument was that racism was contrary to God's will. "To send missionaries to the darker races may ease our conscience, but it is not enough. We must be Christian toward those around us, or else we become as the Levite or the priest." To recognize the issue for Gettys was the first step. He sought to lead his young readers to do something to remedy the racial climate of 1943. He called on them to work for "equal rights for all races." His readers were asked to allow Christ, not prejudice, to rule their actions. Southerners, Gettys said, should attempt to solve the problem of race relations with blacks because they were the minority group present in the South. Other racial minorities were discriminated against in other sections of the nation. It benefited no one to point an accusing finger at racial injustice elsewhere. Others criticized Southern whites for prejudice against blacks and "we must admit we have done very little about it ourselves." He suggested that ARP young people could meet with black youth in the local community, avoid discussion of issues that could result in disagreements, and be patient: "better go slowly than wreck even a good thing." He warned whites "not to have a patronizing attitude" toward blacks. Christ's parable of the good Samaritan was the model ARP youth should follow.⁷⁰

The Rev. H. M. Pearson recommended the Armed Services' treatment of blacks to ARP readers. He showed that black servicemen received the same food, shelter, pay, and health care as whites.⁷¹ The Rev. Ernest N. Orr quoted General Douglas McArthur's advice that blacks must be given a more equitable system. All men were made in God's image, Orr noted, and unfairness and lack of politeness by whites engendered race trouble.⁷² The Rev. Thomas H. McDill pointed out that racial harmony was a "fundamental Biblical principle, not something found in

isolated passages." He saw the "whole Bible as a record of evolutionary ethics." The world should work out its problems because "it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do according to His own good pleasure."⁷³ The Rev. W. M. Blakely warned that Southern whites could not avoid the question of race. "It must be faced, and solved in the spirit of Christ, if it is to be eliminated as a festering sore in human society."⁷⁴ The Rev. R. E. Huey warned against demagogues and advocates of white supremacy who were responsible for crimes against blacks. He compared their objective to Adolph Hitler's concept of a "Super Race." Huey thought blacks were discriminated against because of skin color. He reminded his readers that God looks at the heart of humans rather than their skin.⁷⁵

Huey also felt that many whites discriminated against blacks because of a fear of interracial marriage. E. Gettys had disclaimed any intention of having his ideas on race interpreted "as a plea for intermarriage."⁷⁶ Huey argued that fear of interracial marriage was merely a smoke screen and he saw no evidence to suppose anyone advocated that at the present or for the future.

Mr. Stiles B. Lines had been involved in Democratic Party politics in South Carolina and wrote on "The Race Issue in South Carolina." He contended that the Democratic Party in his state was manipulating voters. "The depths of fear and prejudice in which the party attitudes are rooted have now produced, in effect, a political party organized to prevent Negro progress." He opposed what he saw as white supremacy and deplored the "appeal to emotion-rousing slogans, such as the reference to 'the tender sentiments of white southern womanhood' " by party leaders. Most galling of all to Lines was the party oath requiring voters to swear to support the " 'social, religious, and educational separation of races.' " His religious beliefs were contrary to the objectives of the Democratic Party in South Carolina.⁷⁷

These writers, doubtlessly influenced by the experiences of World War II, supported better treatment for blacks, though none advocated an end to segregation. Huey demanded equal treatment for blacks in courts,

schools, and politics "and in every other department of life." Then he added "of course their equal rights depend in no way on their being thrown together in any of these." Blakely outlined two extreme positions advocated in 1946: mingle the two races as one or give blacks no rights and keep them subservient. He saw the Negro as "an inherited child to be reared in a Christian atmosphere." Blakely advocated a racial policy between the two extremes. Blacks should receive equal work, and equal voting rights. Churches of both races, Blakely argued, should cooperate activities in a segregated context. He argued that the two races should remain segregated in their "social relations" because of the deep-rooted traditions of both races and because there were "differences in personality" between the races at present. He did not know if racial differences were innate or induced by the environment.⁷⁸

Those who read of these ideas thirty years after they were expressed should not commit the ahistorical mistake of judging past ideas and persons from the present perspective. To some the ideas expressed by these writers may appear racist, patronizing, and even unchristian. One must remember that the United States armed services were segregated before the 1950's, and the cultural milieu within which these ministers operated was one incomprehensible to those born after 1960. Those who challenged the racial status quo of the South in the 1940's as the writers mentioned here, or even those such as the Rev. G. L. Kerr or the Rev. James P. Pressly, (who as sponsors for Synod's program on Social Redemption asked some of these writers to present articles to the *ARP*), could be branded as trouble-makers. Some *ARP* ministers had their careers threatened or ruined for speaking out in ways that many today might consider paternalistic or even racist.

C. B. Williams wrote an editorial during "Brotherhood Week" in 1949 in which he asked Southern churchmen to take stock of race relations. He recognized that "radical changes of attitudes and customs ought not to be expected at a single bound." He sought "immediate rather than ultimate goals" such as wiping out all "manifest

injustices." Williams never revealed his "ultimate goals" and what they were must be kept in the realm of speculation. He thought there was a real bond between white and black Southerners. This genuine respect and affection was frequently misinterpreted as a "patronizing attitude . . . [and] only the homage which inferiority pays to admitted superiority." Cooperation between the races in the South was "a living tradition revered in wide areas of our white populations [that] . . . can be more generally accepted and perpetuated." Williams concluded by calling for "nothing short of full justice."⁷⁹

In 1951 E. Gettys, as editor of the *ARP*, expressed hope that race relations were improving. He admitted that all Christians did not agree, for some supported segregation and some "non-segregation." He felt that all Christians could join together to assure just treatment for blacks in the courts, educational systems, and in business transactions.⁸⁰

In 1952 Miss Dorothy Treswell Beeners prepared a program for the young people of the *ARP* Church. Published in the *ARP*, this program was an indictment of the treatment of blacks in the South. Both scientific and religious sources were used to emphasize the equality of all humans. Youth leaders such as Gettys, the Rev. L. M. Allison, who was Director of Young People's Work in 1952, and Beeners were preparing a new generation of *ARP* leaders who would help to change the church's position on race.

The Rev. S. L. McKay held up for *ARP* church members the ideal of mission work among blacks as carried out by the *UPCNA*. The Rev. R. E. Huey advocated evangelism among blacks as a work for the *ARP* Church. Some members of the Louisville, Kentucky *ARP* Church participated in religious work among blacks of that community in the 1930's.⁸¹ In Columbia, South Carolina, the Centennial *ARP* Church carried on work among black young people during the early 1950's. That congregation's pastor, the Rev. Charles E. Edwards reported regularly to Catawba Presbytery on this mission field. The Woman's Missionary Society of Centennial Church, under the leadership of Mrs. W. E. Doughton and Mrs. John Banks, taught black

youth of the community in Mrs. Doughton's home. This work, originally begun in 1948, used members of Centennial's Young People Christian Union (YPCU) and attracted a sufficient number of black youth to justify moving the operation to a house on Mrs. Doughton's property. The work continued at least through 1954 when it was called the "Negro Sabbath School Mission." Money was raised to send black young people to summer camps sponsored by Columbia Bible College. More than likely accelerating racial tensions brought on by the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision contributed to the demise of this work in Columbia.⁸²

These were the only evidences of attempts by ARP Church members to have a mission to blacks in the South. One can compare this dearth of mission work to the active foreign missionary efforts of the denomination and conclude that the church preferred to evangelize persons of other ethnic backgrounds from a distance. Mission work among other ethnic groups in Mexico and India presented no threat to the social segregation of ARP churches in America.

Although a few individuals had begun to raise the question of the ARP Church's attitude toward race, there was no movement to have the church take an institutional position before 1955. The Rev. Ebenezer Pressly Love presented Synod with a resolution in 1955 that established a committee to exegete the Scriptures to determine the Biblical response to segregation. A second section of Love's resolution required Synod to bring its practice toward blacks into line with the Word of God. Although this motion initially passed, Synod reconsidered it in a subsequent session and it was defeated.⁸³

In 1956 First Presbytery memorialized Synod to have the Moderator appoint a committee "to study ways and means of helping to improve the lot of the Negro in our midst." Moderator R. T. Nelson appointed the following to that ad-hoc committee: J. P. Pressly, J. M. Lesesne, E. Gettys, J. R. Young, and S. A. Tinkler.⁸⁴ This committee "To Improve the Lot of the Negro" reported great difficulty in viewing "this question objectively." Its report, which reviewed the gains of blacks during the twentieth century,

was adopted. These gains included improved economic conditions in black ownership of homes, farms, and businesses. Medical and ministerial associations were praised for admitting blacks as members. Acts of violence and intimidation toward blacks were condemned. The committee noted that the church could neither legislate change nor provide a magic formula to end injustice toward blacks. Legislation and social sciences could help blacks, but the basic solution to racial antipathy lay with a change in the hearts of men. "Sin divides and sin corrupts" and the committee called on all to exhibit the love of Christ through expressions of kindness, consideration, and brotherly love to all.⁸⁵ This report was criticized because it failed to address the issue of integration.⁸⁶ By 1959 those who sought more leadership from Synod on the issue of integration presented a report from the Committee of Morals and Public Welfare to the 1959 Synod. Synod did not adopt this report which was not published, but merely received it as information.⁸⁷

The Rev. E. M. Grier complained of Synod's refusal to clarify the teaching of Scripture on the issue of racial integration. Grier warned that the church should speak out on this issue because southern whites were looking away from the Bible for answers. Noting that Southern states were preparing to close public school systems to avoid integration, he asked *ARP* readers if an education for their children was less important than segregation. Grier felt that individual churches needed guidance on the issue of seating or rejecting blacks who might attend services. "Are we absolutely sure that segregation is the will of God? Surely we are not afraid of the Scriptures. We may not like what they say but we do know they are true."⁸⁸

In the 1962 meeting of Synod, the Rev. Donaldson Wood presented a motion that was amended to have Synod's Committee on Judiciary Matters study the denomination's responsibility toward the racial situation, and to report on the advisability of initiating mission work among blacks.⁸⁹ The Judiciary Committee was to report on this motion at the 1963 Synod. In 1963 the Judiciary Committee referred the issue to the Morals and Public Welfare Committee.⁹⁰

The need for this report was obviated by other action taken at the 1963 Synod meeting.

On June 6, 1963 the Rev. Z. N. Holler, Jr. presented a paper to Synod on race relations. This paper was discussed for the duration of the morning session and for some time during the afternoon session. Elder M. L. DeWitt's motion to table the issue of race for the duration of Synod passed on a roll call vote. The Rev. R. C. Grier made a motion to have the Moderator, Charles R. Younts, appoint a Committee of Nine composed of five laymen and four ministers to study Holler's paper and bring in a "definitive report" to the 1964 Synod. This motion, which also called for no further discussion of race by the 1963 Synod, passed.¹

The editor of the *ARP* received numerous articles for publication for and against integration. He refused to publish any of these letters because the Committee of Nine would consider the entire issue and, Gettys argued, should do so without the pressure that would result from the publication of opinions on the issue.²

In 1964 the Committee of Nine presented a majority and a minority report. The majority consisted of two laymen, Hazel H. Long (chairman), and John Kimmons, and three ministers, J. Frank Beard, Charles E. Edwards, and Grant F. Johnson. The majority report called on Synod to declare that persons should be admitted to ARP churches regardless of their race. It also asked that race should not be a criteria to bar any person from any activities of any institution of Synod. It recognized that racial problems were complex but that at bottom they were but evidence of a spiritual failure and the ultimate solution to these problems was the power of the Gospel.

The minority report, given by laymen Joseph H. Patrick, Joseph R. Moss, Harvey H. McConnell and the Rev. Grady R. Oates, was debated and adopted by a roll call vote of 121 to seventy-five. By adopting this report Synod stated that there were natural differences among races and that biological amalgamation was not a solution to the race problem. "The General Synod feels that no action should be taken . . . that would encourage or tend to promote a situation whereby intermarriage of the races would

naturally follow." Synod felt it unwise to "endorse or approve integration of the races in its churches or institutions." Problems arising from racial differences were considered to be local problems and should be determined by sessions or boards. However, since the experiences of institutions outside the denomination were that integration had "led to intermarriages of the races, which we oppose, integration of an institution of our denomination shall be permitted only when a request has been made by the governing board of such institution to the General Synod and approval given by such Synod in regular meeting assembled." Synod decided that the local session was in a better position to be informed fully on a matter of this kind and that "no general edict, or order" from the central authority of a presbytery or Synod could assure the appropriate action needed. The governing boards elected by Synod were considered competent and responsible and a general order from Synod "would not aid them in the effective discharge of their duties." A specific exception to this general rule was included to cover the procedure established should an institution of Synod seek to integrate. Synod believed that sessions, in making "their own determinations regarding the racial question in their own area of responsibility," should use Christian grace and that high church courts must be willing to consider the actions of sessions and boards with good grace. Pastors, officials, members of congregations, and persons associated with institutions, were advised to refrain from extreme or emotional statements lest they not foster good will and Christian fellowship. The minority report agreed with the majority report in the belief that the "break between the races" could be healed only through prayer and the power of the Gospel.³

The real struggle in the church over integration did not occur until the Synod of 1965. In July the United States Congress passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act which was signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Colleges could sign an Assurance of Compliance Form, declaring their admissions process would not discriminate against applicants on the basis of race. Institutions that selected not to comply with the act would not continue to receive

funds from the federal government. In April 1965 the Erskine College Board of Trustees debated the issue of compliance, defeated a motion to direct college officials to sign the form, and agreed to discuss the issue further at a later meeting.⁹⁴

At the 1965 Synod the Moderator's Committee on Educational Institutions unanimously adopted a report to request the Erskine Board to reconsider compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Committee listed reasons for this action. Federal funds being received would be lost without compliance, and anticipated funds from private foundations would be jeopardized, creating a heavy financial burden for the college. All other four-year denominational colleges in South Carolina had complied with the act and should Erskine refuse to comply the best students would be lost from the college. Failure to comply would also result in the loss of well-qualified faculty and administrators. A spiritual concern for the will of Christ as expressed in the Gospel led the committee to recommend opening facilities to all qualified students. This committee report was adopted by a roll call vote of 102-eighty. Evidently the committee report was misinterpreted by some, for on the last day of Synod it was noted that the action should be seen as Synod's giving permission for the college's Board of Trustees to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act.⁹⁵

Letters from individuals and sessions were written to the college stating opinions on compliance. All communications were set aside for perusal by members of the Board of Trustees and those from sessions were reproduced and distributed to members of the board. The *ARP* began to publish communications on the issue of compliance in a new column entitled "Open Forum." Sometime during 1965 "The Conservative Coordinating Committee for the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church" was formed. Chaired by the Rev. Grady R. Oates, this committee's Secretary-Treasurer was Mrs. Wayne Osborn, and committee members were the Rev. James P. Pressly, the Hon. Joseph R. Moss, Mr. George H. Davis, Mr. Robert F. Lane, Sr. and Mr. Dodd Vernon.⁹⁶ The committee, in "Fact Sheet #2," opposed compliance "not solely

on the basis of the racial aspects," but also because it feared the federal government would control the college. It argued that federal funds were not needed and that to refuse to sign the compliance form violated no law. The committee noted that a protest by a session would not undermine Synod's authority because Synod had made a request of the college's board and that body should know the feeling of every congregation as it deliberated the issue.

Erskine's Board of Trustees debated the compliance issue at its July 1965 meeting. The deadline to sign the compliance form was August 1965 and the board voted twenty-four to ten to instruct college officials to sign the proper form.

In the July 28, 1965 issue of the *ARP* a letter entitled "Facts Favoring Non-Discrimination at Erskine" was published under the signature of the following eight persons: ruling elders J. R. Young, Gordon Parkinson, F. R. Fant, W. M. Pressly; teaching elders P. L. Grier, Moffatt Plaxco, C. Don Coffey and Charles Edwards. This letter claimed that "there have been threats against our college and seminary and widespread efforts to undermine the authority of Synod and to confuse people about the real issues involved." This communication argued that the real issue was to do the will of God and that to act in the name of Jesus Christ the college should admit applicants regardless of their race. It gave many Biblical references to support this contention and discussed several topics such as the "College situation," the outcome of continued race discrimination, "Synod's request," and "the issue is not 'federal control.'" It concluded by disavowing any claim to be a "committee" and referred interested readers to P. L. Grier for a long paper on which the communication was based.⁷

Letters from the Conservative Coordinating Committee after the July board decision requested friends of the college to continue to support the institution financially. At the same time it claimed that many were not continuing to give to the institution and that some persons had changed wills. The college, it asserted, was losing more financially than it could ever gain from federal funds. The Board of

Trustees was asked to change its decision at its October meeting.

Grady R. Oates published a letter in the September *ARP* addressed to those who urged the board not to sign compliance. He claimed ruling elders of ninety-three congregations representing over 15,000 church members approved "resolutions asking the Board to disapprove signing the compliance form." He had received communications since July 30 expressing "extreme dissatisfaction with the fact that 24 persons chose to disregard the voices of thousands. . . ." He expressed fear that the college would be dictated to by the federal government. He said many had requested a special meeting of Synod but that "while it may become necessary to resort to such a meeting, the Conservative Coordinating Committee has not yet decided" that such a meeting would be the best course. He pledged that the committee would function as a majority of the people desired and praised the unity of the "conservative minded group." Oates advocated fighting "the complacency which might allow us to give in to the forces seeking to undermine our independence," and said that the Conservative Coordinating Committee would keep persons informed on further developments.⁹

At its September 14-15, 1965 meeting, Mississippi Valley Presbytery adopted a motion expressing confidence in Erskine's board and requesting Moderator Long to clarify the relationship between the Conservative Coordinating Committee and the denomination.⁹ Long responded by noting that he had not planned to respond to individual queries about the committee because he felt its status was apparent and he did not wish to inflame the situation. The Conservative Coordinating Committee, he stated, was apparently a group of individuals who had banded together "to promulgate their point of view." These persons, he noted, had never sought to pose as an official committee of Synod. Long expressed to the committee's chairman "my personal belief that any effort to reverse decisions of our church courts should be taken up in the courts themselves, in accordance with established constitutional procedures, with an open mind, and with the utmost of Christian pa-

tience and charity."¹⁰⁰ He suggested that all should avoid inflammatory statements and actions.

During 1965 and 1966 many letters appeared in the *ARP's* Open Forum on the issue of compliance. Readers who desire to follow this debate in detail can consult the *ARP*. The basic arguments for and against compliance are noted below.

The Rev. J. B. Hendrick complained that the method followed by the Moderator's committee in 1965 did not allow for a fair hearing for those opposed to compliance. Mr. F. W. Bradley contended that issues of such a political nature should not be decided by Synod or by the college's board. "It should be agreed upon by the congregations, each speaking for itself." He also advocated returning federal money, allowing all qualified students to enter the college if that would be the will of churchmen, and refusing to comply with the Civil Rights Act. Mr. Dodd Vernon talked with a representative from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare about numerous details of the college's academic and social life. He was convinced that the federal government would interfere with the independence of the institution if the compliance decision were not rescinded.

Mr. James M. Dickson was a member of the college's board and he felt that there had been insufficient discussion at the July 30 meeting. He felt that the Board should have delayed consideration of the issue until the October meeting. Mr. J. L. Kennedy reflected the view of most who opposed compliance when he expressed fears that the federal government would eventually control Erskine and that the board's action had changed the institution from a religious school to a secular one.¹⁰¹ Several communications of the Conservative Coordinating Committee emphasized the threat of federal control over the institution, argued that the real issue was separation of church and state, and called on the board to reverse its decision.

The Rev. John S. Banks asked church members to support the boards of the denomination and argued that those opposed to compliance were ignoring presbyterian government and acting as if the denomination were congregationalist. Mr. Gordon Parkinson quoted sections

from the 1964 Civil Rights Act to support his contention that the federal government would not control the internal affairs of the college. He quoted the Higher Education Act of 1965 which prohibited any control over curriculum, administration, personnel, etc. of colleges. The Rev. Harry Edwards claimed that the Conservative Coordinating Committee was segregationist. He challenged that group to agree to desegregation, and he would advocate rescinding the compliance agreement if proper funding for the college were available. The Rev. T. B. McBride argued that the sessions of churches could not bind delegates to church courts and that lower church courts could not infringe upon the actions of higher church courts. He argued that many persons were acting unconstitutionally in opposing the decision of Erskine's board. Mr. T. S. Watt, chairman of the college's board, pointed out that the college had received federal funds since the 1930's, and that no federal control over the college would be allowed.¹⁰²

In March 1966, T. S. Watt published a statement from the Board of Trustees of Erskine on the struggle that had surrounded the issue of compliance. This statement gave a description of the actions of the board during the past twelve months and attempted to correct numerous misunderstandings that had arisen during the debate. Watt reported that the board had reaffirmed its earlier position by adopting the following: "The policy of Erskine College is one in which there is no discrimination as to race, color and national origin."¹⁰³ The 1966 Synod adopted a memorial from Mississippi Valley Presbytery which declared that the ARP church expressed majority views through teaching and ruling elders. It outlined the three church courts and confirmed that "any other method than recourse through these courts is to be regarded as irregular and out of order, whether coming from ministers, elders, deacons, committees or individuals." This memorial also emphasized the role of presbyteries as courts which should not be ignored.¹⁰⁴

The issue of integration for Erskine College was officially closed with the events of 1965 and 1966. Yet the emotions generated by this issue were great and the year-long debate left much bitterness that only the passage of time

could heal. Sincere Christians on both sides of the issue harbored unchristian sentiments for years because of this conflict. There are some who argue that many church conflicts during the fifteen years following 1965 were rooted in divisions created by the struggle over compliance.

At the 1968 Synod C. Don Coffey offered a paper which declared that segregation in the church of Jesus Christ was out of accord with the will of God. A motion to adopt this paper by Synod passed after a substitute motion to leave the issue of integration with local sessions failed.¹⁰⁵

Although black persons, including Erskine College students, have attended ARP churches, the church has not attracted a number of black members.

During the compliance conflict much was said regarding the issue of separation of church and state. Those opposed to compliance looked to early church founders such as Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine who resisted civil involvement in church affairs. The whole gospel anticipated the church's being involved in some issues normally identified as belonging to the civil authorities. Obviously, there were many areas of overlapping interests of church and state, most notably the abuse of alcohol and other drugs. At times the church experienced difficulty in setting the perimeters of authority.

In 1932 the Rev. William C. Alexander examined the issue of "Religious Education in the Public Schools" and decided that the framers of the United States Constitution believed that teaching religion in schools was in harmony with the basic principles of religious freedom. It was desirable, according to Alexander, because to do otherwise would encourage students to compartmentalize their lives. He found teaching religion in public schools practical if there were regularly employed teachers sufficiently trained to teach Bible as an elective course. Alexander opposed "released time" religious education where students desiring religious education were "released" from school to attend classes financed and taught by local churches.¹⁰⁶

In 1947 the United States Supreme Court upheld a New Jersey law allowing the use of public funds for transporting students to parochial schools. C. B. Williams

editorialized against this decision. He saw this as a device for the promotion of the Roman Catholic Church in America. He denied being prejudiced for he supported each religious group providing a Christian education for its children. The impact of this decision, according to the editor, would be to encourage non-Christian religious groups including, perhaps, such quasi-religious groups as the Communist Party, to seek federal funds for educational purposes. "Patriotic citizens, of whatever church affiliation, or none at all, ought vigorously to oppose any move to draw upon Federal funds for the support of denominational schools." He considered the decision an infringement of the concept of separation of church and state. Such concentration of power in Washington, D.C. might lead to federal dictation to parochial schools.¹⁰⁷

In 1948 the United States Supreme Court struck down an Illinois state law providing for religious instruction through "released time." Editor Williams viewed this decision as one contrary to the will of the founding fathers. Along with W. C. Alexander, Williams interpreted the First Amendment to the United States Constitution as allowing churches to have a contribution to society. He felt the First Amendment allowed Americans to join any or no church and prohibited the state from establishing one particular denomination. More than this, he believed, should not be read into that amendment. He endorsed an idea he had heard in Virginia: Church ministers should teach Bible to high school juniors and seniors. This would encourage Bible study by ministers, give young people better knowledge of the Bible, and encourage them to attend church schools where they would receive credit for their work.¹⁰⁸

The Rev. R. C. Grier argued that these decisions would damage the quality of American education for a superior education was provided if the Bible were a part of the public school curriculum.¹⁰⁹

Williams wrote a strong editorial to protest a bill before Congress designed to provide more money to parochial schools. He opposed all federal aid to education because any federal money would come with strings attached. "Let us not be deceived—education would no longer be free.

...” He felt that eventually the federal government would rigidly prescribe “what should be taught, by whom, and under what conditions. . . .” Williams deplored the growing dependence on Washington which he thought was stifling the independence, initiative, and self-reliance that made America great. The Rev. J. Alvin Orr joined Williams in opposition to federal funds being used to support parochial schools. Orr requested *ARP* readers to write congressmen on the issue.¹¹⁰

In 1963 editor E. Gettys was distraught over the United States Supreme Court decision which disallowed religious exercises in public schools as prescribed by a policy of the New York Board of Regents. He feared the United States government was determined to put religion out of the life of the people. He supported separation of church and state, but felt that the New York practice did not violate that doctrine. Gettys felt that the “national government is seeking to control more and more what our people will do.” He retained faith that God would reveal steps to take “in order that we may again say that our nation is a blessed nation whose God is the Lord.”¹¹¹

Several *ARP* writers advocated more religious influence in government. Feeling that the original intention of the founding fathers had been to create a nation based on God, these persons advocated action to reaffirm that position. C. B. Williams advocated an amendment to the United States Constitution that would add a statement to the preamble asserting that the government recognized the authority of Jesus Christ.¹¹² There seemed to be very few who agreed with Williams on this issue. The status of public education in the United States worried some in the 1950's and 1960's. R. C. Kennedy saw a need for more moral and religious training. “Our secular, technical, specialized forms of education have little concern with morals and none with religious faith and behavior.” Gettys agreed that secularism permeated the public educational system which taught young people that academic work and sports were the important things in life, and made religion seem unnecessary. He urged the church to combat secularism which he saw influencing some aspects of the

church. "All of life—social, political, economic, and educational, must be centered in God."¹¹³

Not all issues were easily categorized, but in general ARP spokesmen supported a strict separation of church and state.¹¹⁴ This concept of separation between civil and ecclesiastical affairs does conflict to some degree with the reformed tradition's belief in a totally omnipotent God who rules all phases of man's life. Reformation theology, born before the concept of pluralistic religious practices in one nation, had to be bent considerably in the United States. Tensions between the church, recognizing God in total control of man, and the state, requiring allegiance of its citizens, can be seen during the national emergency created by World War II.

A few ARP writers saw peace as the answer to the international situation prior to World War II. In his graduation thesis the Rev. Forrest W. Sherrill argued that education and a spirit of brotherhood could produce leaders who would "be not cannon fodder, but builders of a better world." The Rev. C. Bynum Betts called on Christians to evangelize the world to change men's hearts as the solution to communism and fascism.¹¹⁵

The Rev. G. G. Parkinson was disturbed that war, a great evil for man, must be part of God's plan. This was due to man's finite nature. Many had prayed earnestly for peace but God allowed war to occur. Parkinson reminded his readers that prayer should be approached as Christ prayed when He was given the cup: "not as I will, but as Thou Wilt." He deplored the concept of "total war" initiated by the Axis Powers. This forced Christian nations to adopt inhumane tactics.¹¹⁶ Army camps were, to Parkinson, a source of temptation to Christian youth, and he wished the armed services would allow churches, in addition to chaplains, to enter camps.¹¹⁷ He was impatient with United States policy for he saw totalitarianism as "wholly anti-Christian." "The unspeakable evil is the pusillanimous selfishness which would stand by and, lest our precious peace and interests be disturbed, see the rose go down in the maelstrom of an irreparable catastrophe. So a nation loses its own soul—and what shall it profit?"

He sought not war, but total aid to Great Britain who fought alone in 1941.¹¹⁸

Far from a jingoistic patriot, Parkinson reflected on the conflict in a way that demonstrated his exceptionally rational mind and profound faith. Were there not many Christians in Germany praying for victory, just as sincerely as those in England who offered similar prayers? Of course God's will triumphs regardless of the prayers offered by those who will be defeated. The fact that God's will is always carried out does not negate the need for prayer. Prayer is one link in the chain of events God has foreordained. Humans should be aware that their time frame is in the immediate present and God's is eternal.¹¹⁹ Parkinson saw "tremendous forces of evil . . . running amuck in the world. . . ." Brute force was being deified to bring about that which was morally wrong. "It is vain to wash our hands of innocent bloodshed with our tacit consent." The greatest danger was to escape duty to be safe. "In this sense the nation that saves its life has already lost it, and there is little left that is worth risking anything for."¹²⁰

Pacifists were sincere and possessed moral courage. Yet their attitude was "sheer surrender of the moral field to the enemy." They sought to imitate gentle Jesus. Parkinson reminded his readers of a cornerstone of reformed theology. Christ condemned persons to Hell. "It is dangerous to assume an attitude morally superior to that of our Lord!"¹²¹ Should anyone object to these ideas in a religious journal, let him know that the totalitarian state "is the most perfect manifestation of the spirit of antichrist the world has yet seen. . . ." ¹²¹ Under this threat it was treason for labor to strike.¹²²

Parkinson not only criticized the government for lethargy in the face of totalitarianism, he also condemned it for allowing those "actuated by greed of filthy lucre" to give soldiers in camp a "wide open Sunday." He saw examples in army encampments to indicate that the American way of life was epicurean, "a mad scramble for wealth and a frenzied quest for pleasure."¹²³ He was disturbed when an ARP minister's Sabbath morning broadcast was abruptly terminated because it contained

controversial political matter. The pulpit, he declared, must be a podium from which public policy could be criticized, even in time of war. This would not breach the wall of separation between Church and state, for it merely granted to ministers the rights accorded to the press. The Sabbath must not be surrendered to human expediency. "It is part of the primal moral and spiritual heritage of mankind."¹²⁴

Parkinson spoke out against local governments also. Upon reading of a city government that was trying to "root out" communists from its school system, he questioned the methods used. He acknowledged that many schools had been devoted to "unrestrained liberalism" and that the church had picked up some strange ideas such as "loose notions about sin and the binding force of the Ten Commandments and sentimental ideas about the love of God. . . ." He questioned tactics used which were justified because of the war emergency. "God gave us minds to think. And there is an unrest that is healthy. Without it, progress is impossible. Between reaction and unrestrained liberalism there ought to be a sane middle ground."¹²⁵

C. B. Williams argued that ministers should not refrain from preaching on topics that might be critical of the government during the war. He criticized the government for refusing to provide ministers with enough rationed material. He felt the government should not use the Hollywood stars to sell war bonds and was revolted at an attempt in the United States Senate to raise money for the war by having a national lottery based on the world series. He thought the government was wrong when it announced that seminary students would not receive special selective service classifications. Williams refused to justify indiscriminate bombing of civilians, practically suggesting this merely strengthened the will to resist.¹²⁶ He was very concerned, as the Principal Clerk of Synod, when the government threatened to refuse to allow Synod to meet in 1945. The church finally persuaded the proper federal official that this was an essential church meeting. Travel to and from Synod would escape strictures imposed by wartime shortages.¹²⁷

In general Williams supported the war effort loyally.

The exceptions noted above show that the church always maintained a strong sense of separation from the civil authority.¹²⁸

The ARP church had a mission to servicemen stationed near various congregations. A special Committee on Chaplaincy was established to aid the nine ministers and three ministerial students of the denomination who served in various branches of the armed services. Individual congregations devoted attention to all members involved in the armed services. Tabernacle, in Charlotte where Ernest N. Orr was pastor, claimed 100 members in the nation's service. In all 1721 members of the ARP Church were involved in military service. Catawba Presbytery developed a well-organized program to ease the transition of troops from military to civilian life after the conflict.¹²⁹

C. B. Williams argued that the United States should not have used the Atomic bomb at Hiroshima. He thought the war could have been concluded without resorting to a "weapon of war which the sensibilities of civilized humanity cannot but outlaw as inhuman." He continued to criticize the government's policies when he thought they were not Christian in nature. He thought the Truman administration should follow the Golden Rule more in international relations. Truman and Marshall, Williams argued, were warlike. " 'Getting tough' is dangerous if the adversary is strong, pusillanimous if he is weak." He was particularly outspoken on the issue of President Truman's language. "The President ought to remember that he is not now a captain of artillery but President of the United States."¹³⁰

The Korean and Vietnam conflicts attracted very little attention from the ARP Church as an institution. The Rev. Robert B. Luebke, Jr. was one of the ARP clergy serving as chaplains during the Vietnam conflict. Under his influence and leadership the church conducted a special offering for two orphanages where Luebke had worked in Vietnam. After an excellent address during the 1968 Synod, Luebke asked for an offering. The Rev. Fred Archer was chairman of this Vietnam offering, which amounted to \$6,600.¹³¹

On one social issue discussion within the denomination was over practical questions, not basic principles. As early as 1947 *ARP* editor C. B. Williams called for the church to construct a retirement center for ministers. At that time few pastors owned a home and retirement benefits were insufficient to provide either home ownership or adequate rental quarters.¹³²

In the late 1970's three efforts to build retirement centers were launched. Mr. Gordon Parkinson, Moderator of Synod in 1977, was involved in two of these projects. In a Moderator's Corner article in 1977 Parkinson noted that representatives from First Presbytery, Second Presbytery, and Catawba Presbytery were planning a joint venture to finance a retirement home. A board, formed in 1978, was led by Rev. Robert Miles, Chairman; Mr. William A. Deaton, Vice-Chairman; the Rev. James H. Boyce, Secretary; and Mr. James W. Gettys, Sr., Treasurer. The board represented each of the three presbyteries involved in the project. By September 1982 the board was awaiting final approval from the federal government's Department of Housing and Urban Development for a loan to construct a 100 unit facility in Gaston County near Gastonia, North Carolina.¹³³

The second retirement center was the result of the closing of Dunlap Orphanage in 1978. Mr. William A. Hethcox, a retired Superintendent of Dunlap, proposed to "put Dunlap back to work." In his usual objective style, Hethcox listed the arguments for and against opening a retirement center at Dunlap.¹³⁴ Miss Maud Bigham wrote a letter to the *ARP* agreeing with Hethcox's call for a retirement center, but arguing that such a facility should be in the "east" nearer the center of the denomination.¹³⁵

Dunlap's board investigated the possibility of converting the former children's home into a home for elderly persons. The impediment was the will that originally provided that the Dunlap property would be used as an orphanage. That document specified that the property was to be used "for the maintenance, support and education of orphans who are without means of support and education." The trust instrument required that should the property be sold, funds received should be reinvested in

another orphanage.¹³⁶ Conditions had changed since the date that document was drawn up. In the 1970's orphanages were no longer viable institutions. To sell the property and use the money for purposes other than that specified required a decision from Tennessee courts. In 1981 Synod refused a request from Mississippi Valley Presbytery to transform Dunlap into a retirement center and requested the board to carry out the process necessary to sell the property.¹³⁷

At the 1982 Synod the Dunlap board reported that a portion of the property was sold but that bids for Dunlap's buildings were too low to be entertained. Synod agreed to purchase this property for \$150,000. The establishment of a Dunlap Retirement Home Board was approved. That board received the \$150,000 purchase price and prepared the facility as a home for the elderly.¹³⁸

In 1978 a group of interested persons from the Due West, South Carolina community began planning to establish a retirement center. In 1980 a fifteen-member board for the Due West Retirement Center was organized with the following Executive Committee: Mr. Gordon Parkinson, Chairman; Mrs. Betty Berrios, Vice-Chairman; Mr. Charles H. Carlisle, Secretary; Mr. John T. McGee, Treasurer; and Dr. Robert S. Clarke, Jr., at-large member.¹³⁹ Mr. and Mrs. George Andrus of Due West donated a thirteen-acre tract of land for the facility. The board designed a retirement complex and conducted a fund-raising campaign to secure the \$500,000 necessary to begin the first phase of construction. Parkinson sought financial support from the 1982 Synod.

Synod voted to loan the Due West Retirement Center \$100,000 for one year. The court agreed to appoint all members of the Board of Directors of the Due West Retirement Center. This new board was required "to provide for the reversion [of] all assets" to Synod should the retirement center cease to function. Once the board became an ARP institution the \$100,000 loan was considered to be a grant with no interest due.¹⁴⁰

The denomination demonstrated in 1982 that it maintained a belief in the whole gospel by providing for the

physical needs of the growing numbers of elderly persons who required special facilities.

Chapter IV

CHURCH POLITY AND FINANCE

In 1932 the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod approved some sixty-nine changes in the Book of Government for overture to presbyteries. Because the method of voting was not standard among the various presbyteries, the final results were not tabulated until the 1934 meeting of Synod. The most controversial of these changes, that on Psalmody, is discussed elsewhere. Most changes were minor and were adopted easily. The denomination's name was changed from "The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod" to "The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church" and rather than the informal "Associate Reformed," the church was to be called "Associate Reformed Presbyterian." This name change lasted two years. In 1935 the Rev. Arthur S. Rogers presented a resolution to Synod to change the name to "The General Synod of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church." In 1936 this name became the legal title of the church.¹ During these depression years the church refused to adopt a change declaring a member who was solvent but in arrears "not to be considered in good standing. . . ." Women were declared eligible for membership on church boards, but by the close vote of seventy-four to fifty-eight. Ministers were required to visit each family in their congregations "at least twice a year and more often if possible." This task must have seemed onerous for it was passed by a sixty-eight to sixty-one margin. The denomination refused to change the rule on divorce by a three-to-one margin. The change would have recognized divorce for adultery only and would have allowed remarriage by ARP ministers of the innocent party only. Existing church law allowed divorce for adultery and willful dissention, based on the Westminster Confession of Faith. The rotary system for elders was instituted by a two-vote margin on a seventy-two to seventy vote.² This change was optional with each congregation.³ Elders who were elected on the rotary system had to serve at least four years. This was considered a "radical" change by the Rev. James B. Kennedy who conceded it was a democratic

move and the church was one based on representative government. Life terms for elders, deacons and ministers were characterized as "undemocratic."⁴

In 1937 First Presbytery memorialized Synod to limit the terms of office for pastors and faculty members at Erskine College and Seminary. This proposed change was designed to provide "aggressive leadership." Congregations and institutions could re-elect pastors or teachers. It was to be optional and would not apply to those presently employed. This proposed change was seen as a way of solving "unrest" that existed in some churches. Those supporting the change pointed to the lack of problems following the adoption of rotary terms of office for deacons and elders. Paul's "mobile ministry" was seen as a Scriptural basis for the proposal. Some complained that pastors elected by one generation often stayed on in a church to serve another generation of church members. A regular examination of pastors was seen as a way to ensure that the minister suited the present congregation.⁵

The Rev. R. M. Stevenson, editor of the *ARP* opposed the proposal as a "radical change." He worried for the minister who might labor a lifetime under the proposed system only to be ousted just before retirement. In an age when ministerial retirement was virtually non-existent, such a development was threatening. Stevenson had little sympathy for the analogy between the proposed system and the rotary system for deacons and elders. To sever the relationship of the latter did not leave them unemployed. Paul, Stevenson argued, provided no Scriptural basis for the five-year limit on a minister's term of service. He saw Paul not as a minister, but as a missionary who intentionally went where there were no Christians so he would not build on another man's foundation. Stevenson saw an apostolic example in John who served the Christians in Ephesus for twenty-five years and died there.⁶

Synod's Committee on Bills and Overtures recommended the proposal be sent to presbyteries in overture but this recommendation lost "by a decisive vote. . . ." The PCUS was debating a five-year limit to pastoral relations with congregations in the 1930's. This was not the only time the denomination was asked to follow the example of the

PCUS. More often than not, the ARP Church refused to imitate the PCUS, though neither denomination adopted the five-year limit on pastorates.

One change in the structure of Synod proved to be difficult to implement. Traditionally, committees of church courts were composed of members whose terms of office were unlimited. Some ministers were virtually permanently situated on church boards and committees. The advantages of this system were stability and continuity which was of importance in an age when there were no permanent directors or even employees of most boards and committees. The disadvantages are obvious. Not only did this structure deny leadership roles to younger ministers, but it also allowed for the perpetuation of mediocrity. With the rotary system of electing deacons introduced early in the century and of elders in 1934, it was only natural to introduce the rotary system to Synod's boards and committees. In 1934 Second Presbytery sent a memorial to Synod requesting that court to institute a rotary system. A special committee was established to work out the numerous details of such a change and report to the 1935 Synod. This Special Committee on Rotation of Boards and Committees proposed several reforms that resulted in practices followed since 1937. Synod adopted its report in 1935, not only establishing the rotary system but also providing for four-year terms of service, requiring that a person not be eligible for reappointment to the same committee for at least one year after his term concluded, and prohibiting anyone from serving on more than two boards or standing committees at the same time. This report also created the standing Committee on Nominations, composed of eight members, one from each presbytery and two from Synod-at-large. This committee continues to function very much as it was established in 1937. Finally, this special committee distinguished between standing committees of Synod and that court's special committees, and required that members of all committees have their names listed in the minutes of Synod.⁸ Presbyteries felt their prerogatives had been usurped by Synod in having the higher court appoint all members of Synod's Nominating Committee. In 1936 the rotary system

was postponed for one year and each presbytery was asked to appoint one representative to serve on Synod's Standing Committee on Nominations.⁹

The long and divisive struggle to adopt hymns produced considerable dissatisfaction with the process of changing The Book of Church Government. In 1946 a Special Committee on Revisions to The Book of Church Government recommended several changes which were adopted. All substantive changes to The Books of Government, Discipline and Worship as well as the Confession of Faith and the Catechisms had to be sent to presbyteries in overture. Although a majority vote was required for any changes in The Books of Government, Discipline and Worship, a two-thirds vote requirement was instituted for changes in the Catechisms or Confession. Overtures had to be presented in the fall meetings of presbyteries and voted on at the spring meetings. Overtures were not to be presented to congregations. Sessions could instruct delegates on overtures to make changes in the church's basic documents and the instructed elder must vote as instructed.¹⁰

Between 1952 and 1954 significant revisions were made in The Book of Government on matters relating to congregational business. A distinction was made between ecclesiastical congregational meetings where the moderator presides, and business meetings where congregational officers preside. Orders of procedure for both types of meetings were suggested. Duties of congregational officers and election procedures were specified. Numerous other additions, deletions, and changes were made on matters of congregational business. The question of presbyteries transferring congregations was not settled, but was sent to the Standing Committee on Judiciary.¹¹ These changes made congregational organization and procedure standardized throughout the denomination, and has not been substantially changed since 1954. The Judiciary Committee recommended no change regarding a presbytery's transferring of congregations since The Book of Government conformed to the rules of the United Presbyterian and PCUS denominations.¹²

The attempt to change The Book of Government regarding a presbytery's transferral of a congregation followed the transferral of Sardis Congregation to the PCUS. Another attempted reform that followed the union movement came from First Presbytery. This largest ARP presbytery attempted to increase its influence through the introduction of a memorial that would have made church courts more representative in nature. The memorial asked Synod to allocate one delegate to church courts for every fifty members of a congregation. Synod refused to adopt this memorial.¹³ The ARP denomination thus retained a presbyterian concept that church courts are not democratic institutions.

In one basic manner the church has deviated from the presbyterian form of government. ARP presbyteries do not have equal power as they would were they to adhere strictly to presbyterian theory. When voting on overtures, each delegate at presbytery has a vote. This system rewards larger presbyteries which would have one vote just as small presbyteries were the denomination to follow a purer presbyterian form such as that of the PCUS denomination. In several instances the ARP denomination allows the local congregation to decide issues such as the use of hymns and the rotary system of church officers. In strict presbyterian polity these issues would not be determined by the congregation. Some recognized that this practice "smacks of congregationalism."¹⁴

In at least three instances the denomination allowed extra-constitutional organizations to operate without taking any action. The Conservative Coordinating Committee, the Fellowship of Renewal, and the Alliance of Loyal Laity were organizations of church members outside the traditional presbyterian government structure.¹⁵ Some presbyterians in years past erroneously believed the American Constitution was influenced by the presbyterian system of polity. Quite the contrary has been the experience of the ARP denomination. The impact of secular politics has encouraged ARP church members to see the church as having a democratic government. This tendency was especially evident during the period of conflict over Erskine's compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. One

correspondent to the *ARP*, Mr. Benjamin Bleckley, argued that those who pay the bills should be heard on church issues.¹⁶ During the period when Psalmody was being debated, the Rev. C. B. Williams wrote in an editorial that his policy as editor of the *ARP* would be to print all opinions. "This is the spirit of all democratic procedure, and the church is a democracy."¹⁷ The Rev. G. G. Parkinson felt that presbyterian governmental ideas influenced the nature of secular government. He thought that representative government existed where Calvinism was found, and that Calvinism did not flourish in dictatorships.¹⁸ Parkinson ignored the autocratic nature of the two governments in the modern English-speaking world operated by Calvinists: that of Cromwellian England and the Puritan regimes in seventeenth century Massachusetts. Presbyterian polity is based on a theology that recognizes elitism and an authority structure. From the secular humanistic milieu that is one legacy of the enlightenment, the *ARP* Church absorbed democratic concepts and accommodated church polity to secular political practices.

In the late 1950's Synod made some changes in the Confession of Faith. Two new chapters, one on the Holy Spirit and one on the Gospel, were added. There were no significant alterations in the Confession of Faith itself, however. Material for the new chapters was collected from the original Confession of Faith and rearranged in the format of new chapters. The denomination was following the example of the PCUS which altered the Confession of Faith by adding these two chapters in 1861.¹⁹

The Session of the York *ARP* Church memorialized Catawba Presbytery to memorialize Synod in 1965 to revise the church constitution. This action was taken because that Session felt the constitution was inadequate on some issues, contradicted actions of recent Synods, did not provide for the acquisition and disposition of property, and was generally out-of-date. The memorial called for a committee to undertake the task of revision, and to study the minutes of Synods since the 1934 constitutional revision to incorporate changes made since that date.²⁰ A recommendation by Moderator Hazel Long's Committee

on Bills and Overtures, that Synod's nominating committee be allowed to name a small committee of seven, was adopted in lieu of the larger committee requested by Catawba Presbytery's memorial.²¹ Thus began a process of revision of The Book of Government that lasted some eight years. The work of this committee transpired during a period of major structural change for Synod. The centralization of Synod and the revision of Synod's Books of Government, Discipline, and Worship, completed by 1976, resulted in major changes for the church's organization and structure.

The Committee to Revise the Constitution consisted of the Revs. J. B. Hendrick, Chairman, (Catawba); J. Palmer Steele (Second); Mark B. Grier (Virginia); J. H. McFerrin (Tennessee and Alabama); John A. Banks (Mississippi Valley); and Mr. R. Thomas Nelson, Jr. (Florida).²² This committee presented its revisions to the 1968 Synod. After a long discussion the revised constitution was adopted with some amendments, and sent to the presbyteries in overture. Committee member Grier resigned and was replaced by the Rev. James Bell and the committee prepared to begin work on a revision of The Directory of Worship.²³

Several serious objections to the revised constitution were raised as soon as it was presented to the fall meetings of presbyteries.²⁴ Mrs. George Lauderdale, Jr. of Winnsboro feared the proposed constitution was a step toward union with other denominations. She based this belief on the addition of a clause giving General Synod the power to organize other Synods, the fact that presbyteries had power to control church property, and that the proposed Constitution refused to allow a session to instruct its delegate on the issue of church union. Lauderdale objected to the pastor, rather than congregational officers, presiding at congregational business meetings. She also opposed changes in the ordination oath and the addition of discipline powers to the higher Church courts.²⁵

The Bartow Church Session wrote a letter published in the October 30, 1968 *ARP*. Acknowledging numerous excellent changes in the proposed Constitution, this Session recommended rejection and recommittal of the document

so that several constructive changes could be instituted. This communication expressed what became a common objection to the procedure of voting on the proposal. The revision committee requested that presbyteries vote for or against their work as a whole rather than item by item. The Bartow Session expressed three basic objections to the proposed constitution. The document provided for the ordination of women which was viewed as contrary to Biblical teachings. The proposal also did not have a sufficiently clear position on the disposal of church property if a congregation were to leave a presbytery or Synod. They also expressed concern over a change in the statement required of teachers hired by Erskine College and Seminary. The existing constitution, in the opinion of this Session, required teachers to have satisfactory beliefs in the cardinal tenets of evangelical Christianity. The proposed constitution seemed to omit this requirement.²⁶

The Rev. Palmer Steele defended his committee's work in "A Correction" which appeared in the *ARP*. He claimed the Bartow Session was incorrect in its assertion that college and seminary faculty would not be required to give "satisfactory evidence" of belief in the cardinal doctrines of evangelical Christianity. Steele claimed that the proposal was actually stronger in this respect for it required all employees of any board who were administrators or teachers to adhere to the basic tenets of the Christian faith.²⁷

The Rev. Gary Letchworth pointed out that Steele's assertion that the "satisfactory evidence" of belief was correct in that it was more broadly applied under the proposed constitution. He agreed with the Bartow Session's criticism, however, because the existing requirement that assent be given to the "cardinal doctrines of evangelical Christianity" was seriously weakened in the proposal because administrators and faculty would merely have to "adhere to tenets of the Christian faith." Letchworth argued that persons such as the "Neo-orthodox" proponents Karl Barth, Paul Tillich, Rudolf Bultmann, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Emil Brunner could sign the "new statement" and he thought that no evangelical *ARP* would want any of these in the college or seminary.²⁸

Mr. Blair Snider, Clerk of the Lauderdale ARP Church opposed the proposed constitution and advocated a congregational vote on it.²⁹

Dr. E. Reynolds Young wrote from the mission field in Pakistan that he feared changes in the ARP Church in the United States might have adverse effects on the church in Pakistan. He expressed gratefulness that the denomination adhered to the Westminster Confession, the doctrine of the virgin birth, the authority and inspiration of the Bible, and had resisted eroding influences. Young pictured the common man in the Pakistan church as being simple and illiterate. If the ARP Church divorced herself from the "fundamentals of the faith" it would have a devastating effect on Pakistani church members who would be placed in the position of children whose parents were divorced. The Rev. Carl McIntire's followers created divisions in the UPCNA mission field when that denomination changed its Confession of Faith in 1967. Young feared similar disruptions from McIntire's adherents were the ARP Church to undergo basic changes.³⁰

The Rev. Frank Y. Pressly, another ARP missionary in Pakistan, considered the proposed constitution less Scriptural than the existing document. He objected to the change in the ordination vow, to women's being ordained, and feared the impact these changes would have in Pakistan.³¹

The Rev. J. B. Hendrick, on behalf of the Committee on Revision, answered Pressly by arguing that the latter's Scriptural interpretation was not accepted by all ARP Church members. Hendrick pointed out that women were important church workers who should be given leadership positions. He noted that the proposed constitution did not require women's ordination, but merely permitted a congregation to elect women officers. Pressly had asserted that the New Testament forbade women church officers. Furthermore, even if it had not done so, they could not be permitted. This contention was based on Pressly's belief that in the absence of a command found in the Bible, previous Old Testament rules should stand. Hendrick claimed that Pressly's view would result in approval of the institution of slavery. Hendrick stated that his committee

had been extremely conscientious in remaining faithful to the Bible as they carried out their revision.³²

In January 1969 the Fellowship of Renewal (FOR) was organized. In a paid advertisement appearing in the *ARP*, this organization stated it was begun to enable church members to unite for growth. It was designed to be FOR the progressive advancement of "our church."³³ In a letter dated February 12, 1969, Mr. W. H. Stuart, Jr. invited everyone in the denomination to join FOR to remove divisive issues from the church. FOR was "FOR" an independent denomination without compromising affiliations and one that declared its faith in the Bible as the infallible and authoritative word of God written. The sponsoring committee of FOR consisted of Messrs. W. H. Stuart, Jr., J. L. Oates, Jr., Harold L. Bell, W. H. Stuart, Sr., T. E. Lesslie, Robert F. Love, Blair Snider, and the Rev. G. W. Letchworth. At least one sponsor came from each of the seven presbyteries of the church.³⁴

In a letter to the *ARP* W. H. Stuart, Jr. expressed the belief that the movement to adopt the proposed constitution would present the church with another divisive issue. Writing as "Chairman Pro Tem" of FOR, he reported receiving communications from various presbyteries that the denomination would be served best if the proposed constitution were defeated so that it could be recommitted. That process would allow for modification of sections many found objectionable. Stuart reported on the provisions to which church members objected. The objections he listed were those which have been noted above. Stuart gave some elucidations that further explained some of the objections. Some feared that under the proposal a presbytery could remove a pastor without the consent of his congregation. There was also fear that the office of deacon could be abolished by a congregation under the wording of the new document. Those opposed to the pastor's charring congregational business meetings felt that it would be difficult and awkward to have a discussion of salaries with the minister presiding.³⁵

The Rev. E. Gettys, editor of the *ARP*, was in substantial agreement with at least some of the objections to the proposed constitution noted above. He thought some of

the proposed changes were more practical than Biblical. Gettys felt that "to reject the present plan may give more time" to determine the Lord's will.³⁶

Some fifty delegates to the 1969 General Synod signed a resolution adopted by that court. This resolution did not mention FOR, but reaffirmed Synod's position stated by a memorial from Mississippi Valley Presbytery and adopted by the 1966 Synod. This memorial noted the session, presbytery, and Synod were the church courts and that issues should be discussed in these courts. This resolution stated that "any other method than recourse through these courts is to be regarded as irregular and out of order, whether coming from ministers, elders, deacons, committees or individuals."³⁷

The proposed constitution was defeated in overture by a 141 to eighty-nine vote. First Presbytery voted in favor of the overture (forty-one to nineteen). Other presbyteries defeated it by the following margins: Catawba (nineteen to thirty-two), Florida (three to ten), Mississippi Valley (five to thirty), Second (eleven to thirty-four), Tennessee and Alabama (three to six), and Virginia (seven to ten). Since the document was voted on as a whole there is no indication of the sections which were objectionable to most.³⁸

The decision to vote on the proposal as a whole was made by the Committee on Revision and was resented by some commentators. The Rev. E. Gettys wrote an editorial in the *ARP* in which he objected to this method of voting. Moderator W. C. Lauderdale and the Rev. Randall T. Ruble, Chairman of Synod's Judicial Committee, explained that they were requested to make a ruling on the method of voting and the Judicial Committee sustained the Committee on Revision's decision to have presbyteries vote on the proposal as a whole.³⁹ Gettys noted that there was considerable confusion over the voting process, and Florida Presbytery memorialized Synod regarding the lack of clarity in the voting procedure.⁴⁰

General Synod suggested that the Committee to Revise the Constitution have a year of inactivity after the defeat of its work.⁴¹ Though no explanation for this action was given, one can assume that a delay would allow everyone to gain some perspective on the issues. In addition the

committee needed a respite, for its members had been working on a revision of the Books of Worship and Discipline.

At the 1970 Synod the Judiciary Committee noted that the confusion over voting on the constitutional revision was over "the single point of voting method, rather than a general failure of the overture procedure."⁴² The confusion is difficult to clarify. In 1947 one of the changes in The Book of Government was that "if the question in overture contemplates the adoption of more than one item, members of presbyteries may vote to approve or disapprove either in whole or in part."⁴³ The practice was that overtures were numbered if they were in different parts. Evidently the Committee on Revision considered the proposed changes to be a whole and to vote "in part" would destroy its unity. Thus they considered the overture to be "one item." Naturally those who disagreed with parts of the revised Book of Government preferred to vote against those sections considered objectionable. To ensure less confusion in the future, the 1970 Synod affirmed the voting procedure contained in The Book of Government and would have the Judiciary Committee clarify whether future overtures would be considered in whole or in parts.⁴⁴

At the 1970 Synod a resolution was made to enlarge the Committee to Revise the Constitution with the addition of one new member from each presbytery, and to replace any committee member who resigned with a person chosen by the presbytery to which he belonged.⁴⁵ This resolution was considered and altered so that any original committee member who resigned would be replaced by Synod's Nominating Committee, but any "new" member who resigned would be replaced by the presbytery from which he was elected. Synod then adopted the resolution enlarging the committee.⁴⁶

The enlarged Committee to Revise the Constitution presented its revision to the 1971 meeting of General Synod. Synod voted to consider the constitution chapter by chapter. Numerous amendments were made during the discussion, including the substitution of the section on licensure of chapter X from the Old Book of Government.

Chapter III was amended twice. Congregational officers were allowed to preside at congregational meetings and in the case of small churches the session was allowed to act for the diaconate. This chapter also included a process whereby a congregation could withdraw with its church property from a presbytery by following a two-year-long procedure. Chapter VIII limited the office of elder to men but chapter VII allowed a congregation to elect women deacons. Chapter XIV included a requirement that "any newly appointed employee of any board, as administrator or teacher, shall give satisfactory evidence of his belief in and adherence to the basic doctrines of evangelical Christianity." Chapter XI prohibited a session from instructing its delegates to higher courts on how they should vote except "on a vote on a proposed plan of Church union."⁴⁷

Synod voted to overture the proposed constitution according to the procedure outlined in *The Book of Government* with the recommendation that the document be considered as a whole by presbyteries. If a division developed, Synod asked presbyteries to consider a chapter as "one item" and to vote for or against the chapter as a whole.⁴⁸ This interpretation was not accepted by everyone. E. Gettys felt Synod's direction to presbyteries was unconstitutional. Gettys argued that *The Book of Government* instructed presbyteries to vote on overtures as a whole or in case of division by parts. "One item," Gettys contended, was one paragraph, rather than an entire chapter.⁴⁹

The proposed constitution passed the overture votes easily except for chapter VII. That chapter allowed for the election of "persons" to the office of deacon. A footnote to this "Form of Government" printed in the 1971 *Minutes of Synod* explained that "circumstances of the local congregation shall require each session to determine the meaning of the word persons." The vote in overture on this chapter was 154 to seventy-three. Two-thirds majority was required and this chapter passed, but by only five votes. The second most controversial chapter was the third one which received thirty-one negative votes. Over one-half of those votes (seventeen) came from the small Mississippi Valley Presbytery. That court's minutes do not reflect the concerns expressed over chapter III. A par-

ticipant in the meeting, the Rev. James A. Hunt, recalled that members of Mississippi Valley Presbytery discussed the provisions of the third chapter relative to the "Withdrawal of Congregations and Church Property." Opposition to all other chapters was scattered and relatively insignificant. The eight-year process which included the rejection of one proposal had finally produced a consensus of opinion within the church on this revision of *The Book of Government*.⁵⁰

As might be expected, the close vote on chapter VII encouraged opponents of the ordination of women deacons to challenge that provision of *The New Book of Government*. The Rev. James A. Hunt's motion to have a committee study the Biblical position on the issue of ordination of women deacons passed Mississippi Valley Presbytery in the fall of 1972. This committee, chaired by Hunt, recommended a memorial to Synod that was adopted by Mississippi Valley Presbytery in the spring of 1973. The memorial called for an amendment to the constitution to restrict the office of deacon to males in accordance with the Presbytery's view of the Scriptures. Synod denied this memorial along with one from First Presbytery that asked Synod to change the constitution to allow for women elders.⁵¹

There was almost no controversy surrounding the revision of the *Books of Discipline and Worship*. These two church documents were adopted by Synod and presbyteries in overture with almost unanimous votes. In 1976 the denomination published a manual containing the *Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and The Books of Government, Discipline and Worship*.⁵² This publication with its familiar, pliable rust-colored cover has enjoyed a wide circulation and has been distributed to ministers, elders, and deacons throughout the church.

As early as 1937 there was sentiment for more organization in the denomination's work. This early effort at providing a more centralized structure for Synod originated with a memorial to First Presbytery offered by the Rev. W. R. Echols. Echols called for a central committee of the church that would foster unity and cooperation

throughout the denomination, discover the needs of Synod, and plan to meet those needs. Echols envisioned a central committee that would plan a program for the entire denomination each year. His motion provided for a central committee composed of the Moderator, the President of Woman's Synodical Union, the Directors of the Young People's Christian Union (YPCU) and Religious Education, one representative from each Presbytery, and three from Woman's Synodical Union.⁵³ This memorial was referred to a special committee named by Synod's Nominating Committee in 1937. That committee was "unavoidably hindered from a thorough consideration of this Memorial" and was replaced by another similar committee at the 1938 meeting of Synod. This second committee consisted of the Revs. C. B. Williams, Chairman, Thomas H. McDill, W. P. Grier, R. A. Lummus, and J. L. Grier. In 1939 Synod adopted the report of this committee which called for the creation of a Central Committee to carry out the details of Echols' original memorial. Membership of the Central Committee consisted of those suggested by Echols with the addition of the chairmen of the Boards of Home Missions, Foreign Missions, Erskine College, Dunlap Orphanage, and the Bonclarcken Committee. Rather than three representatives from Woman's Synodical, the Central Committee included the president of each presbyterial.⁵⁴ This Central Committee functioned primarily by setting an annual program for Synod. It designated a particular emphasis for each month of the year. This program was carried out by a sponsor for each month who presented articles each week in the *ARP*. Ministers were asked to present a sermon each month based on the subject to be emphasized that month.

This Central Committee was unable to provide the sort of leadership envisioned by Echols and C. B. Williams. When he retired as Moderator of Synod in 1943, Williams called on Synod to "express itself on whether the duty of the Moderator is to assume advisory oversight during all months of the year." Williams thought the Moderator should become a "year-round chief officer" of Synod rather than merely a presiding officer at the meeting of the church's highest court. "It is very imperative that Synod

have some sort of executive committee to act during the year to make decisions which cannot be postponed until the meeting of Synod."⁵⁵ C. B. Williams was Synod's Principal Clerk before he was elected Moderator, and assumed those duties again as soon as he retired as Moderator at the opening of the 1943 meeting. As Principal Clerk he presented a resolution to have the Moderator act during the year as a "servant of the Synod" which was adopted. This resolution called on the Moderator to direct messages through the ARP to "stimulate the spiritual health and service of the church. . . ." Williams' resolution also provided for an executive committee of Synod consisting of the Moderator and Clerks "to act for the Synod in matters demanding attention before the next ensuing meeting."⁵⁶

Under the leadership of the Rev. Ernest Neal Orr, Synod's Executive Committee recommended a reduction of Synod's committees in 1944. This report was adopted and reduced the number of committees to provide for more efficiency.⁵⁷

Williams was active also in seeking more efficiency in the denomination's work. As Principal Clerk he announced the decision of Synod's Executive Committee to postpone the 1946 meeting of Synod. Bonclarken had become the location of most Synod meetings by the 1940's. The management at Bonclarken found it inefficient to open the assembly grounds for the traditional April meeting of Synod, close the hotel after Synod, then reopen the assembly grounds for the summer conferences in June. Williams argued that Synod should meet on May 29 in 1946 so that the assembly grounds could remain closed until the summer season began.⁵⁸ Synod agreed with the new meeting date, and referred another recommendation from the Executive Committee to the Finance Committee. This suggestion was designed to improve the efficiency of the church's organization by changing the fiscal year to coincide with the calendar year.⁵⁹ Since 1946 the meeting date of Synod has been early in June of each year.

Synod's need for stronger centralized leadership became apparent after World War II. The church experienced financial surpluses in these post war years. In 1947 and 1948 the denomination conducted a successful two-year emphasis on evangelism. In 1948 it became evi-

dent that the church had the ability to raise money and could undertake a program to emphasize a particular aspect of its mission with considerable success. The absence of any centralized direction resulted in numerous calls for Synod to emphasize a number of programs in 1949. Some sought attention for home missions, others called for an emphasis on foreign missions, still others sought to emphasize stewardship.⁶⁰ This competition among church members who had different interests was not conducive of unity and could be eliminated by a central agency that would establish annual priorities for the denomination. Such centralization was not accomplished for many years.

Williams pointed out the need for additional leadership for the church in an editorial in June 1950. The Rev. R. C. Grier, President of Erskine College, served as Moderator in 1949-50, and traveled over Synod in both these capacities. Williams saw this activity as very beneficial and called on future Moderators to act as such "upfront men" for the denomination.⁶¹

Mr. W. H. Stuart, Sr. and Mr. Charles Younts have been two excellent lay leaders of the denomination. Most persons in the denomination think of these men as valuable church members who have devoted a portion of their financial resources to the denomination's various causes. Although Stuart and Younts have given generously of their financial resources, their leadership in other ways has been more profitable to the ARP Church. Each of these men has brought his considerable business acumen to the church and each has been instrumental in encouraging the church to organize along more efficient lines. Their sense of organization, their drives for increased efficiency, and their emphasis on long-range planning were contributions whose value has transcended their monetary contributions. Wealthy men had been benefactors of the denomination before. Stuart and Younts gave of themselves, sharing their talents as businessmen so that the missions of the Church might function more successfully.

In 1957 a memorial from Second Presbytery requested Synod to establish a central office to disseminate informa-

tion to boards and committees to expedite the business of the church. An "efficient and interested layman" from the Doraville Church offered the use of his office and personnel at no cost to Synod for at least one year. This offer was referred to the clerks of Synod for further study and a central office was not established.⁶²

The "interested layman," Charles Younts, was elected Moderator in 1961. Younts pledged to visit every congregation in the denomination as Moderator. Although unable to complete this feat in one year, Younts was honored by being the only layman elected to consecutive terms as Moderator in 1962, and concluded his visitation program. As Moderator, Younts used his personal staff to begin the practice of typing and duplicating Synod's committee reports. This of course resulted in much more efficient and productive Synod meetings.⁶³

In his second report as Moderator, Younts again proposed the establishment of a central office for the denomination. The Rev. R. C. Grier proposed creating a special committee to study this and numerous other suggestions included in Younts' report.⁶⁴ This committee presented a detailed report with eleven items, among which was a recommendation for an organizational chart and an "informative-service." Younts suggested that an "informative-service" provide information and services to Synod's officers, boards, and committees.⁶⁵ In 1965 Synod carried out this recommendation by creating the Office of Inter-Board Services with a \$7,370 budget for the 1966 calendar year. Mr. Robert W. Philip generously agreed to serve as the first director of the new office without any compensation. The office was located in Atlanta in space "underwritten to a large extent" by Younts.⁶⁶ By 1965 these services included work for the denomination's retirement plan, Erskine College endowment funds (Younts was treasurer for both), and "preparations for the operation of the 1962, 1963, 1964, and 1965 meetings of the General Synod."⁶⁷ Mrs. Jacqueline F. Clarke was hired as Philip's administrative assistant in August 1966 and succeeded him as Director in 1969. The Rev. L. M. Allison, Moderator in 1967, listed twelve services rendered by this office in addition to its three main

duties of being an administrative office for Synod and operating the college endowment and the retirement plan.⁶⁸

In 1969 the Rev. W. C. Lauderdale, Moderator, reported that Synod's Finance Committee and Board of Christian Education requested further centralization of denominational offices. The Executive Committee of Synod recommended a study of the advisability of consolidating all church offices.⁶⁹ This study found the denomination's business disbursed among five locations. In addition to the Atlanta office there were offices in Charlotte, North Carolina (the Department of Church Extension, Office of Christian Education, and the A.R.P. Foundation); Rock Hill, South Carolina (Synod's Treasurer); Due West, South Carolina (Editor of the Church paper and *Adult Quarterly*, and Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board); and Columbia, South Carolina (Director of Men's Work.)⁷⁰ This "Centralization Committee" made no recommendation in 1971 but continued to encourage church members to consider centralization.

The Rev. C. Ronald Beard, Chairman of the Centralization Committee in 1972, recommended to Synod that most of the church offices noted above be centralized with the Office of Inter-Board Services acting as a service agency. This centralization was to take effect in January 1973 at a location to be selected by a Centralization Commission chaired by Moderator Charles H. Carlisle.⁷¹

The Special Commission on Centralization met in July and August hearing of various locations where the offices might be located. By October the commission had examined seven sites and determined to locate in space leased at 300 University Ridge, Greenville, South Carolina. Carlisle reported that Greenville was selected because seventy per cent of all ARPs in the country lived within 200 miles of that city. Furthermore, it was near Bonclarken and Erskine, serviced by two interstate highways and a jet port, and contained rental space at reasonable rates. The Office of Inter-Board Services and the Christian Education Department moved to Greenville first. The Church Extension Office moved with the selection of a new Director. The Foreign Missions Board and the Office of the Church

Treasurer would move there in the future. On January 24, 1973 the ARP Center in Greenville was dedicated by Moderator Carlisle and Past Moderator Roy E. Beckham.⁷²

On August 5, 1978 the Camp-Younts Foundation, established by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Younts, gave the "Camperdown Building" in Greenville to the ARP Church for a headquarters building. This structure consisted of 9,000 square feet of space located a short distance from 300 University Ridge where the church offices had remained for five years. A section of the new facility was rented by the church so that the ARP Center could operate at little cost to the denomination. On February 2, 1979 a dedication ceremony was held to mark the opening of this fine facility.⁷³ In 1982 the physical plant for the ARP Center was excellent with the entire second floor available for expansion should it be needed. Though numerous individuals contributed to the centralization of church offices, none surpassed the leadership and generosity of Mr. Charles Younts.

The 1973 Synod created the structure for the ARP Center and established the position of Director of the Center. That Director not only operated the center for the other directors whose offices are housed there, but also carried out all the duties formerly performed by the Director of the Office of Inter-Board Services. Mr. Ed Hogan succeeded Clarke as Director of that office and was selected as the Director of the ARP Center, a position he held in 1982. Mr. Hogan, a member of the Pendleton Street Baptist Church, was not only the chief administrator for the ARP denomination, but after a decade of work in the denomination had an intimate knowledge of the ARP Church.⁷⁴

The number of presbyteries was increased to seven in 1964 with the addition of Florida Presbytery. This new Presbytery consisted of the Florida churches from Second Presbytery and was officially organized on October 16, 1963 at Bartow with Mr. W. H. Stuart, Sr. serving as the first Moderator of the Presbytery.⁷⁵

From the mid-1970's into the early 1980's vexatious pro-

blems raised questions concerning the relationships of church members and congregations to church courts.

The first of these cases arose in the mid-1970's in the New Albany ARP Church.⁷⁶ Mississippi Valley Presbytery reported the position of the "majority group" from New Albany. Dissent continued not only in New Albany, but throughout the presbytery, and Synod's Ecclesiastical Commission on Judicial Affairs was asked by Synod's Executive Board to mediate in this case. The Ecclesiastical Commission, chaired by the Rev. Charles E. Edwards, met in December 1976 and instructed the Mississippi Valley Presbytery "not to dispose or entail" the Cleveland Street property which was the original New Albany Church structure.⁷⁷ On January 28, 1977 Synod's Ecclesiastical Commission met with Mississippi Valley Presbytery to discuss the situation in New Albany.⁷⁸ On February 4, 1977 the commission requested Mississippi Valley Presbytery "to instruct the Session of the New Albany Church to permit the 'minority' group to worship in the sanctuary of the old church" until it reached a final decision.⁷⁹ In March 1977 the presbytery voted to reaffirm its intention of having one church, the "New Life ARP Church," in New Albany, and it instructed the minority group in New Albany to meet in the new facility with the majority group.⁸⁰ The Ecclesiastical Commission on Judiciary Affairs made a report to Synod in 1977 asking that further attempts be made to reconcile the two groups in New Albany. Should those attempts fail, it suggested that the minority group be organized as a new church in Mississippi Valley Presbytery.⁸¹ Synod adopted a minority report from the Ecclesiastical Commission which allowed the minority group in New Albany to form a separate church in Tennessee and Alabama Presbytery. Synod made it plain that this solution was not to be used as a precedent in future disputes.⁸² Mississippi Valley Presbytery questioned the authority of Synod's Executive Committee to direct a presbytery to act in a particular manner and regretted the actions of Synod and Tennessee and Alabama Presbytery in allowing the minority group in New Albany to form a church in another presbytery.⁸³

The denomination had an agreement with the PCUS

that neither body would establish a congregation within three miles of an established church of the other body. There was no similar agreement with the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA). The New Life Church, PCA, was built within three hundred yards of the Glenwood ARP Church of First Presbytery. First Presbytery asked Synod's Committee on Inter Church Relations to register a complaint but satisfactory results were not achieved.⁸⁴

First Presbytery also experienced a problem with a congregation within its own bounds in 1977. During the spring of 1977 First Presbytery's Minister and His Works Committee visited the Prosperity Church when that congregation's pulpit was declared vacant.⁸⁵ That committee of Presbytery refused to recommend the Rev. Stephen O. Stout who was the choice of the pulpit committee. The presbytery committee gave two reasons for its decision. The candidate could not encourage a person to attend or for persons to donate funds to Erskine Theological Seminary and he had insufficient knowledge of the ARP denomination. First Presbytery refused to accept its committee's recommendation when the Moderator broke a tie vote of the delegates.⁸⁶ In a called meeting First Presbytery examined Stout and in a twenty-six to thirty-nine secret ballot vote refused to sustain his examination.⁸⁷

The Prosperity Church persisted in seeking to have Stout as their pastor. The Session of that congregation sought to appeal the case to Synod's Executive Board, but First Presbytery insisted it was the church court to which appeal should be made. First Presbytery requested its clerk to inform the Prosperity Church Session and congregation "that under no circumstances is Mr. Stephen Stout to occupy the church manse or fill the church's pulpit."⁸⁸ Synod refused to overrule First Presbytery at its 1978 meeting.⁸⁹

The Prosperity Session asked First Presbytery to release it and transfer it to Florida Presbytery due to the differences between the church and presbytery. This request was ruled out of order by the moderator of First Presbytery which sustained the ruling.⁹⁰ In 1979 Prosperity began the process of withdrawing from First

Presbytery according to the procedures outlined in the denomination's Form of Government. Eventually this ARP congregation completed the process of transferring from First Presbytery to the PCA.⁹¹ During the same time, the Covenant Presbyterian Church, Associate Reformed Synod, located in Winter Haven, Florida followed the procedure of transferring from an ARP presbytery. According to the Rev. David M. Rockness of the Lake Wales Church, "the difficulty Covenant is experiencing is not with our Presbytery but with Synod on the issue of the authority of the Scriptures."⁹²

Both Prosperity and Covenant Churches followed the procedures of transferring out of an ARP presbytery, but such was not the case in 1980 when the Lawndale Presbyterian Church, Associate Reformed Synod of Tupelo, Mississippi "renounced the jurisdiction" of the ARP Church. At the fall meeting of Mississippi Valley Presbytery the Rev. Charles S. Carroll of Lawndale moved that Presbytery transfer his church to the Covenant Presbytery, PCA. Two substitute motions to follow the Form of Government's procedures and to refer the question to Synod's Judicial Committee failed. Carroll's original motion was defeated on a fourteen to nineteen vote. Following that vote Carroll read a statement from his congregation's August 31 meeting. This motion was adopted by a vote of eighty-five to twenty-three with one abstention. The motion was that the Lawndale Church should request a transfer to the PCA, and if this request were not granted "that Lawndale Presbyterian Church renounces jurisdiction" of the ARP Church. Mississippi Valley Presbytery voted twenty-three to four not to accept Lawndale's renunciation of jurisdiction and referred the matter to Synod's Ecclesiastical Commission on Judicial Affairs.⁹³ In a subsequent meeting Mississippi Valley Presbytery protested Covenant Presbytery's acceptance of the Lawndale Church and on a twenty-two to zero vote refused Carroll's request for transferral to Covenant Presbytery.⁹⁴ During the spring of 1981 Mississippi Valley Presbytery struggled with the issue raised by the Lawndale Church, approved Carroll's request for transfer to the PCA, and referred the issue of the Lawndale proper-

ty to Synod.⁹⁵ The 1981 Synod created a special committee consisting of those members of the Ecclesiastical Commission on Judiciary Affairs present at Synod to deal with the issue.⁹⁶ This committee's recommendation was adopted by Synod and called for a committee "for the purpose of strongly protesting and commencing dialogue" with the PCA concerning Covenant Presbytery's action.⁹⁷

The Rev. Grady Oates chaired this special ARP Church committee which met with PCA representatives on January 12, 1982. Synod adopted the recommendation from this special committee that

though we desire continued fraternal relations with the PCA, we cannot continue that relationship unless there is a change in the practice of PCA presbyteries receiving churches from other Presbyterian bodies without due process and without general respect for the denominational government of the local church making application.⁹⁸

The PCA committee's report was altered by that denomination's General Assembly in June 1982. "A statement expressing willingness to establish standards of cooperation" with the ARP Church was eliminated from the Committee's report by the PCA General Assembly. "The PCA did say it wished to continue fraternal relations with the ARPs."⁹⁹

In 1978 Catawba Presbytery's Minister and His Works Committee created a Commission to investigate the Rev. Thomas C. Fincher and the Edwards Memorial Church Session because that church had refused to pay its voluntary commitment pledge to Synod. The voluntary commitment to Synod is voluntary in that the local church volunteers the amount to pledge, but once the pledge is made higher courts consider the amount binding. Edwards Memorial Church sent most of its voluntary commitment to the Board of Foreign Missions in 1978. During this investigation Fincher brought charges against two faculty members at Erskine Theological Seminary: the Revs. Charles M. Coffey and Ray A. King. Fincher claimed that Coffey and King and the other seminary faculty members had published an article in the *ARP* which

reflected positions contrary to the ARP Confession of Faith in that the position taken was not supportive of "inerrancy."¹⁰⁰ The Commission of the Minister and His Works Committee of Catawba Presbytery recommended that Fincher be tried according to the procedure found in the Book of Discipline, chapter V, and presented six charges against that minister and five against the Edwards Memorial Session.¹⁰¹ The trial was held on Saturday, May 6 and ended in the early morning hours of Sunday, May 7, 1979. Fincher was found not guilty on one charge, pleaded guilty to one, and was found guilty on four charges. On two of the guilty charges he was given "no censure," he received a "rebuke" for two, and was "admonished" for one guilty finding. The Session was found guilty on three charges, received a "no censure penalty" for one and was "admonished" twice. Catawba Presbytery found Coffey and King guilty of no censurable offense because there was no clear definition of the words "inerrant and infallible" and because Catawba Presbytery had allowed latitude in this area before.¹⁰³ Fincher appealed the failure to try Coffey and King to Synod, but lost. Synod sustained the appeal of Edwards Memorial Session, and closed the case by voting that its action was not a judgment against Catawba Presbytery.¹⁰⁴

Most of these cases dealing with the relationships of church courts to each other and to individuals were connected to some degree to the theological disputes that wracked the ARP denomination in the late 1970's and early 1980's. In most of these situations the church courts involved carefully followed procedures long a part of the ARP tradition or processes established by the denomination's Form of Government and Book of Discipline. One of the strengths of the reformed tradition is its emphasis on following well-established procedure. This tradition discourages emotional responses based on personality conflicts. Although theological disagreements generate strong emotional responses, following accepted procedures facilitates the resolution of such conflicts which appear to be inevitable among churchmen who hold sincere and strong beliefs.

In the financial area of church government the denomination has been blessed with the capable leadership of five treasurers since 1932: Mr. Joseph Lindsay resigned in 1937 after many years of service as Treasurer of Synod; Mr. John G. Barron served from 1937 until 1950; Mr. C. E. McCaw served from 1950 until his death in 1961; Mr. Earle R. Barron, son of John G. Barron, served from 1961 until 1973; Mr. William M. Kennedy followed Barron and continued as Synod's Treasurer in 1982.¹⁰⁵ Four of these five men came from the First ARP Church in Rock Hill.

Lindsay had the most difficult task of these five men for he served during the Great Depression. He constantly was required to cut budgets and deny full salary to ministers and missionaries. John G. Barron served during the period when the denomination experienced growth. This was also a period of strong economic growth for the nation and the Southeast. Barron's good fortune was to preside over a church with surpluses rather than deficits. These advantages combined with his energy, dedication, and superior business ability made his tenure of thirteen years a time of excellent financial management. Barron instituted more modern accounting practices and tirelessly advocated better contributions to Synod from congregations. He presented Synod's finance committee with a set of recommendations to encourage more churches to meet their annual apportionment. Barron also traveled to local churches and presbytery meetings to encourage better giving to Synod.¹⁰⁶ By 1950 the denomination had a budget of \$111,700 which was met. This compares to the 1937 budget of \$65,900 that was not met. In 1937 the permanent and current funds of the church were under \$50,000 but by 1950 they were \$525,000. During the 1940's Barron had been involved in three special fund-raising projects. The "retirement fund" drive for \$100,000 raised \$103,000 and the "Expansion Fund" drive for \$75,000 raised \$76,000. The one failure was the \$150,000 "Kingdom Extension" drive which was unfinished, but stood at only \$93,000, an "ugly scar," according to Barron. Barron credited the Woman's Synodical Missionary Union with much of the financial success during the 1940's. This organization has

always been in the forefront of fund drives in the ARP denomination.¹⁰⁷

Barron's successor, McCaw, had a well-organized office developed by his predecessor. The tradition of excellent service from Synod's treasurers was continued by Earle Barron and W. M. Kennedy.

Financial leadership was essential for the denomination during the Great Depression. Those who did not live through the 1930's have no comprehension of the financial plight of the church. In 1933 the financial situation was so bleak that a movement developed not to hold Synod. Joseph Lindsay noted that numerous delegates would be unable to bear the expenses of Synod. As examples he cited one minister who paid \$7.00 per month for rent but was forced to seek less expensive quarters. Another minister was forced to drop his insurance because he was unable to make payments. Twenty-eight home missionaries were owed almost \$14,000 in salary by Synod but no funds were available.¹⁰⁸ A preliminary survey conducted by Lindsay showed that most respondents favored cancellation of Synod. A more comprehensive survey by the Rev. Arthur S. Rogers, Clerk of Synod, resulted in a decision to hold Synod in 1933 as planned. Members of the host church, New Albany, Mississippi, were greatly relieved. They had resented the movement to abandon Synod. The Rev. A. B. Love argued that anyone could travel to New Albany in 1933. He advocated five men getting in one automobile, then they could "tie their baggage on the outside. (Put a ham and frying pan on side of the car also if necessary)."¹⁰⁹

Some persons advocated holding Synod at Bonclarken in 1933 because of its more central location. Sufficient interest was generated for Bonclarken as a location for Synod that it was used for the first time as a meeting place in 1934.¹¹⁰

Considerable concern was expressed over the inability of Synod to pay home and foreign missionaries their full salaries. Mr. W. B. Lindsay proposed a collection of gold and silver jewels in imitation of the Israelites in Exodus 35:4,5. Such a collection would "relieve as far as possible the embarrassment of our workers at home and

abroad."¹¹¹ April 16, Easter Day, was set as the day "all ARPs are asked to bring to the church watches, chains, bracelets, medallions, cuff links, pins, pendants, old and abraded coins, spectacle frames, dental scraps, such as crowns, bridges and plates, sterling silver (flat silver) and old jewelry of every description."¹¹² The Rev. D. T. Lauderdale argued that those who owned no gold could sell radios, tables, and chairs. He reported that one boy in his congregation sold his dog and gave the money to the Easter collection. By July 8 this campaign raised \$424.27 for missionary salaries, a pitiful sum when measured against the \$14,000 needed.¹¹³ The small return for a campaign that caught the imagination of the denomination illustrates the desperate straits of the ARP Church in the 1930's.

In 1937 rural churches were encouraged to raise money by having each farm family set aside "The Lord's Acre." Proceeds from this acre would be given to the church.¹¹⁴

Monies donated for other purposes were used to pay part of the salaries owed to foreign missionaries. This resulted in ill feelings on the part of the original donors and a pledge that Synod "disapproves of diverting . . . funds from the cause to which they were given."¹¹⁵ Sabbath schools were asked to contribute six per cent of their congregation's budget to Erskine College. Prior to 1934 Sabbath schools donated five per cent of their congregation's budget to special causes. Erskine's economic plight was desperate and for years after 1934 "six per cent" from Sabbath schools was sent to the College. The Woman's Synodical Missionary Union not only met its budget but increased its giving in 1934. Synod asked this group to provide twenty-two per cent of the entire budget of Synod.¹¹⁶ In 1931 Synod's budget was set at \$100,000 and eighty per cent of that amount was collected. By 1933 the budget had been cut to \$67,000, but only sixty-four per cent of that reduced budget was paid.

A special committee was created in 1935 to raise money for the unpaid salaries of home and foreign missionaries. This "Pay Our Debts" Committee established the "Golden Rule Fund" but could not raise more than one-tenth of the back pay of home and foreign missionaries.¹¹⁷ Few Sab-

bath schools could raise the six per cent that was needed for Erskine and many congregations were unable to pay the full salary of their pastors during the depths of the depression.¹¹⁸ This was not an era of large ministerial salaries. The average salary in the UPCNA in 1934 was \$1,914 and the average salary in the ARP Church by presbytery was: First - \$1,508; Second - \$1,210; Catawba - \$1,519; Mississippi Valley - \$1,193; Tennessee and Alabama - \$896; and Virginia - \$911.¹¹⁹ The ARP contained numerous accounts of church workers, usually home or foreign missionaries, who suffered during the Great Depression. Economic problems of the post Second World War period pale into insignificance when compared to those of the 1930's.

Before the Second World War was concluded ARPs were planning for the future. A special meeting was held at Gastonia, North Carolina on February 10, 1944 to which representatives submitted requests for projects. This was simply an "exploratory" meeting. A total of \$300,000 was requested and all needs were submitted to the Finance Committee of Synod. A more modest goal of \$75,000 was established for the "Expansion Program" launched by the church in 1946.¹²⁰ This program raised \$76,000 and its success must have encouraged the more ambitious Kingdom Extension fund-raising efforts of 1948. This endeavor was an attempt to develop a united fund raising effort. Each agency of the denomination made individual appeals for funds. The more popular causes realized much more success than those which were less popular. Despite the hard work of leaders, the "United Fund Campaign" approach, as Mr. John G. Barron called it, was not successful in the ARP Church. The Kingdom Extension campaign fell far short of its goal for several reasons. Local congregations were expanding their physical plants and initiating local programs after the war. Special fund drives were undertaken by denominational agencies which undermined the general campaign. Finally, there were numerous charitable drives of a national and international nature that competed with the Kingdom Extension campaign. Denominational leaders sought to channel monetary

needs through the normal budget requests of agencies rather than meeting financial demands through special campaigns.¹²¹

The inflationary years in the early 1950's combined with years of neglect due to the depression resulted in significantly increased needs in the denomination. An examination of the inflation rate and the increased giving within the church showed that the denomination enjoyed an overall increase in giving during the 1950's.¹²² The financial success enjoyed by the church was due in no small part to leaders such as Mr. W. H. Stuart, Sr. of Bartow, Florida. Stuart emphasized the importance of stewardship in the life of Christians by articles he wrote and talks he delivered throughout the denomination.

During the New Life Movement, the Bartow, Florida Church realized significant growth in spite of an empty pulpit. Stuart felt that God spoke to him through this experience and showed what individual laymen could do for a church. His greatest contribution to the denomination was in making church leaders aware of the need for long-range financial planning.

Stuart served on the Committee on Basis which apportioned the assessment each congregation was asked to give for Synod's causes. Traditionally, this committee in effect assessed each congregation the amount it contributed during the previous year. Some adjustments were made each year if a major change in a congregation's resources had taken place. Stuart participated in developing a new method of apportionment for each congregation. The 1962 Synod adopted the procedure whereby each church was asked to give twenty per cent of its "total contributions for all causes, this goal to be achieved by 1966. . . ."¹²⁴ This practice was modified so that a congregation was assessed twenty per cent of its budget, excluding monies raised through special contributions. Stuart credits Mr. Logan Pratt of the Tabernacle Church as one who contributed significantly to the new plan of apportionment.

Stuart made a careful study of the denomination which resulted in a publication entitled *Here Is The Church*. The knowledge he gained from this study and his experience as Moderator of Synod in 1959 provided Stuart with the

ability to serve as chairman of Synod's Planning Committee in 1963. This committee "called on all the Boards of the Church to make projections of their future plans." His emphasis on the need to have financial planning throughout the denomination has been of extreme importance to the church which had been a rural-oriented denomination where the importance of long-range planning was not appreciated.¹²⁵

The denomination undertook a \$1,300,000 Capital Funds Campaign in the late 1960's. This sum was to be divided among the Office of Church Extension (\$500,000), Erskine College (\$462,000), Bonclarken (\$150,000), Foreign Missions (\$75,000), Dunlap Orphanage (\$50,000) and the cost of raising this sum (\$62,000). This campaign was completed in 1971 and over eighty per cent of the goal was raised.¹²⁶

In 1966 the Finance Committee of Synod was chaired by Mr. Charles H. Carlisle. Members of the Committee were Messrs. Bill Deaton, W. H. Stuart, Sr. and C. R. Younts. This group of men proposed the creation of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Foundation which would receive gifts and hold funds in a trust, the income from which would be used for the work of the church. By 1981 this foundation contained total assets of \$173,023 and distributed \$12,500 to church causes.¹²⁷

The most significant financial change in the denomination between 1932 and 1982 was in the economic protection accorded ministers. In 1932 ARP ministers had a very inadequate insurance program, no health and accident insurance, and no retirement program. The dearth of such "fringe benefits" was a legacy of the agrarian age of the nineteenth century. The Rev. J. W. Carson was the most active ARP before 1960 in advocating a retirement plan for ministers. Carson noted that early ARP ministers could never live on their pitiful salaries; they had to depend on either patrimony or matrimony. These ministers usually lived on farms which produced food and a small income to supplement their salaries.¹²⁸

In 1923 the denomination adopted a group insurance plan for ministers which provided a \$3,000 life insurance policy. Each insured minister and missionary had to pay \$7.50 per thousand per annum and Synod paid the balance.

By 1940 there were 102 individuals insured under this group plan which cost the insured \$2,400 while Synod contributed \$3,900.¹²⁹

In 1938 Synod created a special committee to devise an "annuity plan" which would provide for retired and disabled ministers. Dr. James R. Young chaired this committee which devised a modest proposal.¹³⁰ Despite what seemed to be a strong support for this plan, it was defeated at the 1942 Synod. Reasons given for its defeat were that the plan was insufficient to meet the need, and the mode of application would make one feel as if he were on charity.¹³¹

In 1944 a scheme was launched to raise \$100,000 which would produce interest to be used to support retired and disabled ministers. This fund drive was successful with over \$106,000 having been pledged or given by June 1945.¹³² By 1957 this retirement fund had grown to over \$176,000 and produced an income of \$8,700. Yet in 1957 \$8,900 was paid out in benefits and the projected benefits for 1958 were almost \$10,000. The original retirement age of seventy-five had been reduced to seventy. Benefits ranged from thirty-five to sixty dollars per month per recipient. These paltry benefits shrink further when one considers that few owned a home in that period and most had to use a large share of their retirement for rent.¹³³ In 1959 eighty-four per cent of the ministers in Synod contributed to Social Security and would receive benefits from that plan upon retirement.¹³⁴

Moderator William H. Stuart, Sr. appointed an ad hoc committee in 1959 to study insurance and retirement plans that might be adopted by Synod. This Special Committee on Ministerial Aid and Retirement was chaired by Mr. Charles Younts, and was composed of the Revs. Harold S. Mace, Paul A. Stroup, R. J. Marshburh, and Messrs. J. C. Higgins, D. O. Jones, and Charles Todd.¹³⁵ At the 1960 meeting of Synod the committee's proposal was introduced and explained by Messrs. Robert Nolen, R. C. Dunn and Hazel H. Long who had developed the proposal for the committee. Synod endorsed the plan and continued this ad hoc committee so that it might complete its work.¹³⁶

As unanimously adopted by the 1961 Synod, the retirement plan was a comprehensive one providing for retirement benefits, disability benefits, and benefits to survivors of the insured. Hazel Long described the plan to Synod and in articles published in the *ARP*. The minimum benefit for ministers already retired was \$1,200 per annum, a substantial increase over the earlier plan. Ministers under seventy years of age could elect to retire at one per cent of their current annual earnings multiplied by the number of years of past service to the denomination. For future service ministers would retire with benefits equal to one per cent of their earnings for each year of service. For example, a minister with a monthly salary of \$400 with twenty-five years of service would receive \$100 per month retirement and with forty-five years of service he would receive \$180 per month. The participants could elect to retire at age sixty at reduced benefits which were graduated to full amount at age seventy. The plan paid up to \$100 per month for disability if the disability occurred to a participant with fifteen years service who was at least fifty years old. The scheme was financed by using the retirement trust begun in 1945, and by each congregation paying seven per cent of the salary paid to their minister annually. With Social Security benefits and the retirement plan a minister of seventy whose monthly salary was \$400 and who had served the denomination for forty-five years would receive \$4,446 per year as a retiree. In 1959 the average salary of all active ministers was only \$4,162 per year. The average length of service of ministers aged seventy or over in 1960 was over forty-seven years. Thus this retirement plan combined with Social Security promised to care for retired ministers, missionaries, and full time employees of Synod sufficiently.¹³⁷

Hazel H. Long, who was largely responsible for developing and explaining the retirement plan, served as Moderator of Synod in 1965. In 1966 Long wrote a detailed article in the *ARP* in which he explained the group life insurance plan. This \$3,000 group insurance had no cash value or paid-up life insurance value, but was characterized as providing protection at an attractive rate especially for older ministers.¹³⁸ By 1977 the group life insurance car-

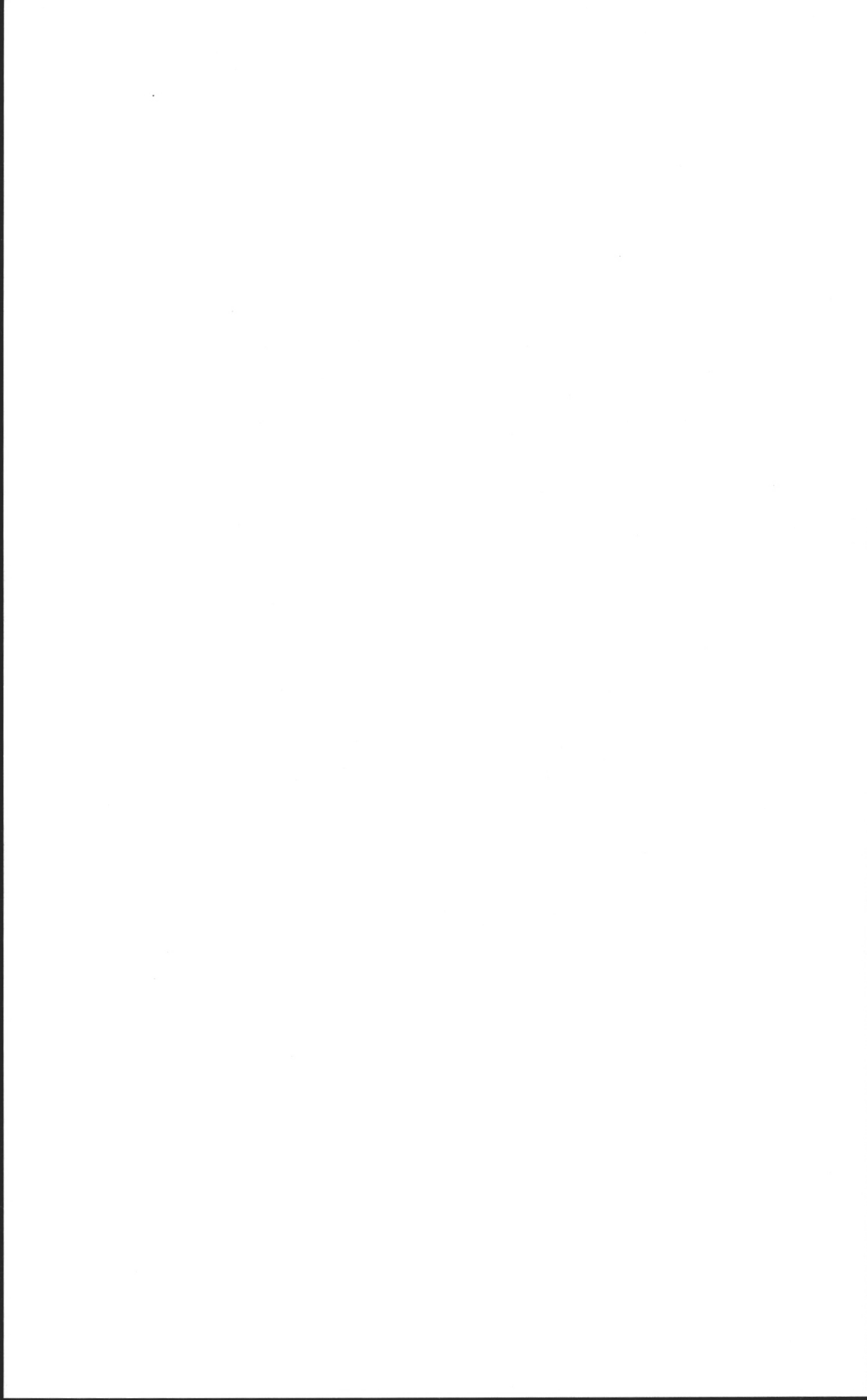
ried by Synod for ministers, missionaries, and employees of Synod had increased to \$6,000 with options available if an individual wished to carry more insurance. A group medical insurance plan had been adopted providing for hospitalization, surgery, maternity, laboratory, and other medical expenses. Disability insurance was carried for the group to provide sixty per cent of the base salary. Personnel at the ARP Center administered these plans.¹³⁹

The Rev. W. Harris Blair also has been active in improving the benefit plans for Synod. One additional program instituted in the 1970's was the Christmas Benevolent Offering. This voluntary offering usually resulted in around \$10,000 being contributed each year. The money was distributed by Synod's Board of Annuities and Relief. Application was made by a retired or disabled minister, employee of Synod, or missionary. Widows of the above were also encouraged to make application for this fund. This Christmas Benevolent Offering was begun to provide for those whose service was carried out during a period of low salaries. Retirement benefits depend in part on salary earned, and the ravages of inflation resulted in insufficient income for those whose service was rendered in a period of low salaries.¹⁴⁰

The inflation of the 1970's also compelled Synod to alter its retirement plan. The basic plan initiated in 1961 was retained but benefits were increased significantly. The formula used to determine retirement income was one per cent times the number of years service times the average annual earnings of the individual. The changes instituted in 1975 increased the one per cent factor in the formula on a graduated basis until it would reach one and seven-tenths per cent by 1980. A minister who retired in 1980 with forty years of service at an average salary of \$700 per month could expect to receive \$962 per month including Social Security benefits. If his wife received Social Security the two would receive about \$1,200 per month.¹⁴¹ Contributions to the plan were increased to eight per cent of the participants' earnings including housing allowance. If housing were provided free the congregation contributed twenty per cent of the base salary of the participant. As

with the previous plan Synod made the contribution for missionaries and its employees.¹⁴²

By the 1980's ministers' salaries had increased dramatically from the level of the 1930's. The increase was greater than the inflation rate during this fifty-year period. Benefits for ministers in the early 1980's were sufficient and indicated that the denomination no longer treated ministers as if they lived in an agrarian society.



Chapter V

ARMS OF THE DENOMINATION

Dunlap Orphanage

Dunlap served as the denomination's orphanage from 1904 until June 30, 1978 when it was officially closed. In some respects Dunlap was an orphan of the ARP church, for it was not included in the regular budget of the denomination. Each year Synod authorized special offerings on Mother's Day and Thanksgiving which raised money for the institution. Each church designated a person other than the minister to make these collections. Woman's Synodical Union made generous gifts to Dunlap each year. Revenue also came from many ARPs who gave memorials to honor a deceased friend or relative. In addition the farm operated by Dunlap's staff and children generated some income for the orphanage. As all ARP institutions, Dunlap operated on a tight budget from 1932 until 1978.

The depression years brought paradoxical pressures to bear on Mr. Edgar Hunter, the capable Superintendent of Dunlap from 1923 to 1945. Although the institution was too strapped for funds to pay the staff, more children than ever needed its services. During the mid-1930's ARP children seeking admittance to Dunlap were turned away because of insufficient space.¹ Special offerings were solicited during the depression because staff members were forced to live without salary payments.²

In 1935 Mrs. R. W. McDaniel, "the former benefactress of 245 acres of farm and most of the buildings" housing children at Dunlap, was "practically penniless. . . ." Mrs. McDaniel was "a cripple herself and the wife of a disabled husband. . . ." Individuals were encouraged to aid Mrs. McDaniel, and Synod provided a small sum each month "to meet a moral rather than a legal obligation."³

There was a movement to construct a second ARP orphanage in the 1930's. Dunlap was filled to capacity and was not located near the population center of the denomination.

The Revs. James H. Pressly and J. L. Oates introduced a resolution passed by the 1933 Synod creating a committee to investigate the possibility of opening a second orphanage on the "Hillcrest property." This land in Polk County, North Carolina was seen as ideal for an "eastern orphanage" to service ARP needs, but Synod wisely refused to open a second institution. The denomination could not support adequately the one it owned.⁴

Hunter struggled to provide additional space at Dunlap during the depression. The State of Tennessee set a limit of nineteen boys and seventeen girls for the facilities and during the 1930's Dunlap often contained the maximum of thirty-six children. Hunter and "the boys" built a large workshop and garage in 1936, but in December of that year a fire destroyed the institution's barn. The hay and corn crops stored there were destroyed along with wagons and other farm equipment. Fodder was donated by local farmers. A special Synod-wide collection, insurance money, and money received from timber sales enabled Hunter to replace the structure. He cheerfully reported that the replacement was larger and better than its predecessor.⁵

The Rev. and Mrs. A. B. Love donated a laundry to Dunlap in 1934. In 1939 a second barn was constructed and plans were made to add the Nancy Moffatt Cottage for boys (completed in 1942) which increased the capacity to fifty.⁶

Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Hunter nursed the orphanage through the depression and World War II and retired in 1945 after twenty-two years at Dunlap. Hunter sought aid from all sources to weather these difficult years. Dental and medical services were donated and the Methodist Hospital in Memphis provided free hospital services to several boys and girls.⁷ Hunter served longer than any other superintendent and made significant contributions to the institution. He introduced techniques to improve soil fertility, improved the orchards, landscaped the grounds, secured a herd of Jersey cows for a milk supply, and had electricity installed.

During the decade after the Hunters retired, Dunlap had six superintendents. The Rev. J. H. Snell followed Hunter

for eleven months. The Rev. Paul Sherrill spent eight months in charge of Dunlap until a permanent superintendent could be secured. Sherrill, who spent several years at Dunlap as a child, enhanced the farm by introducing mechanized farming. A. L. Ramsey served Dunlap briefly as Superintendent. In January 1947 the Rev. and Mrs. Ralph N. Hunter arrived at Dunlap. As Superintendent, Ralph Hunter led the institution during a period when the physical plant was modernized. A new girls' dormitory was erected at a cost of \$50,000. New refrigeration equipment for the kitchen was installed and a central dining room was constructed along with recreational halls.⁸

In 1952 the Rev. F. R. McAlister replaced Ralph Hunter though Mrs. Hunter remained as Assistant Superintendent and housemother for the boys. During McAlister's tenure a superintendent's home was constructed for Dunlap, partly as a result of new state requirements for orphanages.⁹

Mrs. Ralph N. Hunter served as Acting Superintendent when McAlister left Dunlap in 1954. The Board of Trustees of Dunlap secured the services of Mr. William A. Hethcox who served as Superintendent until 1971. His tenure as Superintendent was the second longest in Dunlap history, and came during a difficult period for the orphanage. Though Dunlap survived the depression it could not survive the challenges it faced in the 1960's and 1970's. Hethcox's leadership at least equalled that of Hunter's but external forces proved too powerful to overcome.

During the early years of Hethcox's administration, Dunlap appeared to be a strong institution. The number of children who were a part of the Dunlap family numbered close to the capacity of sixty in the early 1960's. Hethcox generated several thousands of dollars in income annually from the sale of gravel from the farm. This source of income was exploited until the mid-1960's.¹⁰

In 1965 the orphanage was damaged financially when federal funds were withheld because the institution's Board of Trustees refused to sign the compliance form required by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The loss of these funds was a severe blow to the institution and caused Hethcox to issue an "Urgent Plea For a Generous

Thanksgiving Offering." The Superintendent noted that during 1965 Dunlap lost \$4,000 due to the end of the gravel supply and \$4,000 in federal aid. In 1965 expenditures exceeded income by \$8,000, an amount covered by a reserve fund. This reserve fund had been built up from bequests and was invested to be used for emergencies. The total capital invested was insufficient to operate Dunlap for one year. The orphanage was, Hethcox declared, "'hard up' for funds."¹¹

During the 1960's the national government greatly increased its contribution to social programs in the United States. This was as true for orphanages as for other benevolent institutions. It became increasingly difficult for eleemosynary institutions to exist without federal funds. Yet the decline of Dunlap was not brought about solely by the institution's refusal to sign the compliance form. A more pernicious development for Dunlap was a changing of theories over how best to care for children without parents. Hethcox was cognizant of these developments and tried to educate *ARP* readers. He noted that many children at Dunlap had emotional problems, little or no Christian training, and performed below average on intelligence tests. The institution needed at least one professional social worker but could not afford to hire one. "House parents" were given training each year in Memphis. Professional standards for orphanages were changing in the 1960's and suggested that children should have an environment as similar to that of a nuclear family as possible. Hethcox sought to reduce the number of children in one cottage from the level of fifteen to twenty down to a maximum of from six to ten. He felt it was essential to have an emotionally stable Christian housemother and preferably a married couple for each cottage. He and the Board of Trustees developed a master plan for orderly growth.¹³

By the 1970's the field of child care had changed even more. "Orphanages" were institutions of the past. Social security benefits enabled widows and widowers to keep families together and experts agreed that young children should not be housed in a "children's home" environment. Hethcox reviewed the altered nature of child care for

Synod in 1972. Prepared before he resigned in 1971, but presented after his resignation, this report was a remarkably objective and candid assessment of Dunlap by a man who devoted seventeen and one-half years of his life to the institution.

Hethcox noted there were four areas of concern for Dunlap's operations. The institution had deficit budgets with surpluses from former years covering current losses. This could not continue long. Over eighty percent of the children were not "orphans" in the traditional sense. Failure to comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 resulted in little cooperation between Dunlap and governmental welfare agencies. Formerly most children were referred by welfare agencies through an ARP church to Dunlap. Much of the "case work" by social services for Dunlap children had been carried out by government welfare workers whose relationship with Dunlap was severed by the institution's refusal to sign the compliance form.

Finally, Hethcox noted that Dunlap was an "old-fashioned" institution whose operation was about fifteen years out of date. Several basic changes were necessary to improve services. Group homes in the Carolinas were needed so that children would be closer to their parents. Case workers and social workers needed to work closely with the families of children at Dunlap. All children kept at the institution should be housed in family style settings without age or sexual segregation. The atmosphere at Dunlap was not sufficiently permissive, according to consultants who had examined the institution.¹⁴ The decline of Dunlap was not due to William A. Hethcox. He struggled to improve the institution and realized some success. Yet his was an uphill battle because of factors beyond his control.

Mr. James D. Glisson became Superintendent after Hethcox retired. Glisson felt that a "change in basic philosophy is warranted" at Dunlap. His ideas were similar to those of Hethcox for he recommended compliance with the Civil Rights Act and a policy of returning children to their families as soon as possible. Glisson arranged one cottage as a family unit including a reluctant

housemother, five boys, and two girls. Though the housemother opposed the new organization, she soon changed her attitude due to the experiment's success. Unfortunately the other cottages were not structured to accommodate such a change.¹⁵

The enrollment of forty-eight children in 1971 declined to thirty-nine for 1972. Dunlap's Board of Trustees declined to sign the compliance form in 1972, but recommended a survey to see if the enrollment could be increased.¹⁶ At Synod the Moderator's Committee on Dunlap recommended the creation of an ad hoc committee to study the whole area of child care in consultation with professionals.¹⁷

In 1974 Mr. Robert W. Click replaced Glisson as Superintendent of Dunlap. Click left the institution on February 28, 1975. Mr. G. K. Spencer served as interim Superintendent until the arrival of the Rev. T. J. Mercer as Dunlap Director on June 15, 1975. Mercer resigned effective December 31, 1976 and was replaced by David May who resigned on January 31, 1978. Mr. G. K. Spencer served as Acting Superintendent from that date until Dunlap closed on June 30, 1978.¹⁸

One evident problem was the lack of stable leadership at the level of superintendent following Hethcox's retirement. Yet this instability of six superintendents (or acting superintendents) in four years was a symptom and not a cause, of Dunlap's malaise.

The survey of churches conducted in 1973 revealed that ARP children were sent to local foster homes. Dunlap obtained children from the Juvenile Court of Memphis and from the Tennessee Department of Corrections. There were few referrals from parents, relatives, and other individuals. The Moderators' Committees of Synod showed concern for the operations of Dunlap and recommended that the Board of Trustees of Dunlap voluntarily comply with the intent of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.¹⁹ In 1975 the Moderator's Committee on Dunlap recommended that the board be given until December 31, 1976 to "build up" the institution. Enrollment had declined from thirty-six on

January 1 to thirty-four on December 31, 1973. This decline continued and was seen as "critical" in 1975.

Dunlap's Board of Trustees struggled to cope with the changed nature of the institution. Children sent to Dunlap from the Department of Corrections and Juvenile Court presented a challenge because the "staff was not qualified to handle this type of child." From the lists of children's names included in Dunlap's reports to Synod, it is evident that numerous children were admitted but not retained for a long period of time. Few children could be classified as "residents" of Dunlap and a number might be characterized as "transients." The latter were transferred from a criminal justice institution to Dunlap, then dismissed from the institution within a short period of time. In addition, the *Minutes of Synod* reveal that Dunlap's staff had numerous changes in 1974 and 1975.²⁰

When T. J. Mercer became Superintendent in June 1975, Dunlap's board heeded Synod's suggestion and announced the institution would comply with the intent of the Civil Rights Act by considering any child referred to Dunlap without regard to race, creed, or color. Child welfare agencies accepted this position and began referring children to Dunlap. Mercer worked to bring stability to the staff and reduce the excessive "turn-over" rate of children. He wanted to develop programs to utilize the expertise of staff members and sought children who would benefit from the Christian experience offered by Dunlap. In 1976 Synod adopted a memorial from Mississippi Valley Presbytery moving the deadline by which Dunlap should be "built up" from December 31, 1976 to Synod's meeting in 1977.²¹

Mercer answered some criticisms of Dunlap in February 1976. He noted that the institution had economic problems even though it had a \$15,000 clothing fund for that money was restricted and could be used for nothing else. Clothing costs ran to almost \$6,000 a year. In 1976 it cost Dunlap \$425 per month to fulfill all the needs of one child.²²

ARP editor Zeb Williams questioned the need for Dunlap in December 1976. Noting the declining enrollment figures, he realized that federal, state and local

governments provided funds so that there were no financial reasons a parent or parents could not help children. Williams felt that Dunlap was too far from the center of the ARP church and it received practically no referrals from ARP families. "Today there are many more governmental regulations and restrictions to further complicate the already difficult task of operating a children's home." He soothed the feelings of those who wished Dunlap could continue by reminding them that it had helped thousands of children, parents, and relatives. He closed this editorial with an expression of faith and confidence in Dunlap's board as it faced difficult decisions.²³

The board of Dunlap was reorganized along with all the denomination's boards and agencies following the 1976 Synod meeting. The new board contained one representative from each presbytery, an extra member from Mississippi Valley Presbytery, a youth representative, and a representative from Woman's Synodical Union.²⁴ For some years there had been sentiment to make Dunlap's board more representative for the natural tendency was to have more representatives from the area near the institution. This new group of trustees was charged by Synod with the job of making Dunlap a viable institution. "The probation imposed last year [1976] was removed and the cloud of uncertainty lifted so the Board of Trustees and administration could begin making long range plans for the future."²⁵

Despite the optimism of Williams and the new board, Dunlap continued to face smaller enrollments. By the fall of 1977 there were only thirteen children at the institution. The board reported that "no children's homes are orphanages anymore." Moderator Grady Oates concurred that the ministry of Dunlap was completed. By that year there were only two children at Dunlap and Synod closed the institution effective June 30, 1978.²⁶

During its seventy-four years of service Dunlap was a strong ministry of the denomination. Several hundred children were raised at the institution. That Dunlap provided spiritual sustenance is evidenced by outstanding church leaders such as the Revs. Forrest and Paul Sherrill who were Dunlap children.

Foreign Missions

The single most important development in the denomination's foreign mission fields from 1932 to 1982 was the assumption of control by native leaders. By 1982 there were independent ARP synods in Mexico and Pakistan. The movement toward local autonomy was slow and at times painful.

In 1932 the Rev. W. C. Halliday reflected on articles in the *ARP* which described the "self-support" movement in India. Halliday, on the Mexican mission field, surveyed the work of other denominations in Mexico. He found the Methodist mission in the process of "cutting strings" and creating an independent Mexican Church. The Methodists had been working for a native church for ten years in 1932. This movement for a self-governing church was being carried out by sister presbyterian bodies. Halliday's ambition was for a national synod. "The fulfilment of this ambition, when the time is ripe, means the achievement of the great aim of Foreign Missions - the establishment of a self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating national church."²⁷ Halliday felt that native workers would work harder when success or failure depended on their efforts rather than those of a missionary. "The native pastors are naturally in hearty accord with the national law that foreigners must not occupy any pastorate nor officiate in any other function of the ministry. They may teach or preach without limit."²⁸

Halliday felt natives should be pastors, and missionaries should do mission work. If natives were to be leaders, Mexicans should "foot the bills." According to him, "self-support and self-government are inseparable." He reported that Mexican church leaders paid by their congregations received less salary than Mexicans who worked under the direction of a missionary. "My object is not to reduce the support of the native ministers to a mere existence; it is to show that when once the idea of a self-supporting church enters the heart of these Mexican workers, they are as devoted and self-sacrificing as those of Korea, China, or any other land."²⁹

To have an autonomous Mexican church would not

eliminate the work of missionaries. Once Mexicans gained control of the ARP Church in Mexico, Halliday asserted, missionaries would have increased responsibilities: opening new areas for the Gospel, educating laymen, training native ministers, providing medical care, among other activities.

The 1932 report from Mexico to Synod prepared by W. C. Halliday and submitted by the Rev. J. G. Dale called for more "self support." This report deprecated the tendency of mission work which was to make a newly organized church a parasite "clinging to the mother church" in the United States. The new plan would teach Mexicans to find their own resources so that the local congregation eventually could assume all responsibilities.

And best of all out of this will come a spirit of self reliance, absolutely essential in the make-up of converts if they would become strong to stand and become themselves agencies of evangelization seeking to carry the gospel to the hitherto unreached regions of the field. It is not too much to say that in all the history of the mission no single step has been taken that gives more promise for the future. We thank God and take courage.³⁰

The "new plan" was that if native pastors agreed to a ten percent reduction of the amount they received from the mission's budget, the control of the local congregation would be in the hands of Tampico Presbytery. If a local congregation contributed fifty-one percent of the pastor's salary, the mission would allow the congregation to call its own pastor. This plan was "unanimously and heartily adopted." A Board of Home Missions was created in Tampico Presbytery and a committee was named to encourage each congregation to raise the ten percent salary reduction for its minister.³¹

In India the Rev. B. L. Hamilton found "the willingness and the ability of the Indian church to assume responsibility is by all odds the factor which must be considered in determining progress." The goal in India, as in Mexico, set by Synod was "self support." Hamilton was committed to "nothing less than full self support" throughout the mis-

sion field. Yet there were two mitigating circumstances that kept that goal from being realized. One hundred families were essential before an area would be strong enough for self support. In addition the economic distress was too great to expect Indian congregations to realize self support for at least several years.³²

The principal reason for the self support movement in the 1930's was economic. "The meagre and tardy payments from Synod's treasury" forced both the Mexican and Indian mission fields to experiment with self support. In one presbytery in Mexico the experiment seemed successful for it functioned "very much as one of those at home. . . ."³³

The financial crises in India and Mexico were severe in the 1930's. Foreign missions suffered as did every other arm of the denomination. All native workers and missionaries in India received a ten percent reduction in salary in 1932. Beginning in September 1931, Mexican workers and missionaries were paid one-third of their salaries. The Rev. G. G. Parkinson, Chairman of the Board of Foreign Missions, reported that the Indian work force had not received all of their reduced salaries. In April 1932 the deficit on back salaries for native workers in both fields amounted to between \$2,500 and \$3,000. Parkinson noted that the next year's budget would be reduced and must be used to pay for past deficits.³⁴

When Halliday and Dale made their report to Synod in 1932 they had not received salaries in over five months. Missionaries in Mexico were able to borrow money from friends and relatives in the United States but native workers had no resources from which to borrow.³⁵

Insufficient funds for the Indian mission resulted in extended furloughs for the Rev. and Mrs. B. Dale White. The Rev. and Mrs. Ebenezer Gettys were on furlough until September 1932 and Synod had to extend their time at home because of insufficient funds. Both White and Gettys voluntarily gave up their furlough salaries for the sake of the mission work. Though Hamilton noted that mission work could not be carried out properly with a reduced staff, he concurred in the decision not to return the

furloughed missionaries to the field in 1932. Fully half the Indian missionary force was in the United States that year. Missionaries to Mexico were able to enjoy furlough and return to their assignments because travel costs were much less to Mexico than to India. In 1932 it cost about the same "to move a family to India as it costs to support them for a year."³⁶

The Board of Foreign Missions recommended that the \$7,500 total deficit for 1932 be carried over and asked for a budget of \$27,500 for 1933. The board offered to resign noting that a change in its composition might result in better management. The Rev. G. R. White's resolution passed by which Synod reaffirmed "its confidence in the Board and the fine work it has done and is doing and declines to consider the thought of their resignation."³⁷

The economic adversities of the Great Depression caused rivalries to develop among church people for the small amount of available money. One example of the tensions generated by the scarcity of funds involved the Rev. J. G. Dale and his work among the Nahuatl Indians in Mexico. Dale published "A Statement" to correct rumors that he visited the United States and returned to Mexico "with \$5,000 in my pocket for opening the work among the Indians. The fact is that I asked an old bachelor Baptist of South Carolina for five thousand dollars for the Indians and did not get five cents." Dale also received criticism for accepting money from the Pioneer Missionary Agency in Philadelphia. He explained that he established a friendship with the President and Secretary of that organization. The Pioneer Missionary Agency had no fields and no missionaries under its care. The group sought mission needs, secured financial support for the need, then turned monies received over to an established mission board. The Pioneer Missionary Agency did support the Dales' work among the Nahuatl Indians by contributions to the ARP Board of Foreign Missions. All money appeared in official reports and any congregation organized among the Indians would become a part of the Tampico Presbytery.³⁸

The Pioneer Missionary Agency paid some of the costs involved in the work of Dr. Katherine N. Dale and the Rev. J. G. Dale among the Nahuatl Indians. That agency

provided \$86 during the first half of 1933. The Board of Foreign Missions was obligated to provide \$1,600 in salaries for the Dales. They received less than a fourth of their salary by August 1933.³⁹

A second rivalry for scarce funds developed in the Mexican mission field in the 1930's. The Tampico Girl's School was begun in 1892 in a rented building. In 1903 the Board of Foreign Missions adopted a report calling for the construction of a facility. In 1906 the Rev. Neill E. Pressly collected "\$5,803.20 in cash and subscriptions" for this structure. The building was not constructed before 1932 because of numerous problems. By that date the Woman's Synodical Missionary Union had collected additional monies for the school building and the total "Tampico Building Fund" stood at \$13,817.00.⁴⁰ The Mexican mission requested that \$3,000 be diverted from this fund in 1932 to be used for payment of salaries to native workers in Mexico. The mission recommended the construction of a building for the Tampico Girl's School for \$15,000 but that pastors' salaries should be paid prior to the construction of a school.⁴¹ The Board of Foreign Missions refused to sustain the request of the Mexican mission.

While a budget seems necessary to the successful prosecution of our work, yet we feel sure that the liberality of our people to all causes is being dried up by the fact that only a small percent of any gift to a specified budget cause goes to the cause specified. In this method there is a real breach of trust, as a result of which the Woman's Synodical is growing quite restive. Such loyal and liberal supporters of Synod's work as the women are deserve to have their reasonable wishes met. And it seems to us this could be done by requiring that the total of every gift to a special cause shall go to that cause till the total appropriated to it is in the Treasurer's hand, when notice of the fact shall be given in the Presbyterian.⁴³

By adopting this report Synod attempted to retain the Tampico Girl's School Fund intact but created a hardship for missionaries. Monies given for a specific missionary evidently were transferred to others who were not

beneficiaries of gifts. This practice ceased with the 1932 Synod. The resulting "marked inequalities in the payment of missionaries' salaries" were "largely corrected" by the Woman's Synodical Missionary Union providing "direct support of all lady missionaries."⁴³

At the 1933 Synod the Committee on Women's Work recommended that funds from the Tampico Girl's School Fund "be released for other Kingdom uses, preferable in Mexico." Noting that "building operations do not seem feasible at this time . . ." Synod adopted this report.⁴⁴ The treasurer's report indicated that the Tampico School Fund stood at \$9,036.50 in 1933.⁴⁵

Just prior to the adjournment of the 1934 Synod, the Rev. C. O. Williams submitted the following resolution which passed:

That salaries for 1934-'35 of missionaries in Mexico be paid out of funds on hand for Tampico School, and that money included in budget for said missionaries for said year, be used to pay deficits on salaries of home missionaries, and deficits on salaries of missionaries in India should there be any deficits.⁴⁶

Williams' motion resulted in funds for Tampico Girl's School being spent for home missionaries indirectly. This motion resulted in a "difference of opinion" according to the *ARP*. Mrs. Paul Pressly, Synodical President, informed readers of the church paper that "the Tampico Girl's School fund is being held by the Foreign Mission Board for use in Mexico exclusively."⁴⁷

The Foreign Missions Board requested the Executive Finance Committee to rule on the Williams resolution. The committee ruled that Synod's Treasurer was to pay direct pledges to Mexico and to pay the remainder of salaries for Mexican missionaries and native workers out of the Tampico Girl's School Fund. That decision resulted in \$2,450 being used from the school fund and \$2,450 being transferred from the regular Mexican mission budget to home missionary salaries. The Foreign Missions Board carried out this procedure "to the letter" even though the board felt it was "a diversion of trust funds. . . ." The

Woman's Synodical Missionary Union "which entrusted the Board with this fund" and "apparently, the Executive Finance Committee" agreed with the board's assessment.⁴⁸

The Foreign Missions Board presented the 1935 Synod with a "Protest of Foreign Missions Board." In the protest the board noted that since 1932 Synod had annually adopted a policy that all money donated for specific individuals and causes must be spent as designated by the donor. This had become "a settled policy of the Synod." The "Williams Resolution" was "in direct conflict" with Synod's policy. The Foreign Missions Board made a "most earnest and solemn protest against Synod's action in the Williams resolution, and claim that moneys [sic] of the Tampico Girl's School fund expended under it be paid to said fund." This protest was based on the contentions that: the "Williams Resolution" was null and void because it was taken "in violation of parliamentary rules," the process followed resulted in funds designated for Mexican missionary work being diverted to home missions ("a breach of trust"), the Tampico Girl's School Fund was given to the Board of Foreign Missions by Woman's Synodical Missionary Union and Synod was never given jurisdiction over the fund, the Woman's Synodical Missionary Union considered the action a "diversion of its funds" and asked the board "to protest the action of Synod," and the action was unwise for "large gifts to Synod's causes may not be expected if it is uncertain whether the will of the donors will be respected."⁴⁹

The protest was ineffective for the Tampico Girl's School Fund stood at \$1,143.82 in 1935, \$956.32 in 1936, and \$684.23 in 1937.⁵⁰ The 1938 *Minutes of Synod* do not contain a listing of the fund.

The Tampico Girl's School Fund was expended for worthwhile church causes. Missionaries in Mexico and India as well as native workers on both fields were in great financial need. Home missionaries may have been in worse need than foreign missionaries. The experience of this fund illustrates the financial pressures that were so great in the 1930's. At no time in the denomination's history have all causes been liberally funded. The ARP

Church has always stretched its resources thin among numerous worthwhile causes. The Great Depression exacerbated the denomination's congenital state of insufficient financial resources.⁵¹

Although 1933 was worse than any previous year on the Mexican mission field where less than half the promised salaries had been paid by April, the Indian mission field had sufficient funds. The reasons for this development were that self-support improved in India and half the missionary staff to India was on extended furlough. Mr. R. E. Moore obtained a job in the United States and the Rev. B. Dale White accepted a pastorate. These missionaries were given leaves of absence by the Foreign Missions Board.⁵² The Rev. E. Gettys obtained a teaching position while on furlough but wished to return to India in 1933. Synod's Treasurer Joseph Lindsay notified *ARP* readers that Gettys would soon need around \$600 for travel expenses and the account totaled \$7.00. He called on readers to respond to this need. Response was heart warming. The YPCU groups of North and South Carolina pledged \$700 and in all \$1,214.75 was raised.⁵³

In India the mission was able to purchase a lot and build a house in 1933. Several other projects were paid for by "friends outside the denomination," including the Pioneer Missionary Agency.⁵⁴

The Pioneer Missionary Agency agreed to pay the Rev. J. G. Dale's salary beginning in 1943. This arrangement not only relieved the *ARP* Board of Foreign Missions financially, but it also enabled Dale to reach outside the bounds of the *ARP* mission field to train Mexican Indian youth in tribes "that we are not reaching."⁵⁵ This agency cooperated with mission work in Mexico by building an interdenominational school for Indian children to which students would be sent from all denominational mission fields.⁵⁶

Despite the economic conditions the mission work in Mexico and India was carried out. The Gettys family returned to India where the work was "splendid." Additional workers could be used in India but the board recommended against sending anyone in 1935. To add Americans would make that mission field "top heavy"

with foreign missionaries, reducing financial support for native workers.⁵⁷

The Rev. G. G. Parkinson, Chairman of the Board of Foreign Missions, worked hard to increase the budget for the Mexican and Indian work. The Rev. E. Gettys estimated that the "absolute minimum" needed in India during the mid-1930's was from \$12,500 to \$13,000. Synod's budget for 1930 was \$13,000 for India and \$10,500 for Mexico, a total of \$23,500. Since Parkinson and the Board of Foreign Missions contributed their time and absorbed some expenses of administration, the total budget went to the mission fields.⁵⁸ The budget actually declined in the late 1930's: \$23,500 (\$14,800 for India and \$8,750 for Mexico) in 1936, \$22,302.50 (\$13,822.50 for India and \$8,480 for Mexico) in 1937, and \$22,177.50 (\$12,797.50 for India and \$9,380 for Mexico) in 1938. The 1939 budget showed a significant increase to \$27,127.50 (\$19,627.50 for India, \$7,450 for Mexico, and \$50 for administrative expenses).⁵⁹ At least part of the discrepancy between the cost of the Indian work was due to the expenses of travel to the Far East. In 1936 the expenses of travel to India increased over that of 1935 by \$2,250. Special contributions of \$1,050 outside the budget were made for travel to India.⁶⁰

During the 1930's special appeals were made for the mission work. In the fall of 1932 the Rev. E. E. Strong, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, published "Distress Call No. 1" in the *ARP*. Strong reported that native workers in Mexico had gone without pay for seven months. "Our own faithful American workers in Mexico are writing us to cut down the force in Mexico, or support our native workers, to cut the salaries of our own workers, but spare the native men for the work. What are we to do?"⁶¹

Calls for special donations or travel expenses to India were frequent. When Dr. Janet Alexander prepared to return to India from a furlough in 1935, insufficient funds were on hand. "It will be seen that this puts the Board of Foreign Missions and Dr. Alexander in an embarrassing situation, which it may seem almost brutal to publish so frankly." The last Sabbath in August was designated as a special offering day for Alexander. "This is a case in

which 'money talks.'⁶² ARP Church members rose to the challenge and donations exceeded needs.⁶³

As late as 1937 the B. L. Hamiltons, Ralph Erskine Moores, B. Dale Whites and Miss Mary Kennedy from the Indian mission field were all at home on furlough or leaves of absence due to insufficient funds. Miss Minnie Alexander was due to have a furlough but postponed it because of the financial situation. At the same time three missionaries from the Mexican field were at home on furlough.⁶⁴ The problem faced by the Board of Foreign Missions in 1937 was acute. W. C. Halliday had to return to Mexico in 1937 or he and Mrs. Halliday would lose their legal residence status. Yet E. Gettys was the only male on the field in India and illness hampered his work.⁶⁵ The Board of Foreign Missions would be hard pressed to return one missionary in 1937. The Rev. James P. Pressly was treasurer of the special Halliday/White fund in 1937. Halliday needed to recondition the engine, replace a radiator, buy two new tires, and secure four new fenders for his 1931 Ford. The special fund exceeded its goal so that Halliday and White returned to Mexico and India with new automobiles.⁶⁶

Although the benevolence displayed by ARPs toward special fund drives for missions was generous, an increase in the regular budget for foreign missions was essential in the late 1930's. As Parkinson noted, ARPs seemed willing to "send out" anyone who wanted to go to a mission field. Yet once on a mission field, workers were faced with insufficient budget support. It was simple to leave the management of foreign missions to the board, Parkinson claimed. When missions were not funded sufficiently, the board became the "scapegoat." Parkinson reminded ARP readers that if all congregations had paid their assessments to Synod in full, the six missionaries at home on extended furlough in 1937 would be in the field.⁶⁷

Parkinson compared the salaries and expenses of ARP missionaries to those of missionaries from other denominations in 1937. Married ARP missionaries received \$1,200 per year and single missionaries were paid \$600 per year. Missionaries received \$75 per year for each child not in a boarding school. Children of missionaries in

boarding schools received allowances in amounts determined by individual cases. There were seven ARP missionary children in 1937.⁶⁸ There was no health allowance for missionaries in Mexico but missionaries in India received a \$125 family health allowance each year (\$50 for unmarried missionaries). PCUS missionaries in Mexico received slightly more salary than ARP missionaries (\$747.96 for a single person, \$1,246.59 for a married couple). Child allowances for PCUS missionaries were significantly higher than for ARPs: \$115.43 for each child from one to ten years old, \$153.90 for each child aged ten to twenty-one, and \$269.33 for each child in boarding school. There was no health allowance for PCUS missionaries in Mexico, and as ARPs they had to pay rent in most instances. The average salary and allowance for eight other denominations with mission fields in Mexico were: \$1,617 per married couple, \$910 per single missionary, medical allowances in addition to salary, and a \$218 allowance per child.⁶⁹

Parkinson's call for an increased foreign missions budget was heeded by 1939. During 1938 the traditional method of calling on special contributions was utilized again to return Miss Mary Kennedy to India following a furlough. The Rev. R. N. Beard was in charge of this special fund drive which exceeded the goal by several hundred dollars.⁷⁰

In 1940 Synod increased the remuneration for missionaries by paying half salary to missionaries who were en route to and from the field, full salary during regular furloughs, and by giving a \$250 allowance for each missionary child in college. The manual for ARP missionaries requested relatives to "relieve the Foreign Missionary Board of the expense of missionaries on furlough. . . ." This phrase was deleted from the manual in 1940.⁷¹

The major obstacle to foreign mission work during the 1930's was scarcity of funds. Other problems paled into insignificance when compared to the financial distress of the depression years. News of missions in the *ARP*, the publication of the Woman's Synodical Missionary Union, and reports from the mission fields carried in the *Minutes of Synod* detail the various activities carried out in Mexico

and India. All these sources testify continuously to the struggles caused by insufficient funds.

In his excellent analysis of the ARP Church in Mexico, Mr. James E. Mitchell compared the number of communicant members with the number of missionaries in the field. Mitchell shows that church membership in the Mexican ARP Church from 1881 to 1969 changed according to the number of missionaries in the field. The 1930's was a decade when church membership in Mexico fell from 1,300 to slightly over 700. During that decade the number of missionaries declined from ten to three.⁷²

World War II did not affect significantly the two ARP mission fields. There was some "persecution" of missionaries in Mexico, but not to a bothersome degree. The decade of the 1940's was a low point for ARP mission work due to several factors other than the war. The climate in India was seen as incapacitating for missionaries. Normal attrition from death and retirement reduced the mission force. Some within the church felt that too much emphasis had been placed on foreign missions to the detriment of home missions. "The opinion became current, and perhaps wisely, that we needed to stop and broaden the home base, that our foreign work had become top-heavy and needed to be balanced by a greater home mission emphasis."⁷³ Another reason for the decline of foreign missions was the debilitating depression years which engendered a belief that the denomination should wait for more favorable times to replace missionaries. Finally, some missionaries in Mexico, principally the Dales, were working under different missionary agencies. All of these factors resulted in a sharp decline in the number of ARP missionaries from a high of thirty-one to ten by 1942.⁷⁴

Pressure to expand the mission effort of the denomination mounted during the war years but little could be done during that conflict. Conditions in Mexico were particularly conducive to increased mission activity by 1942 for there seemed to be a more cordial spirit on the part of the Mexican government. ARP editor C. B. Williams argued that the few who might join the "battle for righteousness" in Mexico would not be "missed from the millions who are

being enrolled for military service. . . ."⁷⁵ Yet Williams acknowledged that expansion on the mission field would have to be delayed until the war was over.⁷⁶

The 1945 Synod approved a fund drive for \$75,000. Fifty thousand dollars of this fund was for Erskine College and \$25,000 was for foreign missions. By June of 1946 pledges for this "Expansion Program" reached \$73,347.35 and \$54,000 had been paid on the pledges.⁷⁷

Despite the renewed interest in foreign mission work, only one new missionary entered the service in the years immediately following the war. The Rev. and Mrs. Frank Y. Pressly went to the Indian field in 1947 to begin a long and fruitful work there.⁷⁸ C. B. Williams felt that the failure to replace missionaries was due to a lack of emphasis on foreign missions. He claimed the generation raised in the 1930's and 1940's had not been raised in an "atmosphere surcharged with a sense of obligation to go 'unto the uttermost parts of the world.'"⁷⁹

In 1947 the British government bowed to the long struggle led by Mohandas K. Gandhi for nationalism in India. The former British colony was divided along religious lines. The larger portion of territory was India with predominately Hindu religious beliefs. The Northern section of the former colony of India was separated and became Pakistan where the major religious belief was the Moslem faith. The ARP mission field was in the new nation of Pakistan. Riots and civil disturbances in Pakistan during 1947 were bothersome to ARP missionaries who were unable to travel until the political turmoil subsided.⁸⁰

The major problem resulting from the creation of Pakistan for ARP mission work was the influx of Moslem refugees from India. Hundreds of thousands of Hindus from Pakistan fled their homes and moved to India. Similarly throngs of Moslems from India fled that new nation to join their co-religionists in Pakistan. Political instability and the societal dislocations of such large scale migrations resulted in a breakdown of law and order. Looting was a problem and Moslems took out their hatred of Hindus by committing acts of violence against non-Moslems. Christians became targets of vengeful Moslems.⁸¹

In early 1948 the *ARP* contained calls for special offerings to help alleviate the plight of refugees in Pakistan and to help Christians who had been looted. The economic consequences of nationhood for Pakistan were severe for several years. The number of Moslem refugees entering Pakistan exceeded the number of Hindus who fled to India. Insufficient jobs were available and Christians frequently found that refugee Moslems were favored by employers. Starvation was a possibility for some Christians. These economic problems made the *ARP* mission work in Pakistan difficult in the late 1940's and early 1950's.⁸²

In the early 1960's the native *ARP* churches in Mexico and Pakistan began to work for more local control in church affairs. In an article entitled "When Will the Church in Pakistan Become Indigenous?" B. Dale White noted the obstacles facing local control of the Pakistan *ARP* Church. Most members of that church were members of the "untouchable" caste who were conditioned to be subservient. Poverty was another factor which discouraged local control of church government. Despite these problems, the *ARP* Church in Pakistan showed some signs of self government. White noted that the two *ARP* presbyteries in Pakistan operated under a church council that performed some functions of a synod. The role of missionaries had also changed in Pakistan. "Instead of being a district superintendent, as he continued to be for half a century, the missionary in the district now works alongside the other workers and more or less according to their invitations." White noticed that native workers were, for the first time, beginning to help with financial planning. Natives were talking of forming a third presbytery and ultimately an *ARP* synod in Pakistan.⁸³

The Rev Jose Rodriguez A., pastor of the Valles *ARP* Church and Moderator of Tampico Presbytery, wrote an article describing plans for the Mexican Synod in the July 31, 1963 *ARP*. He saw an urgent need for three presbyteries in Mexico united in a synod. He outlined the proposed structure and noted what activities the synod could perform. "The A. R. P. Church in Mexico reaffirms each day its plans of working toward an indigenous church

trusting always in the help of our Heavenly Father."⁸⁴

In 1964 the ARP Synod in the United States sent an overture which was adopted changing its Book of Government to comply with a request from Pakistan. This change authorized the establishment of ARP synods in foreign countries which would be governed by nationals but subordinate to the "General Synod, which will supervise" foreign synods.⁸⁵

Both the Mexican and Pakistan ARP churches organized synods following the change in The Book of Government. These synods were not autonomous and by 1970 the native church in Mexico sought more self government.

The Mexican Synod petitioned General Synod in 1970 without communicating through the missionaries of the parent body. The new method of communication was used because "we reject relations by way of missionaries." The Mexican Synod voted to change the "means which you established to sustain communications with our church" with the "highest intention of increasing existing relations." Missionaries, the Mexican Synod argues, "were indispensable in years past but were an archaic and obsolete" method of communication in 1970. A second reason for this change was the inability of missionaries to ascertain the feelings of the Mexican Church. Finally, the Mexican Synod noted that other forms of communication with General Synod can be selected from among various alternatives. The Mexican Synod suggested that future communication between the two bodies be carried out by an agency named by the General Synod which would "enter into frank" discussions with the Committee on External Relations and Cooperation of the ARP Church in Mexico.⁸⁶

The Mexican Church suggested a change for the theological seminary in Mexico. This institution was about to lose its leader with the retirement of W. C. Halliday. It had no physical plant but some sort of theological institution was essential for the Mexican Church. The Mexican Synod suggested that the ARP seminary merge with a seminary of reformed theology that was to open in the fall of 1970 in Mexico.

The Mexican Synod registered a complaint with

General Synod that properties owned by General Synod's mission effort were disposed of without consultation with the Mexican Church. Such disposal of properties caused the Mexican Church "to suffer the bitterness caused by. . . insensibility and lack of confidence on the part of missionaries. . . ." The Mexican Church sought a transfer of property owned by the General Synod to the ARP Synod of Mexico.

These requests were submitted to General Synod for consideration. A motion to refer all matters raised by the Mexican Synod to the Board of Foreign Missions was amended by the Rev. Robert Brawley, who had served as a missionary to Mexico. Brawley's amendment called for an immediate partial answer to the requests.⁸⁷

The "partial answer" was a letter from the Board of Foreign Missions to the Committee on External Relations and Cooperation of the Mexican Synod. The letter expressed confidence in all missionaries of General Synod but agreed to direct communications between the Mexican Synod and the Board of Foreign Missions. The board promised to request \$800 for the Mexican theological seminary but noted this would be contingent upon the approval of its budget request by General Synod. As for the sale of property in Mexico, the board clarified the misunderstanding caused by "false information." The only sale was of a bookstore which was a business located in property not owned by General Synod's mission in Mexico. The board pledged that no mission property was for sale.⁸⁸

The Mexican Synod asserted that its requests should in no way be interpreted as a rejection of General Synod's missionaries as persons. The Mexican Church expressed a desire for all missionaries to remain in Mexico and invited others to join the mission there.⁸⁹

The developments of 1964 and 1970 were steps toward the creation of autonomous synods in Mexico and Pakistan. The final phase in this process of self government for ARP churches outside the United States occurred between 1974 and 1979. The 1975 General Synod adopted a "plan of cooperation" submitted by the Synod of Mexico in 1974. This plan called for a joint structure

that would result in three autonomous synods.⁹⁰

The Constitution of the ARP Church International was submitted to the 1976 General Synod to be studied during 1976-77 and adopted in 1978. The first meeting of the three synods was held in Mexico in 1979, the centennial anniversary of the ARP Church in that nation. The General Council of the ARP Church International was to meet once every four years, in Pakistan in 1983 and in the United States in 1987. The General Council consisted of three representatives from each synod. Each synod was autonomous and could not surrender its authority to the General Council. The United States Synod's Board of Foreign Missions retained control of its missions.⁹¹

Self support had been an ideal expressed in the 1930's by ARP missionaries. "Native control," as C. B. Williams phrased it in 1948, had always been a basic objective in foreign missions. Williams feared this objective would not be realized for some time.⁹² By the 1960's the native churches in Mexico and Pakistan had developed sufficiently for their leaders to begin the move for autonomy. The fifteen years between 1964 and 1979 was a period of change in missions for the denomination. One of the greatest successes in the history of the Church took place during that period as the two mission fields became autonomous. This was a significant development for the emergence of fully autonomous ARP synods in Mexico and Pakistan was accomplished in an exceedingly harmonious fashion. Too little attention has been paid to this major development by the denomination. It is the central development of foreign missions between 1932 and 1982.

The transition from a denomination rooted in rural America to one oriented toward urban life was experienced by foreign missions during the 1970's. Before 1976 the Board of Foreign Missions conducted the work of missions on a voluntary basis. Two great leaders in foreign missions, the Revs. G. G. Parkinson and E. Gettys donated a sizable portion of their time to foreign missions as chairman or secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions. By the mid-1960's the work load had grown so much that it threatened to overwhelm the chairman of the Board of Foreign Missions. A study by the Board of Foreign Mis-

sions recommended that Synod hire a full-time director to supervise its work. Yet the board recognized that such a move would divert funds from the mission field to administrative costs.⁹³

In 1974 Synod adopted the Board of Foreign Missions' recommendations that the "office of full-time Executive Secretary be established." This recommendation was carried out in the spring of 1976 when Mr. John E. Mariner, a former ARP missionary to Pakistan, was hired as the Executive Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions.⁹⁴ From his office in the Greenville ARP Center, Mariner has added a great deal to the denomination's missions effort. He not only administers the work of the missionaries, but also performs the tasks of recruiting missionaries and informing church members of the work of foreign missions.

Mariner administered a budget of close to one million dollars in 1982. The Board of World Witness supported eleven missionaries in Mexico and ten in Pakistan. Five "Associate Missionaries" worked with the Pakistan mission though they were supported by other agencies. There were seven volunteers and short-term workers on the two mission fields. The Mexican mission supported a Bible School, a Seminary, a Bible Correspondence School and a Christian Education Team. There were three medical facilities supported by the Mexican mission in 1982: the Neill E. Pressly Clinic, Good Samaritan Dispensary, and the J. L. Pressly Dispensary. In Pakistan the Board of Foreign Missions supported work in administration, publishing, and agriculture during 1982. Missionaries in Pakistan also worked with an adult literacy program and helped with the Bible Correspondence School. A major effort of the denomination in Pakistan has been the operation of the Nancy Fulwood Hospital which provides health services to large numbers of persons who might otherwise receive no care.⁹⁵

In the late 1960's Synod established a special committee to study missionary salaries. This committee attempted to measure the salary needs of missionaries by equating them with the salaries of missionaries from other denominations; salaries of ministers in the home church;

and the inflation rates of Mexico, Pakistan, and the United States. Synod adopted recommendations to increase missionaries' base salaries, child allowances, and furlough allowances. This committee, consisting of Chairman Charles H. Carlisle, the Rev. C. S. Alexander, and Messrs. R. C. Bryson, Janus DeHamer, and J. C. Robinson, recommended a system to ensure an annual review of remuneration. This wise recommendation provided for a gradual increase in compensation for missionaries and protection against inflation.⁹⁶ By 1982 missionary salaries compared favorably with those of ARP ministers.⁹⁷

Numerous churches and individuals in the denomination contribute to the support of missionaries above the budget of Synod. The ARP Church continues to be one that is heavily committed to World Witness. In 1982 the number of missionaries (twenty-three) exceeded the ratio of one per one-thousand active church members. The per capita contribution to foreign missions is difficult to calculate, but was in the neighborhood of \$43.00 per active church member annually.⁹⁸ This impressive commitment to foreign missions has been one of the great accomplishments of the denomination.

Home Missions

Between 1932 and 1982 "home missions" usually received less financial support than that awarded to foreign missions by the denomination. Total income for the Board of Church Extension for 1983 was \$288,192 while the comparable figure for the Board of Foreign Missions' budget was \$825,310.⁹⁹ The relationship between home and foreign missions has been, in the words of the ARP "a perennial question."¹⁰⁰ The Rev. John R. Edwards proposed a merger of the Board of Home Missions and the Board of Foreign Missions in 1933 in part because "the present system divides the Church, at times in a serious manner. Is it necessary to say more on this point?" Edwards' proposal fell on deaf ears.¹⁰¹

As in all arms of the church, home missions suffered during the depression years. In 1933 three home missionaries were living on an income of twenty-five dollars

per month. One home missionary wrote the *ARP* in 1934 asking for "a lot more pep and enthusiasm for Home Missions." Although 1934 was designated as Home Missions Year, this unidentified writer claimed home missions was a "forgotten cause."¹⁰² Home missionaries did not receive sufficient salaries if they were paid in full and distress was "likely to be experienced if the meager salary is only partially paid."¹⁰³

The Rev. R. M. Stevenson, editor of the *ARP*, reminded readers in 1935 that home missionaries had not received full salaries for two years. He contended that money raised on the local level for home missions would not deplete the local church's resources for pastors' salaries grew when more money was raised for missions. To enlarge home missions, Stevenson argued, would aid foreign missions. "The foreign work . . . will be crippled, its efficiency hindered and its progress checked, if the home work does not keep pace with it."¹⁰⁴

The personal hardship the "meager salaries" forced home missionaries to endure was illustrated by an unidentified correspondent to the *ARP* in 1938. This home missionary had a landlord who agreed to accept seventy-five percent of the rent due. The unfortunate minister could produce only forty percent of the rent and was forced to move to less expensive quarters. He feared this experience had destroyed his credit rating.¹⁰⁵

Miss Margaret Blakely devoted her time and talents to the home mission field among Spanish-speaking residents of Tampa, Florida in the late 1930's. There was excellent opportunity in this area, but she was frustrated because the Home Missions Board could not finance the work. The board sought expansion in Tampa, but was handicapped because of the scarcity of funds and numerous appeals from other needy places.¹⁰⁶ The *ARP* contains appeals for many worthwhile projects in home missions during the 1930's. Few could receive the limited resources available.

The Rev. T. B. McBride noted the "peculiar difficulties" faced by *ARP* home missionaries in 1938. The most important problem he faced was the severely limited resources available. McBride also felt that the small size of home mission churches gave them a poor reputation. A suc-

cessful evangelistic meeting for a small home mission church might yield two new members. A large ARP church might have a proportionally successful meeting resulting in sixty new members. Though the relative growth of the two churches would be equal, everyone would consider the small church's efforts unsuccessful. McBride saw the "distinctive principle" of the ARP Church, the exclusive use of Psalms, as a problem for home missions. He loved the Psalms and sought no change in the "distinctive principle." Yet the exclusive use of Psalms caused some prospective members to look at the church "as if we represent some strange mystical sect."¹⁰⁷

The Rev. N. E. Smith made a plea for home missions in the *ARP* in 1936. The home missionary, Smith asserted, had to "catch as catch can" for rent, food, clothing and transportation. The foreign missionary fared much better, he felt. There seemed to be no "glare and glamour" to home missions. Smith noted that foreign missionaries were frequently invited to ARP churches to "tell of their hardship, their work, etc., and this should be the case." These presentations were followed by a special offering. He knew of no home missionary ever invited to a large urban church to speak. Smith reported on the death of a "consecrated" home missionary. No minister in any position had sacrificed as much as this man but he was never invited to tell his story. Smith felt guilty for he had been as neglectful as everyone else.

Smith noted that home missions always lacked funds. "But the best we do about it is to indifferently smile." Synod asked for \$6,000 in 1935 to pay back salaries of home missionaries and the church responded with \$2,000. "More than that amount was raised for one Foreign Missionary's salary and travel expense and equipment. Is there anything right or just in such a discrimination?" Smith felt the denomination contributed less to the unpaid salaries of home missionaries than defunct banks paid depositors, yet "we call . . . those banks crooked." He concluded by warning readers of the *ARP* that the church's "home base" was falling apart and would soon not be able to support any work.¹⁰⁸

Stevenson endorsed Smith's opinions and felt that "if

any other enterprise than the church failed so largely to keep its promises to its employees, we would accuse it of dishonesty." His approach was to connect the home and foreign missionary efforts. He showed that each might benefit the other rather than comparing them as adversaries. Failure to exploit the foreign mission fields resulted, according to Stevenson, from the inadequate support given to home missions. The reason foreign missionaries were in the United States on extended furlough in 1938 was because the denomination was too small. Stevenson advocated expansion of the "home base" before a new foreign missions effort was launched. He saw the construction of McQuiston Divinity Hall at Erskine Theological Seminary as the first step. That facility should attract new seminary students who could expand home missions to provide an enlarged "home base" for new ventures abroad. Stevenson noted that this was not the sole reason for home missions. Evangelism at home was valuable for its own sake.¹⁰⁹

During 1935 an attempt was made to re-develop the Memphis ARP congregation. That church had been a flourishing one until most of its 500 members joined the Northern Presbyterian Church in 1932. The home mission church in Memphis began with thirty-seven members under the leadership of the Rev. Arthur M. Rogers. By 1939 a new building was occupied by this growing congregation.¹¹⁰ The development of this home mission church stirred interest in home missions in general. R. M. Stevenson examined the plight of home missions and pointed out a major problem. Home mission churches consisted of those congregations unable to sustain their budget obligations without outside support. All churches needing budget support were considered home mission efforts. Ideally these were new congregations whose growth would enable them to be self sustaining after a five or ten year period. In fact most home mission churches were not young, growing congregations. Often an attempt to found a new ARP church was not successful. For example the Red Level, Alabama church struggled for years without real growth. Despite the work of a number of dedicated and energetic pastors this church was not located in an

area conducive to growth and therefore languished. A second type of home missions church was the type that flourished fifty to seventy-five years before the 1930's but had declined to a point where self sustenance was impossible. Stevenson argued that these churches should not be classified as home mission efforts because they were "depleted and dependent" and should not be allowed to "absorb so large a part of our home mission fund."¹¹ Synod's Judiciary Committee was requested to define the term "home missions" to exclude the latter types of churches. This committee refused to take such a controversial step on the grounds that such a change was a question of administrative change and not an issue of church law. The Judiciary Committee did conclude that "the cause of Home Missions suffers in interest and appeal by a classification which throws together indiscriminately real mission fields and established and even decaying congregations whose only claim upon the funds of the Synod is the fact of their financial depletion."¹² This committee opposed abandoning older, non self-sustaining churches, but recommended that the Board of Home Missions develop a classification whereby old "decaying" churches would not be listed as home missions.

Stevenson calculated that the average age of a home mission church in 1936 was sixty-six years. Sixty percent of the home mission churches were over thirty years old. Seventeen were over fifty years old, ten had celebrated their centennial, and a few antedated the 1782 origin of the denomination. Of the 140 ARP congregations in 1936, forty-one were classified as home missions. Home missions was a classification based on financial status. To lump all dependent churches under the rubric of home missions was damaging to the appeal of church extension.¹³

The Board of Home Missions developed the term "sustentation" to define churches that were once self-supporting but were currently dependent upon some money from Synod. In 1938 there were eighteen home mission churches and twenty-six sustentation churches under the care of the Board of Home Missions. Many of these sustentation churches had been "feeders" for new

urban churches. The board advocated continued support for them because of their contributions to the denomination.¹¹⁴

The Board of Home Missions had an "animated" discussion over the future of sustentation churches at the 1938 meeting of Synod. The Rev. L. I. Echols offered the following motion which passed:

Resolved that the Synod direct the Presbyteries to dissolve the pastoral relation in each church which has an installed pastor, who is now receiving a supplement from the Synod, and that the present pastor become a supply, and that in the future Presbyteries refuse to install pastors over churches receiving a supplement from the Synod.¹¹⁵

This resolution was referred to the Committee on Bills and Overtures which altered the resolution and submitted it to Synod so that it might be sent to presbyteries in overture.

Shall Presbyteries dissolve the pastoral relationship in each church which now has an installed pastor and is now receiving supplement from Synod, and the present pastor become stated supply?

Shall Presbyteries in future refuse to install pastors where a supplement is asked?¹¹⁶

In the spring of 1939 the overture was debated in presbyteries. The ARP contains evidence of the positions on this question. The Rev. E. G. Carson listed several reasons he opposed the "sustentation overture." He considered it unnecessary and it did not follow the Golden Rule. Most sustentation churches, he claimed, paid from seventy-five to eighty percent of the pastor's salary. He knew that any large church might decrease in membership and call on help from larger churches. He compared older churches with declining memberships to an elderly father who becomes feeble. The elderly parent should be maintained comfortably by his children. The old sustentation churches, Carson argued, were parents who had produced numerous pastors and spawned other churches. These sustentation churches should be maintained comfortably in their "retirement" years.

Carson saw these churches as having the same rights as stockholders in a corporation. In the latter case the organization is run by fifty-one percent of the stockholders. In the former case a congregation that paid fifty percent of the minister's salary should have the right to select its own pastor. Carson incorrectly compared the presbyterian form of government to the government of the United States by claiming that in both instances the majority must always rule. He asserted that when a majority of a pastor's salary comes from the local congregation, that body should select the pastor.

Carson felt that the Northern Presbyterian Church was the presbyterian body in America with the closest links to the Church of Scotland. It was also the largest presbyterian church in the world and it allowed home mission churches to call a pastor if the congregation could contribute one-third of the minister's salary.

Finally, Carson compared the "sustentation overture" to the situation in eighteenth century Scotland where large landowners were allowed to select the local minister and where pastors' salaries were paid by the state. "Yet Ebenezer Erskine insisted that members of congregations should have a voice in the selection of pastors."¹¹⁷

The Rev. G. G. Parkinson examined the Book of Government's provisions relating to dissolution of pastoral relationships. He found that the "sustentation overture" was not covered by that document. He felt the welfare of the local church and of the entire denomination would suffer if there were a forcible disruption of the relationship between the pastor and a sustentation church for a mere "financial consideration." He agreed with Carson that "our church had its origin in protest against tyrannical presbyterial intervention in pastoral relations and should think very seriously before taking a step, and a rather long step, in that direction."¹¹⁸

Echols disagreed with Parkinson when he countered that The Book of Government gave general oversight of congregations to presbyteries. He answered Carson by arguing that the correct application of the Golden Rule would be served by passage of the overture. The Golden Rule, Echols argued, demanded equal treatment for all.

He felt sustentation churches enjoyed preferential considerations.

The overture, Echols argued, would make better use of God's money. Synod contributed to sustentation churches but had no voice in the way the funds were spent. The effect of the overture would be to encourage churches to raise sufficient funds to make themselves self-supporting. "Sentiment and custom have values which are large and fine, but they are far below the highest test in determining a course of right action."¹¹⁹

The overture was defeated overwhelmingly. The first section lost with twenty-six positive votes to 134 negative voices. The second section fared slightly better (twenty-eight to 122).¹²⁰

This decisive vote did not solve the problem faced by the Board of Home Missions. At the meeting of Synod in 1939 Catawba Presbytery memorialized Synod to request the Committee on Bills and Overtures to define the function of the Board of Home Missions regarding home mission churches and sustentation churches. That committee presented a detailed set of functions the Board of Home Missions had in operating home mission churches, but listed no duties that board had for sustentation churches. Stevenson endorsed this attempt to clarify the status of sustentation churches and felt that Synod should encourage them to become self-supporting. The Board of Home Missions more carefully defined its relationship to sustentation churches but could do nothing to free its work of church extension from the burden of carrying these churches.¹²¹

Throughout most of the fifty years after 1932 the home missions work was seriously hampered by the problem of sustentation churches. Partly a result of the rural to urban demographic patterns and partly a result of attempting to establish churches in areas unable to sustain a church, these small congregations drained valuable resources from church extension work. To abandon small congregations was an unpopular and undesirable action. A solution to this problem lay in providing support for what were called sustentation churches from some source other than the Board of Home Missions. After such a separation the

Board of Home Missions would be free to utilize its resources in establishing new churches.

In 1941 Synod appointed the Rev. J. Alvin Orr Chairman of its standing committee on evangelism.¹²² An emotional and forceful teacher, Orr had an immense influence on a number of college students. He met with young men and women at Erskine who were interested in church vocations. Orr would pray with them and his strong personality was a positive influence for a generation of college students in the 1940's. Several pastors who emerged as denominational leaders in the 1960's and 1970's were influenced by the personality of Orr to dedicate their lives to Christian service. Orr's selection as Chairman of the Committee on Evangelism was made in the same month that the Rev. C. B. Williams was elected as editor of the *ARP*. Williams also emphasized evangelism.

Williams attributed a decline in evangelism to two factors. Modern humanism had influenced the church adversely so that "the emphasis upon the social implications of the Gospel has overshadowed the emphasis upon its spiritual nature and purpose." Professional evangelists used "undignified, cheap and sensational methods" which caused ministers in "old line" denominations to rebel against such tactics. He advocated a dignified evangelism, not too cold to kill it, but not too warm. Although "we need not be afraid of spiritual warmth," Williams warned against the "maudlin and unnatural" stories that were the stock in trade for the "unnatural and unwholesome emotionalism" of modern evangelism.¹²³

Orr criticized church men who advocated donating funds to missions "because the coming of the gospel brings better hygienic conditions, leads to literacy and to better living." This was a "pale and anemic motive" for Orr because he emphasized salvation as the goal of all mission work. He asked his readers to "write down the names of those about us who have not Christ. Ponder over and over again what it means to them to be thus 'lost,' and what it means to Christ."¹²⁴

Through the columns of the *ARP* Orr and Williams sought to awaken the denomination to a new awareness of evangelism similar to that sparked in England by

Whitefield and the Wesleys.¹²⁵ The war time conditions were not conducive to such an evangelistic awakening. Two home missions projects that were important during this period were the Ybor City mission in Tampa, Florida and the Springdale mission in Lancaster County, South Carolina. The Rev. J. H. Snell was the home missionary at Springdale and a large number of men and women devoted themselves to the Ybor City mission.¹²⁶

Evangelism was emphasized by Synod during 1947. A Special Committee on Evangelism presented a report to Synod analyzing the status of evangelism in the denomination and recommending an emphasis be placed on home visitation. The Rev. Ernest Neal Orr chaired this special committee, the Rev. W. H. Blair was Secretary and its members were: Dr. C. B. Draffin and the Revs. R. E. Craig, M. W. Griffith, J. Alvin Orr, H. E. Pressly and W. O. Ragsdale.¹²⁷ The highlight of the 1947 Synod which met in Due West was a series of messages on evangelism delivered by the Rev. Guy H. Black, Secretary of the Board of Evangelism for the United Methodist Church. The thrust of his messages was that the emotional evangelism similar to that of the Rev. Billy Sunday would not work in 1947. Black advocated "personal visitation evangelism" as the most effective method. He outlined organizational procedures to conduct visitation evangelism, described how a church should assimilate new members and instructed his listeners on ways to reclaim inactive church members.¹²⁸ The 1947 emphasis on evangelism led to the involvement of laymen and numerous sermons devoted to that topic. The emphasis was not on "the sensational tactics of professional evangelists of some years past, but rather the definite, serious presentation of the Gospel and all its blessings upon the acceptance of faith."¹²⁹

The 1948 Synod adopted a report of the special Committee on Kingdom Extension, chaired by the Rev. R. C. Grier. This Kingdom Extension program was an outgrowth of the post World War II emphasis on evangelism and the awareness of church leaders that the denomination suffered from a scarcity of resources in many areas.¹³⁰

Kingdom Extension was an attempt to revitalize the church as well as provide for financial needs. The goals of the program included "a marked increase of students in the Seminary" and the addition of two thousand new church members for each of the two years of its duration. Although it is impossible to judge the success of such a venture adequately by a comparison of statistics, such a quantitative measurement is the only one available. Between 1948 and 1950 the church gained 734 active members (from 21,174 to 21,908) and 808 new tithers (from 4,552 to 5,360).¹³¹

The Kingdom Extension program may have contributed to some home mission projects of the early 1950's, but there was no marked increase in home mission work in the late 1940's. The Rev. J. B. McFerrin described the continuing problems of home missions in 1948. As in earlier years, the lack of resources was a major obstacle. Ministers were forced to rent living space, church facilities were usually inadequate, and equipment was lacking. As much as one-half the home missionary's salary was used to operate his automobile. There was no money for books and other reading material that might enhance his work. In small churches the pastor's role included work that was normally performed by laymen. The home missionary frequently taught Sunday school, acted as Superintendent of Sunday School, led the song service, and even took care of the building.¹³²

Shortly after the Kingdom Extension program Synod launched a five-year program that became known as the New Life Movement. Synod's evangelism committee recommended in 1951 that a five-year evangelistic program be planned and presented at the 1952 meeting of Synod.¹³³

A special committee to study this five-year evangelism program met in Columbia, South Carolina on December 4, 1951. Present at that meeting were the Revs. W. O. Ragsdale, W. H. Blair, M. W. Griffith, Mr. E. P. Barron, Dr. C. B. Draffin and Mr. R. B. Robinson. The Rev. L. M. Allison was present though not a member of the special committee. This group worked out the details for the first three years of the program. They decided to submit their

work to each presbytery to obtain suggestions in the spring of 1952. The group also asked the moderator of each presbytery to appoint a person to establish a "round table" group of the minister and three laymen in each church.¹³⁴

Programs were presented at various presbytery meetings and Synod adopted the New Life Movement, modeled on a successful venture of the Northern Presbyterian Church. The *ARP* devoted special headline space for the New Life Movement in the late summer of 1952. Pamphlets entitled "The New Life Movement of The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church," "The New Life Movement in the Local Congregation," and "The Fisherman's Club" were published for the program. The Revs. W. H. Blair (Director), L. M. Allison (Assistant Director), Robert J. Marshburn, and R. B. Robinson served as Synod's Committee for the New Life Movement. Presbytery Directors were: J. R. Love (Catawba), M. W. Griffith (First), W. F. Bratton (Mississippi Valley), Harry T. Schutte (Second), C. R. Lindsay (Tennessee and Alabama), and W. O. Ragsdale (Virginia). Emphases for the five-year program were: "Fishermen's Clubs," for personal visitation evangelism (1951-2); the assimilation of new church members (1952-3); uses of evangelism in prayer, meetings, visitation, preaching (1953-4); home missions (1954-5); and foreign missions (1955-6).¹³⁵

The Rev. E. Gettys, editor of the *ARP* in 1952, supported the New Life Movement through his editorial page. He warned that simply to walk up to a prospect and ask "Are you saved?" would merely produce anger. He recounted an experience of successful evangelism of his youth. Gettys and a group of other youths in his home church composed a list of twenty-one persons who were good prospects. The church's young people visited these prospects over a period of time and eventually all twenty-one became church members. Gettys warned against the discouragement that follows rebuff and recommended persistence that would eventually bear fruits.¹³⁶

The New Life Movement was not as successful as some might have expected. A significant increase in new church memberships, the greatest of the period 1932-82, took

place in the early 1950's. The conflict over church union occurred during the New Life Movement and resulted in numbers of ARPs leaving the denomination. The total church growth from 1951 to 1956 might have discouraged many. But the withdrawal of church members masked what was the most successful evangelistic movement of the period after the Great Depression.

A number of men dedicated their lives to the ministry and mission field during the New Life Movement. This was a second major success of the program.

The most successful aspect of the New Life Movement was realized in home missions. The First Rock Hill and Neely's Creek ARP Churches helped organize Rogers Memorial mission in Rock Hill, South Carolina on September 7, 1952. Johnson's Creek mission near Covington, Virginia was organized in the summer of 1952. The Ybor City Mission relocated in a new building at Orange Grove under the leadership of numerous persons and organizations headed by Miss Florence Craig. "Nearly-new" mission efforts were strengthened by the New Life Movement. These included Craig Avenue mission in Charlotte, North Carolina with the Rev. Stanley Bennett; Lyndon Grove in Augusta, Georgia with the Rev. Wilmer M. Hay; and the work of student supply Mr. Harold M. Mace at Candler Road mission in Brookhaven, Georgia.¹³⁷

The Rev. Edward L. Bland led the first worship service at the Allen Hills ARP Church near Charlotte, North Carolina, on January 9, 1956. It received \$10,000 from Synod when it was designated "church of the year" as a home missions project in 1955. Second Presbytery raised money for the Allen Hills mission and to improve the McCormick, South Carolina church with the addition of a manse. The Woman's Synodical Union supported most home missions efforts by contributing to virtually every special building cause.¹³⁸

On March 31, 1958 ground was broken for a building at the Edwards Memorial ARP Church in Cayce, South Carolina. This mission was named for the Rev. John R. Edwards whose widow died only one week after the church building was begun.¹³⁹

These projects were by no means all that were under-

taken during the period of New Life Movement. The work in home missions noted above represents the types of activities encouraged by this effort and symbolizes its greatest accomplishment for the denomination.

In 1961 Synod combined the work of home missions and evangelism in the new Office of Church Extension. Though the Boards of Home Missions and Evangelism remained separate for a few years after 1961, the work of both agencies was carried out by a Director of Church Extension. The creation of this position indicated a new interest in home missions. It was to be fifteen years before a director of foreign missions was selected. The Director of Church Extension was supplied with a secretary and office space in Charlotte, North Carolina.¹⁴⁰

In October 1961 the Rev. Thomas G. Morris wrote an article for the *ARP* on "The Needs of the Home Missionary and His Church." He noted the old problem of home missions: attempting to provide for the needs of new missions and at the same time maintaining sustentation churches. New missions could achieve success and become self-supporting in from five to seven years, Morris felt, if certain conditions were available. The new mission should be located in an area where a genuine need for a presbyterian church existed. The mission should be given sufficient space for building and \$50,000. If these conditions were met, success should follow.

Older churches that remained dependent could become self-supporting, Morris argued, if certain deficiencies could be overcome. Among these shortcomings were lack of space and equipment, strong spiritual leadership, and a denomination that offered support through a renewed interest in home missions. Although some older churches were located in depopulated rural areas, others were in areas where revival might be successful.¹⁴¹

Morris' analysis of the problems facing home missions was excellent. His solutions were tried in some areas with considerable success.

In the fall of 1961 the Rev. W. C. Lauderdale was selected as the first Director of Church Extension. Son of the Rev. D. T. Lauderdale, "Chap," as he was known by all, inherited his father's flair for the humorous and his

dedication to church extension. The father might well be remembered as an extremely popular personal evangelist. The son might well be remembered as a founder of ARP churches. Born in Virginia on August 29, 1924, the younger Lauderdale served his nation as a radar operator and gunner on a "B-17" during World War II. He was graduated from Erskine College in 1949 and earned his B.D. degree from Erskine Theological Seminary in 1952. Lauderdale occupied one pulpit, that of the New Perth ARP Church in Troutman, North Carolina, from 1952 until he became Director of Church Extension. With a personality that combined the bucolic and the urbane, his relaxed and informal manner enabled him to work with any person. His levity disguised an analytical mind capable of assessing issues and understanding the implications of actions long before others might arrive at the correct conclusions. This intellectual gift was frequently overlooked, but was the reason Lauderdale could select potential church locations for missions. Having been reared by one of the most popular mid-twentieth century ARP ministers gave him an unparalleled knowledge of the personalities in the denomination. Elected as Director of Church Extension in late 1961, Lauderdale served in that office until 1970 when he was appointed Vice-President of Development at Erskine College. The Rev. Clyde McCants replaced Lauderdale in the Church Extension Office and maintained the high standards set by his predecessor. In 1978 McCants was elected to a teaching position at the seminary and Lauderdale resumed the Directorship of the Office of Church Extension which he held in 1982.¹⁴²

Early in 1962 the Centennial Church memorialized Catawba Presbytery to memorialize Synod to establish a central office which would maintain a listing of names of ministers who were desirous of moving. A committee known as The Committee on the Minister and His Work would be established consisting of the seminary teacher who directed field work, the Director of Church Extension, and the Chairman of the Board of Home Missions to coordinate this list. This memorial took advantage of the new Office of Church Extension to aid the work of pulpit committees and to facilitate a move by a minister.¹⁴³

During the 1960's the Office of Church Extension helped found numerous missions. On December 1, 1963 Lauderdale assisted in the initial service of what became Eden Terrace ARP Church in Rock Hill. The Rev. Ray A. King organized this mission. Late in 1964 the Rev. R. B. Leubke began organizational work in Statesville, North Carolina for what became Covenant ARP Church. First Presbytery's active Committee on Church Extension worked with Lauderdale to establish a church in Burlington, North Carolina in 1965. This congregation was organized on February 21, 1965 with 160 signatures on the charter request. Services were conducted in an unoccupied shop until facilities were purchased from the Nazarene Church. On the same day the Burlington Church was organized, a petition signed by seventy-two citizens of Winter Haven, Florida requesting a church was approved by Florida Presbytery. The organizational meeting was held on March 21, 1965 in Winter Haven. The day after the Burlington Church was organized, a meeting was held in Gastonia, North Carolina by a group seeking Lauderdale's leadership to plant a new church in that city. Also in February 1965 the Rev. Grant Johnson resigned as the Gastonia ARP Church pastor to enter into the work of developing the Burlington church. The mission work in First Presbytery was vigorous in the mid-1960's.¹⁴⁴

Florida Presbytery was also active in church extension work. The Rev. James P. Pressly described the creation of the "Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church Extension, Inc." This organization grew out of a commission of Second Presbytery appointed to close two unsuccessful missions, Stuart Memorial and Orange Grove. Unwilling to accept defeat, church leaders in Florida formed the corporation to buy and sell property, borrow money, sign contracts, and receive funds for church extension. The corporation had a thirteen-member board and worked with Synod's Office of Church Extension and the Florida Presbytery's Committee of Church Extension after that Presbytery was created in 1964. By 1965 this organization had helped the Avon Park Church secure buildings, built a manse for the Rev. Kenneth Nordvall in Tampa, and aided the Winter Haven Church to secure a lot. This

unusual corporation was one way the home missions conscious Florida Presbytery carried out its effective program of church extension.¹⁴⁵

Moderators Charles Younts, Robert Marshburn, and Hazel Long published statistics on church growth in the 1960's. Each evaluation showed at best a sluggish growth rate for the denomination.¹⁴⁶ Florida Presbytery memorialized Synod in 1970 because of its concern over the lack of growth in the denomination.¹⁴⁷ Despite the efforts of the Office of Church Extension and the committees of Church Extension in presbyteries, church growth was disappointing in the 1960's.

In 1963 Synod merged the Boards of Home Missions and Evangelism in the Board of Church Extension and solved one of the most vexatious problems faced by home missions. Synod passed the motion that "over a period of five years [Synod will] remove its support from churches which have been in operation at the present date for 10 years and are not self-supporting and place this responsibility in the hands of Presbytery."¹⁴⁸ The old problem of sustentation churches was not solved but would no longer drain the limited resources of the Board of Church Extension. Five years later twelve congregations had been transferred to the care of presbyteries. Presbyteries attempted to group small churches together in a "larger parish ministry." Some small churches could be successful by cooperating with churches of other denominations. One of these "federated churches" was the ARP church in Rives, Tennessee. Since 1932 that church had shared pastors with a local Methodist church and a local Cumberland Presbyterian church. In January 1965 Hickory Springs, Arkansas ARP church was in the Edwards-Rogers Larger Parish in cooperation with three PCUS congregations.¹⁴⁹

In the 1970's Clyde McCants was as active in establishing new churches as Lauderdale had been in the 1960's. Under the leadership of the Rev. W. W. Orr the "Community Chapel-By-The-Sea" was organized at Melbourne Beach, Florida. This non-denominational endeavor grew rapidly after its first meeting in May 1971. In November 1971 Orr transferred from the United Presbyterian Church, United.

States of America (UPCUSA) to the ARP denomination. On November 18, 1973 Chapel-By-The-Sea entered Florida Presbytery as a mission and became an ARP church in a ceremony on March 31, 1974.¹⁵⁰

In 1974 two new ARP churches were begun that rapidly grew into strong congregations. On February 11, 1974 First Presbytery appointed the Rev. William F. Blakely as moderator of the Pinecrest Mission in Flat Rock, North Carolina. On June 16, 1974 twenty-nine members of the Greenville ARP Church were joined by three persons from other churches under the leadership of the Rev. James T. Corbitt to found the Grier Memorial Mission. On November 16, 1975 Grier Memorial ARP Church was organized with seventy-nine members. This was the first new church organized by Second Presbytery in twenty-five years.¹⁵¹

Other missions were established in the 1970's similar to those noted here. A different type of new ARP church joined the denomination in the 1970's. "Our oldest new church," according to ARP editor Zeb Williams, was the Ballston Center congregation. Organized in 1775, Ballston Center transferred from Albany Presbytery, UPCUSA to Virginia Presbytery on July 31, 1974. Following the merger of the Northern Presbyterian Church and the UPCNA to form the UPCUSA, and the proposed merger between that denomination and the PCUS, several congregations from these presbyterian bodies joined the ARP Church. First Presbyterian Church of Frostproof, Florida, and First Presbyterian Church of Sebring, Florida became ARP churches during the bicentennial year. Presbyterian Church of the Atonement, Silver Springs, Maryland; Kingsborough Presbyterian Church of Gloversville, New York; Kirkbridge Presbyterian Church of Manchester, Maryland; New Windsor Presbyterian Church of New Windsor, Maryland; and Piney Creek Presbyterian Church of Tarreytown, Maryland were other established churches that joined the ARP denomination in the late 1970's and early 1980's. In 1982 other congregations were following proper procedures to transfer to the denomination from other presbyterian bodies.¹⁵²

One unusual mission activity that was supported by in-

dividuals in the denomination began in the mid-1970's. The Rev. An Liem Nguyen was a protestant minister in South Vietnam for thirty years until American troops were withdrawn from Saigon. He and his family fled Vietnam on a fishing boat and eventually arrived at Fort Chafee, Arkansas. The Rev. Richard Leaptrott and a group in Statesville sponsored An. The Statesville group approached seminaries to see if An might receive additional training. Dean L. M. Allison of Erskine Seminary welcomed An, and individuals in the Due West Church gave support to the cause. Eventually An moved to Columbia, South Carolina to minister to the 200 to 300 Vietnamese in that community. Various ARP individuals continued to support this Christian mission to Vietnamese refugees.¹⁵³

The Office of Church Extension helped fund another atypical mission in the late 1970's. Jubilee House Community was organized by the Rev. and Mrs. Michael E. Woodard and Miss Kathleen Murdock in Statesville. The venture was undertaken to provide shelter and a worship experience for transients, for teen-agers, and a temporary foster care center. With money from the Office of Church Extension and an assessment by First Presbytery of \$2.50 per church member, Jubilee House Community began offering services in 1979. It attracted many more clients than had been anticipated. The community served Christmas dinners for lonely people, developed a crisis intervention service for persons without fuel, and conducted worship services. Always short of funds, at least one person of the three involved in this mission maintained full-time outside employment.¹⁵⁴

First Presbytery memorialized Synod for \$7,500 for Jubilee House Community for the 1983 year. Moderator C. A. Boswell's Committee on Stewardship recommended that the community be funded through the Board of Church Extension "if funds are available in 1983; and that beginning with budget year 1984, funding be through the normal budgetary process of the Board of Church Extension." This proved to be a controversial recommendation for which a substitute motion was adopted. By this motion Synod recognized "the validity of the ministry of JHC and

that First Presbytery be encouraged to take this ministry under its care as a 'special ministry.'¹⁵⁵

Bonclarcken

By the 1930's Bonclarcken was an accepted institution of the denomination. Youth groups from ARP churches spent enjoyable retreats there during the depression years. Activities for "Juniors," "Intermediates," and "YPCU" groups were more structured before the Second World War than in later years. Trips to Bonclarcken were known as "camping trips." The number of young people involved in these activities seems to have been quite large in the 1930's. For example, in 1932 twenty-five young people from York, led by Mrs. Joe Moss, camped on the grounds along with large delegations from numerous other churches. These campers found the setting ideal but sought a bugle which would "add greatly to the spirit of the conference. . . ." Speakers were imported and campers attended programs including "worship, recreation, social activities, instruction in child training, story telling and Bible study. . . ."¹⁵⁶

In 1935 a denominational effort was undertaken to pay off the \$14,207 "indebtedness" of the assembly grounds. The Bonclarcken Board of Trustees owned the conference grounds, and stock in the enterprise had been sold to finance the venture. The denomination did not own the assembly grounds until the debt was liquidated. Peggy B. Murdock in her excellent history entitled *Bonclarcken: A Story of Faith, Hope and Tenacity*, describes the financing of the assembly grounds.¹⁵⁷

During the late 1930's this drive to render Bonclarcken debt-free had strong support from the ARP. R. M. Stevenson maintained a running total of gifts and pledges during 1937. The total contributions constantly increased but at an agonizingly slow rate.¹⁵⁸ In 1943 Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Ellis, who devoted much time and money to Bonclarcken, gave \$6,000 to complete the drive to free the assembly grounds from debt.

In 1948 the Board of Trustees deeded the Bonclarcken property to Synod. Mr. and Mrs. Ellis presented Bonclarcken with a \$50,000 gift during the same year.¹⁵⁹

The Rev. J. L. Maloney was elected "President" of Bonclarken by Synod's Board of Bonclarken in 1949. Maloney's position carried two responsibilities: oversight of the physical properties and the promotion of religious work at Bonclarken.¹⁶⁰

During 1933-34 there was a movement to omit a meeting of Synod because of financial considerations. Some proposed Synod's meeting at Bonclarken on a permanent basis in the 1930's. Bonclarken was touted as an ideal location for Synod for numerous reasons. It was centrally located and had ample accommodations. Committees could meet with less inconvenience and there would be less time required to travel from meetings to meals and lodgings. In addition to these practical considerations, Bonclarken possessed what one commentator called an exhilarating atmosphere with desirable surroundings.¹⁶¹

Synod first met at Bonclarken in 1934, returned in 1941, 1943, and 1946. Beginning in 1949 Bonclarken became the regular location of Synod meetings except when special celebrations resulted in invitations for Synod to meet elsewhere. Between 1949 and 1982 Synod met in only three locations other than Bonclarken: Fairlea, West Virginia (1951); Little Rock, Arkansas (1957), and Due West (1960, 1964, and 1982).¹⁶²

In the immediate post World War II years there was a marked increase in Bonclarken activities.¹⁶³ This interest was one reason efforts were mounted in the 1950's to purchase additional property and improve facilities. The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Youth Religious Center, Inc. was formed by a group of interested laymen to secure property and raise money for improvements at Bonclarken. The most ambitious undertaking of this group was the attempt to purchase ninety acres with complete facilities known as the Brandeis property.¹⁶⁴ Although this effort failed, the organization added considerably to the sixty-four original acres. The "small group" credited with creating the Youth Religious Center, Inc. consisted of Messrs. Ralph Ellis, L. S. Weir, W. T. Betts, I. P. Patterson, the Revs. Frank Pressly and J. L. Maloney, "and others."

The failure to purchase the Brandeis property was a

challenge to the individuals involved. Quickly three additional tracts of land were located: six acres of the Johnson Motor Court, eight acres of Alston property, and thirteen "lake-site" acres. The Youth Religious Center raised \$22,000 and borrowed \$53,000 to purchase these tracts. Within four years this indebtedness was liquidated.¹⁶⁵

As soon as new property had been secured the Youth Religious Center began an ambitious drive to raise \$150,000 for major improvements at Bonclarken. L. S. Weir outlined his group's objectives in the *ARP*. The expansion included improving buildings, paving roads, adding hot water to the hotel, general maintenance, and purchasing new furnishings.¹⁶⁶

Weir continued to write articles supporting the fund drive. In 1963 he was able to report that over \$200,000 had been raised. The Youth Religious Center's original plans were expanded. The "new Bonclarken" of the 1970's was a much more sophisticated assembly grounds than the "old Bonclarken" of the 1950's. Much of the modernization was due to Weir and the other men who formed the Youth Religious Center.¹⁶⁷

In 1964 Mrs. T. A. Putnam informed *ARP* readers of the emergency needs of Bonclarken. As increasing numbers used the assembly grounds, water and sewer facilities became insufficient. Bonclarken was forced to purchase water from the city of Hendersonville and build a new waste disposal system. The money that these projects demanded was raised from Bonclarken's property owners and from a denomination-wide appeal.¹⁶⁸

In 1961 Maloney resigned as manager of Bonclarken. "L. S. Weir and Miss Lillian Quinn served as managers of Bonclarken for the 1961 season." From 1962 until 1967 Mr. I. G. Patterson served as manager and Mrs. W. A. Young, a permanent resident, was employed as assistant manager. During the 1977-78 season Mr. Orba L. Smith managed the assembly grounds.¹⁶⁹

On May 15, 1968 the Rev. Harold Mace became Director of Bonclarken. Mace continued to serve the institution until the spring of 1981. Mr. Joseph Marston served as Acting Director following Mace's resignation. In October 1981 Mr. Ronald T. Cannell assumed the duties of Director.¹⁷⁰

During the thirteen years Mace served as Director several major improvements were completed at Bonclarcken. The motel was opened in 1968. In 1973 the "Together With Vision" fund drive was launched. This drive was to construct a new dining room, kitchen, and youth facility, and had a goal of \$462,000. The campaign was extremely successful with \$471,912.42 in cash and total pledges of \$535,050.92 by May 28, 1974.¹⁷¹

The ground-breaking ceremony for the new facility was held on June 4, 1975 at Synod. The lower level of the new facility was first used on April 2, 1976, and the entire facility was completed for the 1976 summer season. The new eating area and youth facility was attached to the front of the old hotel and its exterior design harmonized with the old structure's facade.

The availability of money from the successful campaign resulted in renovation projects. Improvements in Memorial Hall included "winterizing" and air-conditioning the facility. The kitchen and dining room area of the old hotel was transformed into an attractive "new office complex, front desk and reception area," an enlarged gift shop, four new classrooms, and restroom facilities. Bonclarcken's facilities were more modern and more sophisticated than at any previous time.¹⁷²

In 1959 the ARP Youth Religious Center purchased a 100 acre tract known as the Pinecrest property. Portions of this land were sold to raise money to liquidate the indebtedness incurred by its purchase. In 1977 the last of this Pinecrest property was divided into fourteen lots and offered to ARP buyers. These lots were private and not included as part of the assembly grounds.¹⁷³

Mace attempted to utilize Bonclarcken's facilities to increase the income of the assembly grounds by hosting non-ARP groups. By 1977 "sixty percent of the generated income . . . [was] derived from rental to groups other than Associate Reformed Presbyterians." This management practice was designed to make maximum use of the facilities, thereby decreasing the amount of financial support Synod needed to provide. ARP groups were scheduled first, and non-ARP groups were served during weeks when no church meetings were planned.¹⁷⁴

In October 1980 a new cost accounting system was implemented at Bonclarcken. Designed by the accounting firm of Pannell, Kerr, Foster & Co. and financed by Mr. J. K. Stuart, a member of the Board of Trustees, this system provided detailed financial information to "greatly facilitate the work of the Trustees."¹⁷⁵

In 1981, under the leadership of Mrs. Elizabeth Huffman of the Bonclarcken Board, the constitution of the Board of Trustees was revised.¹⁷⁶

These changes in management procedures benefited the work of Cannell as he assumed the responsibilities of Director in 1981.

From 1932 to 1982 hundreds of dedicated church persons contributed to the growth of Bonclarcken. It is impossible to recognize all of these individuals. In the post World War II period three individuals should be noted for their significant contributions to Bonclarcken. J. L. Maloney managed the assembly grounds during a period when funds were limited. Under his leadership Bonclarcken grew in size and the modernization of facilities was begun. L. S. Weir represents those interested church persons whose talents and resources were devoted to the improvement of the assembly grounds. Weir was among the founders of the ARP Youth Religious Center, served for years on the Board of Trustees, and continued to publicize the needs of Bonclarcken during the 1960's. Harold Mace concluded the modernization of the facilities and exhibited a keen awareness of the need for the facilities to be utilized efficiently to generate revenue for proper maintenance. These three leaders by no means deserve all the credit for the transformation of Bonclarcken. They are, however, representatives of the many persons who have devoted so much time, energy, and money to make Bonclarcken an excellent assembly ground.

Erskine College and Seminary

Erskine, as was the case with all church agencies, had difficulty during the depression years. The Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States granted accreditation to the institution just before the lean

years of the 1930's began, largely because of the leadership of President R. C. Grier. In 1932 that association warned that " 'your faculty is far below the expected standard. Your library expenditures are not up to par. It is not tolerable to have salaries below the regulations as a regular thing, only for present circumstances. There is much work yet for you to do.' "177

By 1935 the endowment for the institution stood at only \$363,000. Yet during the period 1932-1939 the annual operating budget showed a deficit only one year (1932). One major reason for balanced budgets was the willingness of faculty members to accept "an amount less than the salaries which the Board of Trustees fixed for them."178

The 1930's was a decade when aid from the federal government provided economic relief to the college in a variety of ways. Beginning in 1933-34 the National Youth Administration gave direct aid to needy students. By 1936-37 this source provided \$6,000 income for the college budget of \$86,000. This constituted almost seven percent of the income for the 1936-37 academic year. The Federal Land Bank and Home Owners Loan Corporation was "actively engaged in refinancing real estate loans." Erskine's venture into real estate investments had turned sour, but in the 1930's federal loans allowed individuals to purchase land from the college producing "material progress . . . in the liquidation of mortgages on real estate. . . ." In 1938 the Works Projects Administration provided money to help construct a new "municipal gym." Named the McGee Gymnasium, this facility was to be available for the use of the general public since government money was responsible for its construction. In 1934 government funds were used to build a 1,200 seat athletic field and an amphitheater behind Robinson Dormitory known as the "Terraces."179

Despite the adverse economic conditions the student population remained close to 350 for most of the 1930's. Some individual gifts even enabled the college to construct new buildings. Mr. T. G. Patrick of White Oak, South Carolina gave \$9,000 to construct a home for the college president. Dr. W. H. McQuiston of Monticello, Arkan-

sas gave the college \$40,000, part of which was used to build a new seminary building.

Erskine students were able to utilize a popular entertainment medium of the 1930's. Musical programs by students were aired over stations such as WSM in Atlanta and WBT in Charlotte. Listeners from as far away as Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas wrote letters of appreciation to the ARP. Mr. Z. V. Butts and his student orchestra appeared on three broadcasts. The "Erskine Choir," as it was called in 1932, performed at many churches. In 1952 Miss Helen Ligon, a voice instructor at Erskine, held a competition among members of the mixed chorus. The best sixteen vocalists were selected for a new choral group Ligon named the "Erskine Choraleers." This group performed at college functions and in churches throughout Synod after 1952.¹⁰⁰

One of the legacies of the 1927 merger of the Due West Female College and Erskine College was a divided Alumni and Alumnae organization. At a January 1932 meeting in Spartanburg, South Carolina the Erskine College Association was formed to "create a unified activity in the interest of Erskine College." Everyone who had attended Due West Female College, Erskine, or the Seminary was invited to join this association, that eventually became the Alumni Association. Attending this meeting were Mrs. S. L. Boyce, the Revs. R. L. Robinson, R. C. Grier and Mrs. E. R. Young. Officers elected at this meeting were: S. W. Rabb, President; Ruth Boggs, First Vice-President; Julian Miller, Second Vice-President; Eloise Phillips Watkins, Secretary; and R. S. Galloway, Jr., Treasurer. During the early months of 1932 organizational meetings of the Erskine College Association were held in numerous locations. The Association planned a special meeting at Erskine during the commencement period. Ruth Boggs urged all who had attended one of the three institutions to visit Erskine to renew contacts and for "the revival of college spirit. . . . We are planning a special program for classes that will have reunions at this time and hope to have members of classes for the five year periods for the past forty or forty-five years . . . present." The ARP reprinted an article from the *North Carolina Christian Ad-*

vocate and addressed it to Mr. Rabb and Miss Boggs. This article reported the story of a man who entered heaven but found no ARP friends there. He asked an Angel why heaven contained no ARPs and was told: " 'they are down at Due West attending commencement.' " The Association had a luncheon hosted by the Abbeville chapter on May 30, 1932 in Erskine's athletic building (the Alumni Gymnasium). A constitution and by-laws were adopted and this very active organization was launched.¹⁸¹

Another program initiated in the 1930's proved of great importance for the college. The college endowment gave little return for the institution. To compensate for the small income from the permanent endowment, Dr. J. R. Young proposed a method of securing income from friends of the college who would serve as a "living endowment." The title "Erskine Living Endowment" was selected because the "principle" consisted of Erskine's living graduates rather than an endowment fund. Mr. D. G. Phillips was in charge of the Living Endowment campaign in 1939. R. C. Grier told Erskine's friends they were the untapped resources the college needed to survive. The "interest" from the Living Endowment would, Grier hoped, provide a regular annual income.¹⁸²

Before the effects of the Great Depression were over, Erskine was challenged by the Second World War. The conflict threatened to depopulate the school, for women as well as men joined the war effort. C. B. Williams warned ARP readers that the future of the college was at stake, and "the efficiency of the entire denominational program is bound up with the efficiency of its educational program." He emphasized the importance of parents sending their children to Erskine. In 1943 Erskine held its first winter graduation as it adjusted to wartime conditions. The leadership was preparing to close the institution for the duration of the war.¹⁸³

R. C. Grier managed to keep Erskine open by "The New Order at Erskine." This was an "Erskine Aviation Cadet Unit," whose training center was Erskine College. Two hundred cadets arrived in the early months of 1943 and a new group of cadets arrived each five months, the duration of a training cycle. In addition to military instruction,

the cadets took basic college level courses in math, English, physics, geography, history, and physical education. The Board of Trustees agreed to sign a contract with the War Manpower Commission after receiving assurances that the government would help maintain "basic moralities."¹⁸⁴ This program was remembered fondly by ex-cadets who continued to visit Erskine as late as the 1980's. Again President Grier had risen to a challenge that threatened the institution.

Late in 1944 Erskine hired its first full-time student recruiter, Mr. J. W. Beard. Some extraordinary effort was needed to increase the number of students as World War II was ending. Beard was "to keep our college before our people and, particularly, to interest an increasing number of our young people in attending Erskine." Only three men students were graduated in 1945. By 1949 forty-nine men and thirty-four women were graduated.¹⁸⁵

The anticipated difficulty in attracting students was a major problem for Erskine after the Second World War, but the crisis did not occur until the 1950's. The "G.I. Bill" provided government money for service men to obtain a college education after 1945. The impact of this legislation was of major importance for Erskine, as numerous service men used the "G.I. Bill" to swell the ranks of the student body. By the early 1950's most of those who used the "G.I. Bill" at Erskine were graduated. Without this non-traditional source of students, the college struggled for several years in the early 1950's.

In the 1930's the college Board of Trustees established a list of "imperative needs." Included on this list were a new science hall and a new library. The college library was located in two buildings used primarily for classrooms. By 1949 the Reid Science Hall and McCain Library, named for Erskine professors E. L. Reid and J. I. McCain, were constructed. These facilities were dedicated on November 18, 1949.¹⁸⁶

By 1952 enrollment at the college had dropped to 335 from a total of 445 in 1949. *ARP* editor E. Gettys urged his readers to support Erskine. "Let us not have a defeatist attitude about the college. It is in good standing. Let us work together to keep it in good standing. . . ." Grier quoted

from an article on the problems facing liberal arts colleges in America during the early 1950's. One-half of these institutions had budget deficits. Inflation increased costs of colleges and enrollments declined. Grier noted that Erskine experienced the same problems as other liberal arts institutions.¹⁸⁷

On April 2, 1954 R. C. Grier resigned as President of Erskine. Grier served the college during periods of great challenges. He constantly sought means to combat the financial woes of the 1930's. He invented the "6% Plan," whereby ARP Sunday School classes were asked to make an annual contribution to Erskine of six per cent of the church budget. He developed the Erskine College Association and the Living Endowment. During the Second World War he secured the contract making Erskine a cadet-training facility. Despite the shortage of money, Grier was able to finance the construction of several buildings on campus. Had it not been for the leadership of this man, the institution might have collapsed during the 1930's and early 1940's.¹⁸⁸

During the depression and war years the seminary adopted changes to strengthen its program. At the 1932 meeting of Synod the Rev. L. I. Echols made a successful motion naming a committee consisting of the Revs. J. L. Oates, G. G. Parkinson, R. L. Robinson, Paul Pressly, and E. N. Orr to study expanding the curriculum from a two-year to a three-year course of study. Though such an expansion was desirable, the financial conditions would not allow for its implementation in 1933. The study committee recommended that several measures be adopted until the institution could expand. The study committee also recommended consolidating teaching duties with the college, since the primary purpose of that school was to train men for the ministry. It also felt seminary students could become assistant pastors for one year so they would gain field experience. Another attempt to provide "practical instruction" was the suggestion that one pastor from a rural church and one from an urban congregation each deliver five days of lectures to seminary students. The committee admitted that these recommendations could not be im-

plemented without some additional money. The suggestion of providing a seminary student with a year under the guidance of a local pastor was judged as excellent in 1934, but no funds were available to allow all students to participate in the experience. In 1935 the Rev. C. B. Williams introduced a resolution that passed Synod. It resolved "that the college administration, in conjunction with the Dean of the Seminary, take immediate steps toward extending the work of the Seminary into a standard three-year course." In 1936 the seminary introduced a new curriculum requiring sixty-nine semester hours of credit plus twelve hours required work in the undergraduate experience. Greek and Hebrew were re-introduced and R. C. Grier offered new courses in "Bible Reading" and "Public Speaking."¹⁸⁹

The Rev. R. L. Robinson served as Dean and guided the seminary through the depression. Robinson maintained an extensive personal library including contemporary religious periodicals. He loaned journals and books to students and encouraged them to keep abreast of the main currents of protestant thought. He died on January 10, 1939, and was followed by the Rev. G. G. Parkinson who was elected Dean on April 7, 1939.

Parkinson was over-burdened with work as a seminary professor, publisher of the Adult Sunday School material, part-time editor of the *ARP* (R. M. Stevenson's declining health caused him to be absent from the editorial chair), and as the chairman of the Board of Foreign Missions. He served as Dean of the Seminary until a permanent replacement could be secured.

In December 1941, the Rev. W. W. Boyce was inducted as Dean of the Seminary. Boyce served in that capacity for almost twenty years. He came to the seminary from the Frist ARP Church of Charlotte in June 1939 to begin teaching courses formerly offered by R. L. Robinson. A 1909 graduate of Erskine College, Boyce earned the B.D. degree from Erskine Seminary in 1911. He held several pastorates in the ARP denomination and was a missionary to Mexico for four years. An avid collector of period antique furniture, Boyce was a popular teacher and a model

for many seminary students from the 1940's through the 1950's.

The Rev. J. Alvin Orr from the UPCNA joined the seminary faculty in December 1939. Orr's position was an addition to the staff necessitated by the curriculum expansion.¹⁹⁰

R. L. Robinson lived to see the McQuiston Divinity Hall constructed but died before it was dedicated. This structure, the first separate one for the seminary, was built for \$15,000 from funds donated by Dr. W. H. McQuiston of Monticello, Arkansas. Classes were held on the first floor which also contained a chapel. Dormitory space was included on the second floor. During the 1960's most of the rooms on that floor were converted to faculty offices. The building was opened for classes in January 1939 and was still used in 1982.¹⁹¹

In 1932 Catawba Presbytery memorialized Synod asking that each presbytery establish a committee to examine all who felt a call to the ministry. Those who would commend themselves to the committee were to be encouraged. The committee would discourage or suggest "other channels of Christian service to such as the committee judges unfitted for the ministry." The memorial was not adopted. "That which lies back . . . [of the memorial] is what is commonly considered an over supply of young ministers . . . at the present." R. M. Stevenson questioned the wisdom of the memorial. He felt the over supply of ministers might be an illusion. Some ministers, he argued, made poor impressions until they gained experience. A screening process would result in the rejection of such persons. R. L. Robinson acknowledged in 1934 that "for some years the Associate Reformed Church has had difficulty in placing all the graduates of the Seminary."¹⁹² In 1936 the seminary reported that "although the attendance is smaller than we desire, we have not thought it wise to increase the number lest the supply should be in excess of the demand." At the time there were five undergraduates planning to enter the seminary. "We are of the opinion that the Synod should call upon pastors to present the claims of the ministry to promising young men. They will be needed by the time they are ready to take up such life work."¹⁹³ By 1942 five

ministers were graduated from the seminary and all received calls by early June of that year. By 1945 a "critical shortage" of ministers existed in the denomination. Five ministers died during 1944, there were thirteen serving in the armed services (twelve chaplains and one line officer), and no student had enrolled in the seminary. Even if all ministers in the armed services returned to congregations, a shortage would exist because of numerous retirements. Ministers volunteered to preach afternoon sermons as supplies to churches with vacant pulpits. The *ARP* called on more ministers to offer their services as supply pastors.

In 1945 W. W. Boyce began to publish articles in the *ARP* to encourage men to become ministerial candidates. C. B. Williams proposed ruling elders serving vacant pulpits during the ministerial shortage.¹⁹⁴ These solutions were not successful for by 1948 the shortage of ministers still existed.

"C.B.W." published a letter in the June 30, 1948 *ARP* evaluating the shortage of ministers. He did not believe low salaries were a valid cause of the shortage. Some argued that the seven years of study required of ministerial candidates discouraged many but the writer disagreed. The theory that science was more exciting than religion was viewed as a symptom, not a cause of the problem. The writer felt that young men in the 1940's were more inclined toward religion than men of the 1930's. He saw the influences that resulted in a decision for the ministry as complex, partly subjective and mystical, and partly conscious. A spiritual call must exist, "but the Spirit used what we called natural means as well as supernatural." He felt the secular trends after World War II discouraged men from the ministry. He called on *ARP* "pastors and people, through earnest prayer and heart-searching and reliance upon the Spirit, [to] make their worship services a deeper experience of the presence of God; when the Church . . . glorifies its peculiar task, the shortage of ministers will hardly remain the major problem of the Church."¹⁹⁵

The College Board of Trustees established a committee, chaired by J. Alvin Orr, to induce young men to enter the ministry. Seminary students published articles describing

how they felt called to the Gospel ministry. By 1950 the seminary enjoyed its largest enrollment of twenty-three students. Non-ARP students began attending the seminary just prior to World War II. Of the twenty-three students in 1950, sixteen were from the ARP denomination. By 1952 there were thirty-one students, and twenty-one were ARP students, the largest number of ARP students since the seminary opened in 1837.¹⁹⁶ This remarkable increase in enrollment demonstrated what could be accomplished through a united church effort.

Mr. Joab Mauldin Lesesne was named Acting President of Erskine at graduation in 1954. He took office on June 1 and Mr. C. A. Boswell, Chairman of the College Board of Trustees, announced that Lesesne had been named President in March 1955. Lesesne was the first layman President, the first from a non-ARP family background, and the first with an earned doctorate. Boswell named Mr. W. H. Stuart, Sr. as Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Board in 1954. Stuart's experience as a businessman was utilized as he helped the new president develop new accounting procedures. Stuart's greatest contribution was in emphasizing the need for long-range projections for the institution. Grier had attempted long-range planning in the 1940's to cope with the anticipated enrollment problems after World War II, and now Lesesne enjoyed the advantage of Stuart's expertise in long-range planning. The latter relied on Mr. Eugene Bass, a business associate, in helping Lesesne develop a ten-year projection of the college's needs and ways to meet those needs. With the aid of Stuart and his associate, Lesesne was able to introduce standard business methods of making projections.¹⁹⁷

The results of careful planning were immediate and astonishing. The Erskine College Development Fund, a Synod-wide effort directed by a committee chaired by Mr. Joseph Patrick, was begun in October 1954. The original goal was to raise \$300,000 to construct a men's dormitory. By December 22, 1954, \$630,036.83 had been pledged to the Erskine College Development Fund. Of \$640,000 eventually pledged, over \$600,000 had been paid by February 1957. According to the fund's Treasurer, Mr. G. G. Parkinson,

an Atlanta foundation donated an additional \$50,000 as a reward for the collection of \$600,000. No other fund-raising project of any agency of the denomination has ever matched this remarkable achievement. Its success was due to Lesesne's leadership, the expertise of men such as Stuart and Patrick, and the fact that no major money-raising campaign competed with the effort.¹⁹⁸

The Board of Trustees approved the construction of Grier Dormitory for men in 1955. This was the first of three dormitories built during Lesesne's term of office. Both Pressly, for men students, and Kennedy, a women's dormitory, were completed during the 1959-60 school year. A new dining hall to which the Watkins Student Center was soon added (1964) was completed in 1959. Much of this construction was made possible by low interest loans from the federal government.¹⁹⁹

Part of the planning initiated in 1954 was the "600 By '60" campaign. The ten-year long-range plans (1955-1965) called for an increase in the size of the student body. The first stage was to enroll 600 students by 1960. Under Lesesne's leadership the denomination was urged to aid the college in its quest for "600 By '60." Academic Dean E. A. Sloan, Business Manager Charles H. Carlisle, and Dean of Men G. G. Parkinson contributed articles to the *ARP*. The college enrollment in 1954 was 299 undergraduates. After matriculation in the fall of 1960 there were 569 undergraduates and forty-nine seminarians enrolled. The "600 By '60" goal was exceeded by eighteen!²⁰⁰ The college had never experienced such growth in the size of its student body or in its physical plant.

In 1963 the College announced the 125th anniversary year, 1964, would be celebrated by the Anniversary Fund with a \$750,000 goal. Though this goal was not attained, a substantial portion of the money was raised.²⁰¹

On Friday, October 16, 1964, Mr. Henry Oates, Dixie High School's football coach, returned from an out-of-town game. At 10:00 p.m. he drove by the "women's campus" and saw flames in the rear of Bonner Hall. Built in 1860 as the first structure for the woman's college, this building was known as Main Building until 1939 when it was renamed in memory of the Rev. J. I. Bonner, first

President of the Due West Female College. Despite the efforts of local fire departments Bonner Hall was consumed by the fire.²⁰² The need to replace the classroom space lost by this fire was met later in the decade.

In September 1965, 221 freshmen arrived on campus to swell the undergraduate student body to a new high of 733. In October 1965 Lesesne announced he would retire effective February 1, 1966. Mr. Joseph Wightman was appointed Acting President at that time and was elected unanimously by the Board of Trustees as President on January 27, 1967.²⁰³

Lesesne not only gave the college new structures and an enlarged student body (from 299 to 733), he also began the process of attracting a highly qualified faculty. His period of leadership was one of the most impressive in the school's history. The auditorium in the Erskine Building was remodeled in the mid-1960's and named Lesesne Auditorium to honor his contributions to the institution.

Wightman's most important contribution to the college was in the faculty he hired. The academic credentials of Erskine's faculty by 1970 were impressive. Wightman, as Lesesne before him, emphasized the recruitment of superior students. When he resigned in 1973, Wightman left an institution whose academic quality was superior to that of any time in its past.

In November 1966 the Board of Trustees approved a ten-year plan to increase enrollment and add to the physical plant. This ambitious program was not completed because student numbers began to decline for colleges and universities in the early 1970's. During Wightman's presidency a large classroom and office building, Belk Hall, was constructed (1967). Bonner Hall, a residence hall for women students opened in the fall of 1970. Major renovations in the Erskine Building and the dining facility were completed in anticipation of larger enrollment.

Throughout Wightman's tenure there was criticism of Erskine from some quarters of the denomination. Colleges sponsored by churches frequently face criticism from church members whose attitudes toward campus life differ from institutional policies. For example, the introduction of college-sponsored dances at Erskine sparked con-

troversty in the early 1950's. Synod approved dancing on the Erskine Campus in 1952, partly because the venerable and always proper Dean of Women, Miss Elizabeth Nickles, promised to "interview" each off-campus male escort. D. T. Lauderdale was one church leader who opposed dancing at Erskine. This issue may have been one reason Lauderdale refused an honorary degree in 1951. In one of the most humorous commencements in the school's history, Lauderdale attempted to deliver a speech explaining why he was refusing the degree. All the while Academic Dean E. A. Sloan, who did not understand Lauderdale's objective, tried to place the academic hood over the protesting minister's head. Lauderdale claimed he had a sufficient number of titles: for eight years he bore the title R.F.D., he had an AB degree, and upon six occasions had received the PA degree. On a more serious note, Lauderdale felt the Bible recognized "no castes, or ranks" among Christ's ministers.²⁰⁴

There was criticism of "Erskine college professors who are not professing Christians" at the 1958 meeting of Synod. A motion to limit funds to the institution was defeated that year.²⁰⁵

Criticism of the college and seminary on theological issues and the issue of compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act was great during the 1960's. During the late 1960's and early 1970's college and university students in the United States became outspoken and "student rebellions" on campuses were commonplace. Although Erskine remained a conservative campus, students there entertained ideas about dress, consumption of alcoholic beverages, and other issues that were at variance with the values held by many members of the denomination. The major change at Erskine was not in increased consumption of alcohol during the 1960's and 1970's. Students insisted on being "honest," "non-hypocritical," and in being "more open" than previous generations. Although illegal drug use doubtlessly was a fact of student life, it was not a major problem and certainly was less evident at Erskine than at other institutions. The "alienated youth" of the age of the "generation gap" contributed to tensions between the church and college communities. In the late 1960's col-

lege policy was changed so that students who consumed alcoholic beverages off-campus were not violating college rules. This policy change resulted in a flurry of criticism from members of the denomination.²⁰⁶

The 1970 Synod recommended that Erskine's Board of Trustees and administration conduct several "listening sessions" in various sections of the denomination. These events were designed to allow college officials to explain institutional policies and for members of the denomination to express their attitudes. Concerns expressed at these "listening sessions" included fears that the college was not creating sufficient interest in the spiritual life of students. Some felt the college was "drawing away from the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church" because: its high costs were prohibitive for many ARP young persons, some administrators and faculty were "not in the true tradition" of the church, and Bible professors were not members of the denomination. Student behavior was criticized as being too permissive. There was concern "about some personalities, in particular the motives of a professor and an administrator who resigned in 1970, and the teachings and life style of a member of the English Department." Some who voiced their opinions questioned the "doctrinal soundness" of the seminary.

In 1971 the college's report to Synod explained the concerns of those who spoke at the "listening sessions." Many were supportive of the college and the "outlook and philosophy" of church persons varied considerably. Many alumni exhibited a "yearning for the past when the College was more homogeneous. . . ." Educational and financial pressures had forced the college "to become more heterogenous" in its hiring practices and other policies. The "generation gap" of the 1960's had caused considerable difference between campus life and the more traditional attitudes of many church persons.²⁰⁷

Wightman retained an amazing degree of equanimity as he balanced the radical demands of some students and the reactionary attitude of some critics. His objectivity never faltered for he realized the college was the focal point between young people demanding change and their critics who resisted change.

Under Wightman's leadership the student body grew to a record level of 772 undergraduates in 1971.²⁰⁸ The faculty increased in numbers and in the quality of its academic training throughout his tenure as president. The physical plant in 1973 was in excellent condition and was larger than at anytime in the college's history. In May 1973 Wightman resigned as President effective June 20.

In 1959 the Rev. L. M. Allison was elected Dean of Erskine Seminary. Over the next four years the faculty at that institution changed considerably as Allison carried out the commitment to secure accreditation. He solicited new students with greater success than at anytime in the seminary's history. By 1963 there were twenty-seven ARP students out of a total enrollment of forty-five. In April 1961 the first Richard Lee Robinson Memorial Lectures were held. This lecture series exposed theology students to nationally-known speakers and served as a continuing education service for ARP ministers. Students at the seminary led by Mr. Fred R. Archer, Jr. and Mr. James W. McQuiston irregularly published a journal containing book reviews and articles. In 1976 Allison retired as Dean of the seminary after a rewarding eighteen years of service.²⁰⁹

The Rev. Randall T. Ruble, a faculty member at Erskine Theological Seminary since 1965, was installed as the institution's Dean on September 7, 1976. Challenged by other seminaries that were attracting ARP ministerial students, Ruble campaigned aggressively to increase the number of students attending Erskine Seminary. His efforts brought results and the institution's enrollment climbed during the late 1970's and early 1980's. Realizing a need for continuing education in urban areas, Ruble instituted classes in Greenville, South Carolina, taught by faculty from Erskine Seminary. By 1982 total enrollment, including part-time students, exceeded that of any year in the past, though the number of full-time ARP students did not exceed the 1963 high. Ruble secured funds to repair and refurbish McQuiston Divinity Hall. In October 1979 the Ruth Camp and Henry Campbell Foundation of Franklin, Virginia awarded the Seminary a \$100,000 grant for continuing education. The off-campus courses and

other types of continuing education programs were funded from that source.²¹⁰

The major accomplishment of the seminary under Ruble's leadership came in 1981 with the successful self-study resulting in full accreditation by the Association of Theological Schools. The movement to gain accreditation began in the early 1950's and was accomplished because of the dedicated work of Deans Boyce, Allison, and Ruble.

In June 1973 the Rev. M. Stanyarne Bell was elected President of Erskine. He quickly began a study of the institution's financial needs and in 1974 the college announced the "Greater Distinction for Erskine" campaign. This campaign's goal was to raise \$13,000,000 by the institution's 150th anniversary in 1989. Plans called for construction of new buildings and a substantial increase in the permanent endowment. By 1982 the total amount pledged to the campaign had reached \$10,800,000.²¹¹

The 1970's was a decade of declining enrollments for most private institutions of higher learning. Erskine's experience was not an abnormal one. Although the enrollment figures fluctuated, the general trend was downward from a high of 772 undergraduates in 1971 to a low of 602 for the spring of 1982.²¹²

Criticism of the college by the church constituency continued during the mid-1970's. The struggle over inerrancy in the denomination involved the college and seminary. Changes in social regulations on campus were controversial. The Board of Trustees approved a new policy which allowed the consumption of alcoholic beverages by a student in his or her dormitory room. Students were also allowed to have members of the opposite sex in their dormitory rooms during certain hours. This new "visitation" policy and altered alcoholic beverage policy provoked a storm of controversy among some of the college constituency. Opposition to these changes contributed to a directive from Synod which ordered the college Board of Trustees to revoke the policy changes. The Board of Trustees asserted its autonomy to oversee the college. Some changes in the "visitation" policy mollified critics.²¹³

The Erskine community was shocked and saddened on February 9, 1981 with the death of Stanyarne Bell, the on-

ly President to die in office in the twentieth century. He established close personal relations with many students, spending hours counseling troubled youths. Bell was a careful manager of funds, adept at maintaining balanced budgets in a difficult economic period for private higher education. During his tenure the Younts Infirmary was constructed. Although he did not live to see its completion in 1981, the Galloway Physical Activities Center was built as part of his Greater Distinction for Erskine campaign. Bell was able to continue strengthening the academic life of Erskine by hiring practices and by significantly increasing the academic scholarship program. The E. B. Kennedy Scholarships, originally created under Lesesne's presidency, were increased to provide three full academic scholarships during the Bell years. Named in honor of the Rev. E. B. Kennedy, Professor at Erskine for thirty-five years, these awards were financed by Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Stuart, Sr. In 1982 the number of E. B. Kennedy Scholarships was increased to four per annum.

Following Bell's death Mr. Jimmy A. Knight, Academic Dean, was appointed Acting President of Erskine. In June 1981 Mr. William Bruce Ezell, Jr. was elected as the eleventh President of Erskine.

As Ezell began his tenure the college faced a challenging future. During the 1960's plans to expand the size of the institution to meet larger enrollments resulted in significant faculty and staff increases. As student numbers declined in the 1970's, there was no decline in the size of the staff and only a slight reduction in the number of faculty members. By 1982 one of two alternatives seemed inevitable. The institution had to increase the number of students or decrease the number of employees.

Challenges for Erskine were the norm from 1932 to 1982. R. C. Grier's struggle against adversity was successful as he led the college through the Great Depression and World War II. J. M. Lesesne began to modernize the institution's physical plant, increase its student population, and improve its faculty. Joseph Wightman completed the modernization of the physical plant, attracted the largest enrollments in the institution's history, and stressed the importance of a strong academic program.

Stanyarne Bell added to the physical plant, continued to hire academically superior faculty, and frugally managed finances to keep the budget balanced. Each of these presidents met the challenges of his tenure and maintained the excellent academic tradition of Erskine.



Chapter VI

ARPS ARE BORN, NOT MADE

The Rev. D. T. Lauderdale once wrote: "I believe that the expression 'A. R. Presbyterians must be born and not made,' is as false as two of the writer's front teeth."¹ The growth of Virginia Presbytery, where Lauderdale was such an effective evangelist, may be used to support his claim. The growth rate of the denomination as a whole indicated that ARPs are born, and not made.

Between 1932 and 1982 the church was faced with the challenge of adjusting from the status of a church in a rural culture to the position of a church in an urban and largely secular culture. The denomination was not particularly successful in its response to that challenge if membership statistics are the units of measurement.

Although the total number of communicant members in the ARP Church increased by thirty-one per cent between 1930 and 1980, the growth was primarily in the decade of the 1940's. Between 1950 and 1979 membership increased slightly. From 1980 to 1982 the church actually lost members.² The membership growth rate declined from twenty-five per cent between 1940 and 1950 to six per cent between 1950 and 1960. From 1960 to 1970 the growth rate was only four per cent and in the next decade it was less than one per cent.³

One might assume that the post Second World War period would be a time of substantial church growth. The denomination emphasized church extension by establishing a full-time Director of Church Extension. Rather than producing rapid growth, that office probably kept the growth rate from declining more precipitously.

A second reason one might have anticipated large membership gains after 1945 was the growth of the white population in counties containing ARP churches. In consulting census records, the total population figures were ignored in favor of the records of whites or native whites.⁴ The denomination did not appeal to black Americans.

Between 1930 and 1980 the white population in counties containing ARP churches increased one hundred and ninety-four per cent from over two million whites to

almost seven million. The most dramatic gains were registered in metropolitan areas of the Southeast. De Kalb County, Georgia contained 57,465 whites in 1930 and 354,536 in 1970, a five hundred and twenty-two per cent increase. Although this example is an extreme one, most counties containing ARP churches experienced increases in white population between 1930 and 1980.

It is significant that the only decade from 1930 to 1980 when the church enjoyed real growth was that of the 1940's. During the 1940's the white population in counties containing ARP churches grew by twenty-four per cent while ARP Church membership increased by twenty-six per cent. Most of the increase in population during the 1940's came from indigenous growth. In subsequent decades much of the gain in the statistics on white population in counties containing ARP churches was the result of in-migration. With the exception of some larger urban centers such as Charlotte, Atlanta, and Memphis, much of the white population in the Southeastern United States in the 1930's and 1940's was relatively homogenous and not too dissimilar from the area's white population in former decades. This demographic milieu was conducive for a church membership increase which paralleled the increase of white citizens.

One method of analyzing church growth is to compare the number of church members to the total white population of the area being examined. In 1930 there were 926 ARPs for every 100,000 white persons in counties with ARP churches. By 1940 that number had declined to 788 but it increased to 802 by 1950. In 1960 there were 707 ARPs per 100,000 white population and only 599 by 1970. The failure of the church to attract new members and the startling growth rate of the white population resulted in 414 ARPs per 100,000 by 1980.

The inability of the denomination to appeal to the large numbers of new white residents can be seen in the experience of "the Atlanta area." This area contained the Doraville Church, one of the larger-than-average churches. Yet another old congregation, Tucker, struggled to maintain its existence, and McElroy Memorial, once a promising mission church, closed its doors.

The problems with church growth can be seen on the presbyterial level in Florida Presbytery.⁵ Between 1930 and 1940 ARP membership decreased by ten per cent in Florida. By 1950 it grew by seven per cent and by over fifty per cent in each of the next three decades. The growth rate of Florida churches from 1930 to 1980 was a remarkable four hundred and thirty-three per cent, from 534 to 2844. These 1982 data include the 489 persons who belonged to the Covenant Church that subsequently withdrew from the denomination.

This dramatic church growth compares to a white population increase that is nothing short of astonishing. Between 1930 and 1980 the white population of Brevard, Highlands, Hillsborough, Orange, and Polk counties grew from 212,732 to 1,500,000, a six hundred per cent increase. In Polk County, which includes the Bartow Church (the mother church of Florida Presbytery) the white population increase between 1930 and 1980 was three hundred and eighty-seven per cent. The ARP Church growth rate, including the Covenant Church, almost kept this pace with an increase of three hundred and seventy-six per cent.⁶ In 1980 Polk County contained over half of all ARPs in Florida. Between 1930 and 1970 there were between 800 and 900 ARP Church members per 100,000 white inhabitants in Florida counties containing ARP churches. The 1980 census data show that there were 191 ARPs per 100,000 whites in those counties.

These statistics are misleading and demonstrate a weakness in relying exclusively on any statistical analysis. The white population of the five Florida counties containing ARP churches grew by thirty one per cent in the decade ending in 1980 while church membership grew by fifty per cent. In spreading into new populous counties after 1970, the presbytery increased the number from which it sought members by over two million white persons. Although a comparison of ARP Church membership to total white population is a standard method of analysis, it produces a figure that does not describe reality for Florida Presbytery in 1980. Yet this analysis demonstrates that even in Florida Presbytery the ARP Church faces a dilemma of attempting to expand in the face of extremely

rapid population growth caused by in-migration of a heterogeneous white population. In Highlands and Polk Counties, the locations of older ARP churches in Florida, the number of ARPs per 100,000 white persons declined from 898 in 1970 to 682 in 1980.

Virginia Presbytery enjoyed a steady growth rate from 1930 to 1970. Its pattern of growth was not similar to that of the denomination. In 1930 there were 844 ARPs in Virginia Presbytery for every 100,000 white persons. That number changed to 861 in 1940, 1,242 in 1950, 1,354 in 1960, and 1,401 in 1970. By 1980 Virginia Presbytery included two small churches in New York with a combined membership of 173 located in Fulton and Saratoga Counties, that contained 205,646 white persons. In 1980 there were 433 ARPs per 100,000 white persons in Virginia Presbytery. Excluding the New York churches, the number of ARPs per 100,000 whites declined to 623 from the 1970 figure of 1,401.

In Tennessee and Alabama Presbytery the white population remained relatively constant from 1940 to 1980.⁷ With little in-migration that population grew by only seventeen per cent during these decades. If a rapidly-growing heterogeneous population of white persons presented problems in church growth for the denomination, then these problems should not be evident in Tennessee and Alabama Presbytery. ARP Church membership growth for that presbytery is related closely to the white population figures. White population and church membership in Tennessee and Alabama Presbytery declined in the 1950's. Both groups increased in the three other decades after World War II. During the 1960's both white population and church membership grew by six per cent. In the 1970's the white population increased by eight per cent and church membership increased by seventeen per cent. The number of ARPs per 100,000 white population was relatively constant and averaged 773 during the period. In 1980 that figure was 760. In this presbytery a homogenous white population provided an environment for slow but steady church membership gains.

This analysis of church growth can not explain the reasons ARP Church membership has not grown at a rate

equal to the growth rate of the white population. The above analysis does suggest that the white population in counties containing ARP churches is of a nature in some way dissimilar to the nature of persons who enjoy membership in the denomination. The message offered by the denomination does not appeal to many who have moved into the region or who have moved from rural areas within the region to metropolitan centers. The ARP Church historically has been reluctant to reformulate its message to appeal to an increasingly pluralistic and heterogenous population. Some would argue that the message of the church has been confused and that it should maintain a position similar to that of the church in past times. If a particular message would produce dramatic church growth, the ARP Church did not present that message between 1932 and 1982.

If the growth patterns of the thirty years prior to 1980 continue for the next three decades, the denomination will not shrink relative to an exploding white population, but will suffer an actual membership decline as evidenced in 1979-82. History cannot be used to predict the future. It is possible that the ARP Church will offer a traditional message of stability in the future that will speak to thousands of new converts who find themselves in a meaningless pluralistic society lacking stability.

A perusal of the accessions, losses, and net gain or lost columns in the statistical tables of the *Minutes of Synod* suggests an additional problem in church growth. Although these statistics seem to be much less reliable than those indicating total communicant members, the net gain or loss does not reflect fluctuating church growth. These figures show a fairly stable accession and loss rate until the late 1940's. During the years following the Second World War there are higher numbers of persons joining and leaving the church. During these years the denomination sponsored the Kingdom Extension and New Life Movement, designed to increase membership. The adage that "ARPs are born, not made" is substantiated to some degree in that large accessions are matched by larger than normal losses. Evidently some new church members remained in the denomination for a short period. In 1953

there were 1,896 losses and 1,761 accessions for a net loss of 135 members, the first net loss since 1930. In 1954 and 1955 losses were higher than any previous year save 1953. One explanation for these high losses is that they were persons who became ARPs during the evangelistic period of the early 1950's and after a short time dropped out of the church.

Another explanation for these losses lies in the fact that they followed hard on the heels of the abortive union movement. The Sardis Church and most of the First Charlotte Church as well as numerous individuals from other congregations transferred their memberships to churches of other denominations. Those were the years the ARP Church struggled over the issue of hymns. Those supporting the use of hymns argued that abandonment of the exclusive use of Psalms would result in increases in church membership. Hymns were allowed in ARP churches and membership declined.

After 1955 church membership increased slightly until 1964 when there was a net loss. The accession and loss columns of the *Minutes of Synod* show a net gain of twenty-six members in 1966. The statistics taken from the total membership and active membership columns of the *Minutes of Synod* both indicate net losses for 1966. During 1964 and 1965 the denomination was in the throes of the "compliance" struggle. The issue of Erskine College complying with the 1964 Civil Rights Act kept the church in turmoil. These years of contentiousness were years of membership losses.

The 1970's were years of little real net membership gains. The decade ended with net losses of 135 in 1979 and 347 in 1980. The 1970's was a decade of theological controversy in the denomination that was climaxed at the end of the decade with the "inerrancy" dispute. As in former times, a net loss of members occurred during these years of conflict within the denomination.

This examination of years of net membership loss for the ARP Church suggests that internal conflict that seems indigenous to the denomination is not healthy for church membership gains. Almost all within the church (one can be sure that all ARPs will never agree on anything) would

agree that each should work for peace, purity, and prosperity for the denomination. It is doubtful that the conflicts over hymns, church union, compliance, and inerrancy have produced purity. Each conflict has destroyed the peace and damaged the prosperity of the church.

The number of young people enrolled in church schools and the number of women involved in church activities have changed. Participation in church activities by women reached a peak in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Women of the Church membership declined during the 1970's, though the average number of women belonging to women's groups during the 1970's was greater than that of the 1930's. Doubtlessly the more involved role of women in all activities contributed to participation in church activities by a proportionately higher number of women. Despite increased activities by women, the membership of women's groups declined in the 1970's.

The decline in the number of children in church school activities was fairly steady after the 1930's. There was an increase in children in church schools during the late 1950's and early 1960's. This increase might be explained by the demographic pattern of church membership which is not available. During these years those born during the "baby boom" would be enrolled in church schools. The decline in the number of young people in church schools reached a point in the late 1970's where there were just a little more than one-half the number that had attended church schools in the 1930's.

The declining participation of women and young people in church activities might suggest still another reason the denomination has experienced growth problems. The secularization of modern society was felt in the Southeastern United States after 1960. This dominant cultural environment certainly mitigated against church involvement and produced numerous entertainment alternatives that lured persons away from church activities. As the church receded from the center of activities that it was in the rural culture of the South before 1940, Sunday evening services and Wednesday "Prayer Meetings" were dropped by many ARP congregations. This trend away from the church and toward a secular society made church

growth difficult and can explain the declining participation of women and youth in church activities.

Growth patterns of the denomination during the years after World War II have been studied by various Moderators.⁸ None of these evaluations was optimistic. Yet there is reason for optimism when considering church growth in the period after 1982. The denomination has achieved remarkable success in its endeavors when it was united and worked together toward a common goal. It behooves each member of the denomination to consider that the church's history from 1932 to 1982 demonstrates the dangers of contentiousness and the rewards of cooperation.

Footnotes

Chapter I

¹*MS*, 1932, p. 366; *ARP*, May 11, 1932. Members of the committee proposing changes were: the Revs. David T. Lauderdale, J. L. Grier, G. R. White, G. G. Parkinson, Oliver Johnson, Paul A. Stroup, R. T. Nelson. See *MS*, 1932, p. 40. The first suggested change was to replace the official name of the church "The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod" with "The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church." Informally, the denomination, according to proposal number two, should be called, "Associate Reformed Presbyterian" rather than "Associate Reformed."

²*ARP*, November 9, 1932.

³*ARP*, May 11, 1932.

⁴*ARP*, November 9, 1932; February 8, 1933.

⁵*ARP*, February 22, 1933.

⁶*ARP*, May 3, 1933; *MS*, 1933, p. 437.

⁷*ARP*, April 5, 1933. In this letter Parkinson complained that the proposed change in item sixty-nine asked the question "shall the Book of Psalms be the authorized manual of praise in our churches?" Since the proposed change finally submitted by First Presbytery did not include the phrase, one must assume Parkinson was either misinformed or criticism such as his caused a change in the document's wording. His objection was that by limiting the Book of Psalms to the authorized manual of praise, the possibility existed for churches to utilize "unauthorized" non-Psalms songs and remain within the letter of the law. There is no hint that the phraseology of the version Parkinson criticized was intended to allow churches to sing hymns. There is also no indication that Parkinson was adamantly opposed to hymns. He called for a wording that would present an honest question so that the will of church courts could be determined.

⁸*ARP*, March 14, 1934. Committee members from the *ARP* church were T. H. McDill, J. P. Pressly, S. L. Morris, R. A. Dunn, and J. R. McCain. Though the *PCUS* members of the joint committee went on record as favoring union, the *ARP* delegates merely wished that the proper action would be taken.

⁹*ARP*, March 28, 1934.

¹⁰*ARP*, March 28, April 4, 11, 18, 25, 1934.

¹¹*ARP*, March 28, April 4, 11, 1934.

¹²*MS*, 1934, p. 514; *ARP*, May 2, 1934.

¹³*ARP*, May 9, 1934.

¹⁴*MS*, 1934, pp. 532-33. The vote does not indicate if the negative voters wanted to sing hymns, or if those dissenters did not wish *ARP* Church members to be able to sing hymns in non-

ARP churches. The latter situation would be permitted by the change.

¹⁵ARP, February 2, 1944.

¹⁶ARP, April 12, 1944.

¹⁷ARP, April 19, 1944.

¹⁸MS, 1944, pp. 21-22, 49.

¹⁹ARP, March 20, 27, 1946.

²⁰ARP, May 3, 1944. There was one person, W. W. Boyce, who served on the two important committees dealing with the church's attitude toward Psalms and the race issue. In 1944 he was emerging a leader in the denomination. Twenty years later he was retired. John R. Edwards, a major church leader of the pre-Second World War church served on the Committee of Nine to deal with Psalms. His son, Charles E. Edwards, an equally strong leader in the post war church, was a member of the Committee of Nine that dealt with the race issue.

W. W. Boyce voted with the majority in 1944 and with the minority in 1964. J. R. Edwards was with the minority in 1944, his son was a strong spokesman for the majority position in 1964. Though he lost in 1964, he and his son, Harry Edwards, continued to fight for a position of openness for the ARP church on the issue of race.

²¹ARP, May 3, 1944.

²²ARP, August 9, 1944.

²³MS, 1945, pp. 172-76.

²⁴ARP, December 5, 1945.

²⁵ARP, October 3, 1945.

²⁶ARP, November 21, 28, 1945.

²⁷Col. 2:16.

²⁸ARP, September 12, 9, 1945; Conversation in 1982 with J. M. Lesesne, Sr.

²⁹ARP, September 19, 1945.

³⁰ARP, September 5, 1945.

³¹ARP, October 3, 1945.

³²ARP, January 9, 1946, See also the ARP, November 8, 1944; January 2, 16, 23, 1946.

³³ARP, March 27, 1946.

³⁴ARP, March 20, 1946.

³⁵ARP, March 20, 1946.

³⁶ARP, March 27, 1946.

³⁷ARP, February 20, 1946.

³⁸ARP, March 6, 1946.

³⁹ARP, March 20, 1946.

⁴⁰ARP, March 20, 1946.

⁴¹ARP, March 27, 1946.

⁴²ARP, April 3, 1946.

⁴³ARP, April 3, 1946.

⁴⁴ARP, April 3, 1946.

⁴⁵MS, 1946, pp. 324-25; ARP, April 17; May 1, 8; June 5, 1946. The committee to study church property were laymen John E. Gettys, Chairman; W. Gist Finley, and M. G. McDonald.

⁴⁶ARP, June 19, 1946.

⁴⁷Minutes of First Presbytery, April 13, 1943, p. 4; ARP, October 20, 1943.

⁴⁸MS, 1943, pp. 502-504.

⁴⁹ARP, February 2, 1944; April 28, 1943.

⁵⁰ARP, April 5, 1944.

⁵¹ARP, April 5, 1944.

⁵²ARP, April 12, 1944.

⁵³ARP, April 12, 1944.

⁵⁴ARP, April 19, 1944.

⁵⁵ARP, April 12, 1944.

⁵⁶ARP, May 3, 1944.

⁵⁷MS, 1944, p. 56.

⁵⁸MS, 1944, p. 4.

⁵⁹*The United Presbyterian*, reprinted in ARP, July 23, 1947.

⁶⁰*Minutes of Second Presbytery*, May 31, 1949, pp. 4, 6.

⁶¹ARP, June 5, 1949; MS, 1949, pp. 197-98, 210. The "Woman's Synodical Missionary Union" became the "Woman's Synodical Union" during this period. The newer title is used here.

⁶²ARP, July 13, October 26, 1949; *The Christian Observer* as reprinted in ARP, May 24, 1950.

⁶³ARP, June 14, 1950.

⁶⁴ARP, October 25, 1950.

⁶⁵ARP, October 4, 11, 1950; January 17, 24, 31, February 7, 1951.

⁶⁶*Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, April 10, 1951, p. 5. The panel leading this conference consisted of the Revs. A. J. Ranson, speaking for the union, and L. M. Allison, in opposition. Elder John E. Gettys spoke on the question of church property. R. A. Lummus' memorials called for the addition of a number of layman proportionate to the ministers on the committee considering union and the imposition of a three-fourths majority requirement for the vote.

⁶⁷ARP, January 31, 1951.

⁶⁸ARP, May 16, 1951.

⁶⁹ARP, April 18, 1951.

⁷⁰ARP, April 25, 1951.

⁷¹ARP, May 9, 1951. Members of the Woman's Synodical Union were evidently not dissatisfied with the future of that organization in a united church. Women who spoke out against union did

not mention any negative impact on the Woman's Synodical Union. *ARP*, February 28, May 30, 1951.

⁷²*ARP*, May 2, 9, 23, 1951.

⁷³*ARP*, February 28, 1951.

⁷⁴*ARP*, May 2, 1951. Mrs. Patrick was Elizabeth Plaxco, daughter of Moffatt Plaxco.

⁷⁵*ARP*, April 25, 1951.

⁷⁶*ARP*, May 2, 1951.

⁷⁷*ARP*, May 23, 1951.

⁷⁸*ARP*, May 23, 1951.

⁷⁹*ARP*, May 30, 1951.

⁸⁰*ARP*, May 23, 1951.

⁸¹*ARP*, February 28, 1951.

⁸²*ARP*, February 28, 1951.

⁸³*ARP*, May 9, 16, 23, 1951.

⁸⁴*MS*, 1951, pp. 476-78. *ARP*, June 13, 20, 27, 1951.

⁸⁵*Minutes of First Presbytery*, October 9, 1951, p. 6.

⁸⁶*ARP*, October 17, 1951.

⁸⁷These arguments did not appear in print. They were encountered during conversations with persons involved in the 1951 Synod. Such evidence deserves the credibility awarded to participants in this emotional meeting who attempt honestly to recall the events from a distance of thirty years.

Had Synod voted to unite with each of the potential partners in turn, there would have been a change in the voting patterns. Those favoring union without reservations would have been joined by all those who wanted union with the PCUS, then by all favoring union with the UPCNA. For example, those in favor of union with the PCUS but opposed to union with the UPCNA would have voted for union with the PCUS. As the argument presented has it, these voters would have voted negatively on the Union question out of fear that the union would have been with the UPCNA. Yet this change could have been relatively insignificant in light of the two-to-one voting margin.

⁸⁸*Minutes of First Presbytery*, October 9, 1951, p. 6; *Charlotte Observer*, as reprinted in the *ARP*, October 17, 1951.

⁸⁹*ARP*, November 7, 1951.

⁹⁰*ARP*, October 17, November 28, 1951.

⁹¹*Minutes of First Presbytery*, December 11, 1951, pp. 2-11; *ARP*, December 19, 1951. See the letter from M. W. Griffith to the planning committee of First Presbytery dated October 22, 1951 printed in *Minutes of First Presbytery*, December 11, 1951. Those at the October 5 meeting from First Presbytery were the Revs. S. L. McKay, W. H. Blair and M. W. Griffith. The Revs. W.

R. Echols, A. M. Rogers, W. P. Grier, Jr. and R. M. Kerr were present from Catawba Presbytery.

C. B. Williams' letter from the Due West meeting of October 11 contains information not included in Griffith's report but no information that does not appear elsewhere. Williams characterized the ministers present from Second Presbytery as "unofficially representing the sentiments of the Due West community and the several institutions and agencies of the General Synod here located." The proposals Williams described as those discussed were: to do nothing and allow the situation to run its course, the proposal of Moderator Stroup, to reopen union talks with the UPCNA and the PCUS.

⁹¹*Minutes of First Presbytery*, December 11, 1951, pp. 2-11.

⁹²*Minutes of First Presbytery*, April 8, 1952, pp. 5-6; *ARP*, April 16, 1952. *ARP*, October 17, 1951; *Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, September 4, 1951, p. 15. Lummus was acting on the expectation that First Presbytery would grant the Sardis request. His motion was made at a meeting held prior to the fall meeting of First Presbytery where the Sardis case was introduced. It was December 11 before the Sardis request was honored by First Presbytery. Lummus repeated his motion at Synod in 1952 and it was debated fully.

⁹⁴*MS*, 1952 p. 18, Some moves for union continued. In the fall of 1952 the sessions of Chalmers Memorial and Tabernacle asked First Presbytery to reconsider uniting with the PCUS as a unit. First Presbytery defeated this request by a thirty-four to eighty vote. *Minutes of First Presbytery*, October 14, 1952, p. 7; *ARP*, June 11, October 8, 1952.

⁹⁵*Minutes of First Presbytery*, October 14, 1952; *ARP*, September 17, October 22, 1952.

⁹⁶*MS*, 1953, p. 198.

⁹⁷According to Black's Law Dictionary a demurrer "in effect . . . is an allegation that even if the facts as stated . . . [are] true . . . their legal consequences are not such as to put the demurring party to the necessity of answering them or proceeding further with the cause." The Sardis majority was asking the court to rule in their favor without further litigation. The Court dismissed this motion.

⁹⁸*MS*, 1953, p. 198; 1954, pp. 362-63; 1955, p. 529; *ARP*, November 3, 1954, March 9, 1955.

⁹⁹*MS*, 1956, p. 60; 1957, p. 239.

¹⁰⁰By the fall of 1953 the Revs. R. M. Kerr, H. L. Patrick, W. M. Boyce, and S. L. McKay had transferred to other presbyterian denominations. *ARP*, April 16, July 30, 1952; September 23, 30,

1953. Readers familiar with this period of ARP Church history can doubtlessly name quite a few other ministers who left the denomination in the 1950s. The above were those whose departure was noted in the *ARP* through 1954. An assessment of the impact on membership losses appears elsewhere. The total membership and active membership figures from the 1950-1960 *Minutes of Synod* for Sardis and First Charlotte follow. At the end of 1980 First Charlotte had eighty-six members and forty-three active members. *MS*, 1980, p. 528.

Year	First Charlotte		Sardis	
	Total	Active	Total	Active
1950	713	713	395	355
1951	726	592	412	350
1952	696	552	451	365
1953	360	n/a	139	—
1954	313	110		
1955	310	200		
1956	343	193		
1957	355	355 [sic]		
1958	379	205		
1959	391	211		
1960	386	188		

Chapter II

¹*ARP*, July 22, 1936.

²*ARP*, October 20, 1937.

³*ARP*, January 15, 1936

⁴*ARP*, March 5, 1941; April 21, 1943.

⁵*ARP*, May 20, 1936; December 14, 1938. The writer thanks the Rev. Merwyn Johnson of the Erskine Seminary for an explanation of various types of millennial thought. Any confusion in this description is the result of the writer's lack of familiarity with millennialism.

⁶*ARP*, February 24, 1937. Stevenson was quoting a popular commentator of the day, Charles E. Jefferson, when he used the "glorified Rotarian" example.

⁷*ARP*, October 24, 1934.

⁸*Minutes of First Presbytery*, October 14, 1979, p. 22; March 9, 1976, p. 21. In 1981 Second Presbytery began a study designed to produce a paper on the Charismatic movement. As of this writing that paper has not been adopted but is not basically dissimilar to the First Presbytery's position.

⁹*ARP*, September 30, November 4, 1936; January 13, 1937.

¹⁰*ARP*, November 29, 1939.

¹¹ARP, July 30, 1941.

¹²ARP, February 6, 1946.

¹³ARP, October 8, 1946.

¹⁴ARP, February 8, 1950.

¹⁵ARP, May 7, 1952.

¹⁶ARP, May 7, 1952. No note is taken of the attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church in foreign fields. That attitude will be covered elsewhere.

¹⁷ARP, March 26, 1941.

¹⁸ARP, October 20, 1943.

¹⁹ARP, October 24, 1951. Orr's knowledge of the United States Constitution was not extensive. He was wrong on both counts.

²⁰ARP, October 31, 1951.

²¹ARP, November 7, 1951.

²²ARP, February 17, July 27, August 17, 1960.

²³MS, 1975, p. 90.

²⁴Hodge argued that human life began when the infant first took a breath. He based this contention on several Biblical passages that referred to the "breath of life."

²⁵ARP, June 14, 1939. Stevenson never endorsed the Federal Council of Churches but his language indicates he was not hostile to it. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America was a forerunner of the National Council of Churches. Also, see ARP, January 16, October 23, 1935.

²⁶ARP, April 21, September 8, 1943.

²⁷ARP, November 1, December 13, 1950; January 3, 10, 1951.

²⁸MS, 1953, pp. 166-67.

²⁹MS, 1958, p. 448; 1959, p. 565. ARP, June 17, 1959.

³⁰ARP, March 16, 1966.

³¹MS, 1966, p. 602. ARP, June 15, 1966.

³²ARP, January 31, 1951.

³³ARP, November 5, 1952.

³⁴ARP, November 5, 1952.

³⁵MS, 1963, p. 638-39; 1964, pp. 57-58.

³⁶MS, 1965, pp. 286-88, 331-32; 1967, p. 815; 1975, pp. 106-108.

³⁷ARP, January 27, 1971.

³⁸ARP, October 17, 1973.

³⁹ARP, January 27, 1971, October 17, 1973. MS, 1975, pp. 104, 108. Synod's Committee on Inter-Church Relations did not include as many denominations whose individuals have been members of the National Presbyterian and Reformed Fellowship as did the author of the January 27, 1971 ARP article. The 1975 MS lists the following as denominations from which individuals have come to join the fellowship: Christian Reformed Church; Orthodox Presbyterian Church; Presbyterian Church in

America; Reformed Church in America; Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod; Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America; and the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

⁴⁰*MS*, 1975, pp. 103, 108-112. The proposed constitution for NAPARC was printed in the *Minutes of Synod. MS*, November 19, 1975.

⁴¹*MS*, 1976, p. 280; 1977, p. 504; *ARP*, March, 1977.

⁴²This debate over the nature of the inspiration of the Scriptures summed up in the "inerrancy and infallibility" terms will be discussed below.

⁴³*ARP*, December, 1977, p. 3.

⁴⁴*ARP*, January, 1978, p. 30.

⁴⁵*MS*, 1978, p. 694.

⁴⁶*MS*, 1979, pp. 81-82.

⁴⁷*MS*, 1981, pp. 441-49.

⁴⁸*ARP*, August, 1982, p. 9; *The Presbyterian Journal*, June 30, 1982, p. 7.

⁴⁹*ARP*, August 29, 1934.

⁵⁰*ARP*, October 20, 1937.

⁵¹*ARP*, January 29, 1936.

⁵²*ARP*, March 3, 1943. C. Brice Williams was the *ARP* Editor in 1943.

⁵³*ARP*, August 5, 1936. Two typographical errors in the original have been removed from this quotation. As quoted in the *ARP* the last phrase, taken from Moffatt's speech, was printed as: "no matter how incompatible with human reason or incomprehensible to human understanding [sic] is [sic] may be."

⁵⁴*ARP*, August 5, 1936.

⁵⁵*ARP*, March 31, 1937.

⁵⁶*ARP*, March 31, 1937.

⁵⁷*ARP*, June 21, 1939.

⁵⁸*ARP*, March 22, 1944.

⁵⁹*ARP*, January 12, 1944.

⁶⁰The Scopes Trial of 1925 was the famous "monkey trial" where the state of Tennessee implemented a state law which made it a criminal offense to teach the theory of evolution in the public schools of Tennessee. *Inherit The Wind* was the popular film which presented the story to the public.

⁶¹*ARP*, November 13, 1935. Stevenson defined "plenary" as "full and complete inspiration of the whole Bible." He did not define further the term in any source consulted. He obviously did not use the words "plenary verbal inspiration" to describe the positions he represented as that of the *ARP* Church. Others did

use that phrase. McKay included it in his article. *ARP*, June 21, 1939.

⁶²*ARP*, November 13, 1935; April 1,8, June 24, September 2, December 2, 1936.

⁶³*ARP*, January 4, 1939. Personal conversation with John Leith.

⁶⁴*ARP*, October 13, 1943; January 16, 1949. The particulars of this argument and Williams' position are discussed elsewhere.

⁶⁵*ARP*, August 19, 1942.

⁶⁶*ARP*, November 3, 1948.

⁶⁷*ARP*, October 27, 1943; February 8, 1950.

⁶⁸*ARP*, December 17, 1941.

⁶⁹*ARP*, April 14, 1943.

⁷⁰*ARP*, February 20, 1946.

⁷¹*ARP*, February 6, 1946.

⁷²*ARP*, August 15, 1951.

⁷³*ARP*, June 22, 1959.

⁷⁴*ARP*, July 15, August 5, 1959; August 24, 1960.

⁷⁵*ARP*, March 1, 8, 1961.

⁷⁶*ARP*, January 17, 1962. There were new beginnings in the College Bible Department during this same period. There is no indication that Gettys was referring solely to the Seminary in his editorial. Since he did not specify the objects of his concern there is no way to know its exact source or sources.

⁷⁷*ARP*, April 11, 1962.

⁷⁸*ARP*, October 17, 1962.

⁷⁹*ARP*, December 5, 1962, C. McDonald Coffey, a colleague of Allison, published an article on "How to Interpret the Bible" on December 12, 1962. Coffey's was a scholarly approach requiring significant research. It called for a cautious and critical examination of numerous transactions; knowledge of the "setting," including the geographical, religious, historical and cultural situation behind each passage; and asked the examiner to determine the Scripture's meaning for the reader's personal "setting."

⁸⁰*ARP*, May 18, 1966.

⁸¹*ARP*, June 14, 1967; *MS*, 1967, pp. 788-89.

⁸²*ARP*, October 16, 1968.

⁸³*ARP*, June 21, 1939.

⁸⁴At this point the writer must state his personal belief that, as "Dr. Jamie" Pressly noted, science and religion both seek to comprehend God's revelation to man. The former seeks God's Truth through nature, the latter through the Word written and Incarnate. This statement is necessary because of the writer's position as a member of the Erskine faculty who voted for a resolution noted below.

One has difficulty maintaining objectivity in writing of emotional events in which he was involved. Because seemingly insignificant semantic differences expressed extremely important differences in beliefs during the "infallibility and inerrancy" struggle, the writer is obligated to point out those crucial differences. To do otherwise would obfuscate when the historical craft demands elucidation.

The danger in explaining differences of opinion lies in the possibility of misunderstanding or misinterpreting them. Should this occur it is entirely the fault of this writer who assumes all responsibility. Any error on his part must be attributed to his finite nature and not to any intentional act. One can only attempt to comprehend another's ideas and express them in a manner that is acceptable to the thinker. Such a procedure is very fallible.

⁸⁵ARP, November 13, 1968.

⁸⁶ARP, November 27, 1968.

⁸⁷ARP, December 30, 1970.

⁸⁸ARP, February 10, 1971.

⁸⁹ARP, February 17, 1971.

⁹⁰ARP, April 26, 1972.

⁹¹*Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, March 13, 14, 1973, p. 15.

⁹²ARP, May 24, 1972.

⁹³ARP, March 28, 1973.

⁹⁴ARP, September, 1976; February, 1977.

⁹⁵*Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, June 6, 8, 1977, p. 32.

⁹⁶MS, 1977, pp. 496-500.

⁹⁷ARP, September, 1977.

⁹⁸ARP, September, 1977.

⁹⁹ARP, October, 1977, p. 31.

¹⁰⁰ARP, October, 1977, pp. 2, 31. Moffatt's speech is dealt with in the first half of this study.

¹⁰¹ARP, October, 1977, p. 31.

¹⁰²ARP, November, 1977, p. 31.

¹⁰³ARP, November, 1977, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ARP, September, 1977, p. 26.

¹⁰⁵ARP, December, 1977, pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁶ARP, January, 1978, pp. 22-23.

¹⁰⁷ARP, January, 1978, p. 2

¹⁰⁸ARP, February, 1978, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ARP, March, 1978, p. 7.

¹¹⁰*Minutes of Florida Presbytery*, February 26, April 18, 1978, p. 9.

¹¹¹*Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, March 12, 1978, p. 3.

- ¹¹²ARP, December, 1977, p. 4.
- ¹¹³ARP, December, 1977, p. 21.
- ¹¹⁴ARP, December, 1978, p. 3.
- ¹¹⁵ARP, April, 1978, p. 4.
- ¹¹⁶MS, 1978, pp. 701-708. ARP, July, 1978, p. 4. The ARP gave the roll call vote as 136-115. The figure in the text comes from a count of the raw vote as published in the minutes.
- ¹¹⁷ARP, July, 1978, pp. 10-11.
- ¹¹⁸ARP, July, 1978, pp. 10-11.
- ¹¹⁹ARP, June, 1978, p. 4.
- ¹²⁰ARP, November, 1978, p. 2.
- ¹²¹ARP, November, 1978, p. 31.
- ¹²²For a discussion of this organization see the Chapter on the Whole Gospel.
- ¹²³ARP, December, 1978, p. 31.
- ¹²⁴*The Highroad*, November, 1978, February, April, May, June, July, 1979; Winter, Spring, Summer, 1980.
- ¹²⁵ARP, September, 1979, p. 2.
- ¹²⁶*The Highroad*, February, 1979.
- ¹²⁷*Minutes of First Presbytery*, October 10, 1978, p. 24.
- ¹²⁸*Minutes of First Presbytery*, June 4, 1979.
- ¹²⁹MS, 1979, pp. 24-25.
- ¹³⁰*Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, November 19, 1978, p. 6; January 14, 1979. *The Highroad*, February, 1979, p. 2.
- ¹³¹MS, 1979, pp. 21-23. ARP, July, 1979, pp. 14-18.
- ¹³²ARP, December, 1978, p. 3.
- ¹³³ARP, January, 1979, p. 3; March, 1979, pp. 10-11, 30. Those selected were: Mrs. John M. Alexander, Messrs. Michael Bender, Charles Carlisle, Olin Cannon, Walter Coleman, Hugh Dale, Frank Hunt, W. M. Lindley, H. H. Long, Harry McCalla, Francis McCullough, Joseph Patrick, W. H. Stuart, Charles Todd, and Dodd Vernon; the Revs. James C. Barker, Ronald Beard, John Carson, James Coad, James Corbitt, Charles Edwards, Robert Elliott, James Fee, Tom Fincher, James A. Hunt, Stephen Irby, W. C. Lauderdale, Gary Letchworth, Clyde McCants, Grady Oates, W. W. Orr, Dwight Pearson, Lonnie Richardson, Robert J. Robinson, Randall T. Ruble, and Charles W. Wilson; Drs. R. C. Grier, E. R. Young and J. H. Young. Patrick and Wilson were ill on February 14 and 15. Mr. Michael Patrick and the Rev. Charles Edgar substituted for those two.
- ¹³⁴ARP, March, 1979, pp. 10-11, 30.
- ¹³⁵*Minutes of First Presbytery*, March 13, 1979, p. 5-7.
- ¹³⁶ARP, March, 1979, p. 11.
- ¹³⁷ARP, March, 1979, p. 32.
- ¹³⁸*The Highroad*, April, 1979, p. 3.

¹³⁹ARP, July, 1979, pp. 14-18, 76. The ARP report identified Grady Oates as the originator of this statement.

¹⁴⁰ARP, January, 1980, p. 31.

¹⁴¹ARP, February, 1980, p. 16.

¹⁴²ARP, March, 1980, p. 2.

¹⁴³Minutes of Florida Presbytery, February 23, 1980, pp. 10-11.

¹⁴⁴Minutes of Florida Presbytery, February 23, 1980, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵MS, 1980, pp. 283-85.

¹⁴⁶ARP, October 12, 1932.

¹⁴⁷Minutes of Second Presbytery, June 5, 1956, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸MS, 1969, p. 247.

¹⁴⁹ARP, March 5, 1969.

¹⁵⁰ARP, March 19, 1969.

¹⁵¹ARP, March 12, 1969.

¹⁵²MS, 1971, pp. 928-29; 1972, p. 4. The vote on Chapter nine in Overture was 230 for the Chapter with six opposed.

¹⁵³MS, 1973, pp. 367-68. ARP, March 7, p. 12, May 23, p. 6, June 6, p. 12, 1973; January, 1978, p. 2.

¹⁵⁴MS, 1976, pp. 254-59. ARP, July, 1976, p. 3.

¹⁵⁵ARP, November, 1977, p. 31.

¹⁵⁶MS, 1978, pp. 669, 704, 707-708.

¹⁵⁷Minutes of First Presbytery, October 15, 1974, p. 31; March 11, 1975; October 14, 1975, p. 34; March 9, 1976, p. 20; June 7, 1976, pp. 1-4; October 12, 1976, p. 11; March 8, 1977; May 19, 1980.

¹⁵⁸Minutes of First Presbytery, March 4, 1980, p. 33. Requesting their names be recorded opposed to the motion to present this program were the Revs. Meredith Cavin, Charles Edwards, John Carson, Bill Robfogel, Joe Blevins, Greg Slater, John Hoeprich, and Tim Robinson; Elders John Wilson, Joseph H. Wilson, Jim Smith and Jim Fischer.

¹⁵⁹Minutes of First Presbytery, May 18, 1980.

¹⁶⁰Minutes of First Presbytery, October 14, 1980, p. 19-20, 24. First Presbytery's Resolutions Committee recommended that First Union's memorial be rejected on the grounds that when it became a union church it agreed to abide by the more restrictive church rules. This recommendation was not sustained by First Presbytery. ARP, January, p. 3, March, p. 30, 1981.

¹⁶¹ARP, March, 1981, p. 30.

¹⁶²ARP, April, 1981, p. 34.

¹⁶³ARP, April, p. 34, May, p. 30, 1981.

¹⁶⁴ARP, June, 1981, p. 13.

¹⁶⁵ARP, June, 1981, pp. 12-13.

¹⁶⁶ARP, July, 1981, pp. 9-10. Speaking for the Wallace motion were the Revs. John Banks, L. M. Allison, Clyde McCants, Henry Pressly. Opposing the motion were the Revs. Stephen Irby,

Charles Wilson, Grady Oates, Joe Blevins and elder Wayne Stevenson.

MS, 1981, pp. 439-40, 484-85. The following requested that their names be recorded as voting against the Moderator's Committee on Memorials' recommendation not to adopt First Presbytery's memorial: Lonnie L. Richardson, Michael E. Woodward, Lee P. Kennerly, Charles A. Steele, Palmer Steele, Bryant McLendon, Bob E. Murdock, C. T. Hughes, Tony Grant, C. T. McCants, W. N. Falls, L. T. Richie, Allen Lidsson, W. M. Bostick, Sr., T. Lamar Robinson, Earl Linderman, Atwell Alexander, Bill S. Howell, Jr., R. B. Elliott, Jr., Neil McCarter, Henry E. Pressly, Gary R. Fravel, James R. Fee, L. M. Allison, John S. Banks, Charles L. Patrick, Sr., H. E. Barkley, John Lee Davis, Leonard B. McAbee, Ray A. King, Zane W. Aberbathy[sic], R. C. Bryson, Henry Bigham, R. M. Wallace, Jr., Bob DeWitt, M. L. Pearson, Gerald R. Hallman, and Kenneth Bigham.

Chapter III

¹*MS*, 1932, p. 292.

²*ARP*, June 19, 1933.

³*MS*, 1934, p. 534.

⁴*MS*, 1934, p. 535.

⁵*MS*, 1934, p. 535.

⁶*ARP*, May 15, 1935.

⁷*ARP*, August 7, 1935.

⁸*MS*, 1937, p. 148.

⁹*MS*, 1939, p. 149.

¹⁰*MS*, 1936, p. 40; 1940, p. 52; *ARP* September 1, 15, 22, 29, 1943.

¹¹*ARP*, June 6, August 15, 1944. The term "social Gospel" seemed not to have negative connotations within the ARP Church during the Great Depression. It began to fall into disfavor in the post World War II period and was rarely used after the 1950's.

¹²*ARP*, January 20, 1941.

¹³*ARP*, May 29, 1935.

¹⁴*ARP*, January 8, 1936.

¹⁵*ARP*, January 8, 1936. There is no evidence that Calhoun's assertion that God's first purpose is the salvation of every man was viewed as Universalism.

¹⁶*ARP*, January 15, 1936.

¹⁷*ARP*, January 15, 1936.

¹⁸*ARP*, February 5, 1936.

¹⁹*ARP*, February 26, 1936.

²⁰*ARP*, January 13, 1937.

²¹ARP, January 13, 1937.

²²ARP, January 6, 20, 27; February 17, 1937; November 23, December 7, 1938.

²³ARP, April 8, 1942.

²⁴ARP, April 8, 1942; April 21, 1943.

²⁵ARP, August 13, 1941.

²⁶ARP, September 17, 1941.

²⁷ARP, April 8, 1942.

²⁸ARP, August 15, 1934. Kennedy was published in national religious journals. His analysis of religion and contemporary society was respected by religious and secular readers. Eric F. Goldman, author of the standard history of the two decades after World War II and one of President John F. Kennedy's intellectuals in residence, characterized Renwick C. Kennedy as "certainly no alarmist newspaperman but an army chaplain out of small-town Alabama" whose comments on the attitude of American troops were "the most widely quoted" available. Eric F. Goldman, *The Crucial Decade and After: America, 1945 - 1960* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), pp. 33-34.

²⁹ARP, November 30, 1938.

³⁰ARP, November 30, 1938.

³¹ARP, September 4, 1946.

³²ARP, September 21, 1949.

³³ARP, September 28, 1949.

³⁴ARP, June 17, 1953.

³⁵ARP, September 5, 26, 1956.

³⁶ARP, September 1, 1954.

³⁷MS, 1945, p. 170.

³⁸ARP, June 18, 1947; September 4, 11, 1946.

³⁹ARP, September 22, 1948.

⁴⁰ARP, September 15, 1948.

⁴¹ARP, February 21, 1951; August 26, 1953.

⁴²MS, 1953, p. 225.

⁴³MS, 1954, p. 346.

⁴⁴MS, 1966, p. 557; 1967, p. 846.

⁴⁵MS, 1970, pp. 435, 491; 1971, p. 700.

⁴⁶MS, 1971, p. 866; 1972, pp. 57, 62; 1976; p. 8.

⁴⁷MS, 1980, p. 283; 1981, p. 402. ARP, July 1981, pp. 9-13. An interesting issue in First Presbytery was a motion repudiating the activities of quasi-religious groups such as the "moral majority" when they make "absolute claims of speaking for the Christian Church in the area of public morality." *Minutes of First Presbytery*, October 14, 1980, p. 40.

- ⁴⁸ARP, November 2, 1932.
- ⁴⁹ARP, June 19, August 9, September 13, 1933.
- ⁵⁰ARP, January 10, 17, September 5, November 7, 1934.
- ⁵¹ARP, September 14, 1935; September 11, 1940.
- ⁵²ARP, September 5, 1956.
- ⁵³ARP, September 5, 1962.
- ⁵⁴MS, 1969, pp. 222-28.
- ⁵⁵MS, 1975, p. 90; ARP, November 1977, p. 31.
- ⁵⁶ARP, August 28, 1935.
- ⁵⁷ARP, January 12, 1944.
- ⁵⁸ARP, August 20, 1941; January 5, 1949; March 1, 1950; January 28, 1951; February 18, March 4, 1953; January 6, 1954.
- ⁵⁹ARP, October 2, 1968.
- ⁶⁰ARP, February 6, 1957; January 10, 1951; January 9, 1952.
- ⁶¹ARP, November 30, 1938; July 30, 1941; January 10, 1951.
- ⁶²ARP, July 20, 1949.
- ⁶³ARP, June 21, 28, July 5, December 6, 1933; January 22, 1936; February 9, August 24, September 28, October 5, 1938; February 1, 8, 22, 1939; July 10, 1940; October 1, 1941; June 30, 1943; October 25, 1944.
- ⁶⁴ARP, January 4, 1933; January 3, 10, 1934.
- ⁶⁵ARP, January 3, 10, 1934; January 16, 1945.
- ⁶⁶ARP, April 2, 1941.
- ⁶⁷ARP, September 29, 1943.
- ⁶⁸ARP, December 1, 1943.
- ⁶⁹ARP, January 31, 1940.
- ⁷⁰ARP, November 17, 1943; February 9, 1944.
- ⁷¹ARP, September 27, 1944.
- ⁷²ARP, September 26, 1945.
- ⁷³ARP, February 27, 1946.
- ⁷⁴ARP, September 18, 1946.
- ⁷⁵ARP, September 17, 1947.
- ⁷⁶ARP, November 17, 1943; February 9, 1944.
- ⁷⁷ARP, September 8, 1948.
- ⁷⁸ARP, September 18, 1946.
- ⁷⁹ARP, February 2, 1949.
- ⁸⁰ARP, February 14, 1951.
- ⁸¹MS, 1933, p. 420. ARP, September 17, 1947; April 18, 1951.
- ⁸²*Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, April 10, 1951, p. 9; April 14, 1953, p. 13; October 13, 1953, p. 5; April 13, 1954, p. 7. ARP, June 27, 1951. In a 1982 conversation between the writer and the Rev. John S. Banks the latter recalled this work among the blacks of Columbia. He could not remember the reasons it ceased to be a part of the ARP home missions work for he and Mrs. Banks left

Columbia before the work was terminated. Banks recalled speaking to the blacks and a similar mission work among poor whites in the Wheat Street area of Columbia. Both of these outreach programs flourished for a brief period in the early 1950's.

In a 1981 conversation between the writer and the Rev. Charles Edwards, the minister who served the Centennial congregation during the early 1950's recalled the mission work among the blacks but could not recall reasons for it coming to an end.

⁸³MS, 1955, pp. 517-19.

⁸⁴MS, 1956, pp. 47-54.

⁸⁵MS, 1957, pp. 172-73.

⁸⁶ARP, September 30, 1959.

⁸⁷MS, 1959, p. 576. This committee was composed of the Revs. W. C. Lauderdale, C. O. Williams, J. H. McFerrin, and J. B. McFerrin.

⁸⁸ARP, September 30, 1959.

⁸⁹MS, 1962, p. 437.

⁹⁰MS, 1962, pp. 658-59.

⁹¹MS, 1963, pp. 620, 631. Younts appointed Hazel H. Long as convener, and John Kimmons, Joseph R. Moss, Joseph H. Patrick, Harvey E. McConnell, Charles E. Edwards, Grant F. Johnson, J. Frank Beard, and Grady R. Oates as committee members.

⁹²ARP, October 2, 1963; January 15, 1964.

⁹³MS, 1964, pp. 59-64.

⁹⁴ARP, March 2, 1966.

⁹⁵MS, 1965, pp. 381-83, 419. Hazel H. Long was Moderator of Synod in 1965. Members of the Moderator's Committee on Educational Institutions were: P. L. Grier, Chairman; Spears, Alexander, Secretary; W. R. Echols; R. M. Bell; George L. Leitze; R. J. Marshburn; B. Dale White; William A. Deaton; Moffatt G. Long; J. H. McDaniel; C. C. Moorhead; W. M. Pressly; and J. R. Young.

⁹⁶Miscellaneous collection of manuscripts, McCain Library, Erskine College. "Fact Sheet #2" contained a list of names of the committee's personnel. On subsequent letters the name of J. L. Maloney was added to the committee. "Fact Sheet #1" was not included in any source available. Material circulated by the Conservative Coordinating Committee was not dated. Since letters mailed by the committee were not numbered, it is difficult to determine the sequence of the communications or to determine how complete the collection might be. Box 3591, Augusta, Georgia was the only address given for the committee and material must have been mailed from that location.

⁹⁷ARP, July 28, 1965.

- ⁹⁸ARP, September 1, 1965.
- ⁹⁹*Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, September 14, 15, 1965, p. 17.
- ¹⁰⁰ARP, November 3, 1965.
- ¹⁰¹ARP, August 18, 25, September 22, December 15, 1965; March 23, 30, May 25, 1966.
- ¹⁰²ARP, August 11, November 24, December 15, 1965; March 23, May 4, 1966.
- ¹⁰³ARP, March 2, 1966.
- ¹⁰⁴*Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, September 14, 15, 1965, p. 17. MS, 1966, pp. 626-27.
- ¹⁰⁵MS, 1968, pp. 87-88. Articles in the ARP have advocated the inclusion of blacks in the denomination. ARP, January 20, June 2, 1971.
- ¹⁰⁶ARP, July 6, 13, 27, 1932.
- ¹⁰⁷ARP, February 26, 1947.
- ¹⁰⁸ARP, April 14, May 12, September 1, 1948.
- ¹⁰⁹ARP, February 16, 1949.
- ¹¹⁰ARP, March 9, July 27, August 3, 1949.
- ¹¹¹ARP, July 3, 1963.
- ¹¹²ARP, October 22, 1947; September 8, 1948.
- ¹¹³ARP, September 19, October 22, 1956.
- ¹¹⁴ARP, March 3, 10, 1937; April 30, 1952; May 13, September 16, 1959; June 11, 1969.
- ¹¹⁵ARP, July 13, 1932; May 8, 1935; October 16, 1936; December 8, 1937; September 21, 1938.
- ¹¹⁶ARP, January 10, 1940; January 15, 1941.
- ¹¹⁷ARP, March 12, 1941.
- ¹¹⁸ARP, January 8, 1941.
- ¹¹⁹ARP, January 20, February 5, 1941.
- ¹²⁰ARP, March 5, 1941.
- ¹²¹ARP, May 21, 1941.
- ¹²²ARP, April 9, 1941.
- ¹²³ARP, May 28, March 19, 26, April 9, June 18, 1941.
- ¹²⁴ARP, June 18, 1941.
- ¹²⁵ARP, July 9, 1941.
- ¹²⁶ARP, January 14, 21, February 4, 11, March 11, 25, September 9, 1942; July 21, 1943; March 22, 1944.
- ¹²⁷ARP, February 14, 21, March 7, 28, 1945.
- ¹²⁸ARP, June 17, October 21, November 4, 1942; June 23, September 8, 1943; October 14, 1944; June 30, July 14, 1948.
- ¹²⁹MS, 1943, p. 528; 1944, p. 46; 1945, pp. 178-89; *Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, April 10, 1945, p. 4.
- ¹³⁰ARP, August 6, 1947; March 24, August 18, 1948; March 2, 1949.

¹³¹ARP, June 28, September 6, 1950; November 6, 1968.

¹³²ARP, June 11, 1947; April 21, 1948.

¹³³ARP, May 1977, p. 4; March 1978, p. 30; April 1980, p. 30. Conversation between the writer and Mr. James W. Gettys, Sr. on September 12, 1982.

¹³⁴ARP, September 1978, pp. 16-17.

¹³⁵ARP, November 1978, p. 2.

¹³⁶MS, 1979, p. 60.

¹³⁷ARP, July 1981, p. 9.

¹³⁸MS, 1982, pp. 656-57.

¹³⁹ARP, February 1980, p. 19.

¹⁴⁰MS, 1982, pp. 656-57.

Chapter IV

¹MS, 1932, pp. 361-66; 1934, pp. 532-33; 1935, p. 619; 1936, p. 14.

²MS, 1932, pp. 361-66; 1934, pp. 532-33. The Rev. David T. Lauderdale introduced a memorial at the 1949 meeting of General Synod to institute the more restrictive position on divorce that was defeated in 1934. When Synod refused to accept his memorial Lauderdale made his proposal in the form of an overture which was also voted down by Synod. Lauderdale argued that the Scriptures indicated that adultery was the only grounds for divorce. MS, 1949, pp. 176, 210.

³ARP, May 18, August 10, 17, 31, 1932; March 1, 22, 24, 1933.

⁴ARP, August 10, 1932.

⁵Minutes of First Presbytery, April 13, 1937, p. 226; ARP, May 19, 1937; April 6, 1938. MS, 1938, p. 266.

⁶ARP, April 13, 1938.

⁷MS, 1939, p. 293.

⁸MS, 1934, pp. 532-4; 1953, pp. 623-24. This Special Committee on Rotation of Boards and Committees consisted of the Revs. W. M. Boyce, Chairman; C. B. Williams; and W. P. Grier. The Directors of Religious Education, Young People's Work and Synod's Historian were exempted from the rotary system. These individuals carried a heavy load. The positions were filled by someone whose salary came from a congregation but who had a great work load as a director. These were the first to be established as full time employment positions of Synod.

In 1977 the Rev. Calvin Todd introduced a memorial passed by Mississippi Valley Presbytery to alter the method of electing delegates to Synod's Nominating Committee. Todd's memorial would have deleted the two "at large" members of this Committee so that the membership would consist of seven persons each selected by a Presbytery. Synod did not adopt this memorial.

Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery, March 7-8, 1977. MS, 1977, pp. 498-99.

⁹MS, 1936, p. 17.

¹⁰MS, 1947, pp. 484-86.

¹¹MS, 1952, pp. 26-32; 1953, p. 199; 1954, pp. 217-223.

¹²MS, 1954, p. 398.

¹³MS, 1953, p. 216. *Minutes of First Presbytery, March 27, 1946, p. 13.*

¹⁴ARP, March 27, 1946.

¹⁵Some criticism of these organizations was recorded. *Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery, September 14-15, 1965, p. 17. MS, 1966, p. 627.*

¹⁶ARP, May 18, 1966.

¹⁷ARP, February 2, 1944.

¹⁸ARP, April 14, 1943.

¹⁹MS, 1958, pp. 408-20; 1959, p. 609. Members of the Committee on Changes in Standards were the Revs. P. A. Stroup, Chairman; G. L. Leitze, Secretary; E. Gettys; R. C. Grier; J. W. Carson; and C. B. Betts.

²⁰*Minutes of Catawba Presbytery, October 20, 1964, p. 8. MS, 1965, pp. 436-37.*

²¹MS, 1965, p. 409.

²²MS, 1966, p. 724.

²³MS, 1968, pp. 22, 23, 167. ARP, June 12, 1968.

²⁴Rather than attempting to report all the changes in the Constitution, only those that were considered important and controversial will be noted.

²⁵ARP, October 23, 1968. Though there was no recorded evidence, the ability of General Synod to create other Synods may have been added to allow the Mexican and Pakistan Presbyteries to become Synods. This action took place and it could have been anticipated by the committee revising the Constitution.

²⁶ARP, October 30, 1968.

²⁷ARP, October 30, 1968.

²⁸ARP, November 13, 1968.

²⁹ARP, November 20, 1968.

³⁰ARP, December 18, 1968.

³¹ARP, January 15, 1969.

³²ARP, February 5, 1969.

³³ARP, January 29, 1969.

³⁴ARP, February 12, 1969.

³⁵ARP, January 29, 1969.

³⁶ARP, February 26, 1969.

³⁷MS, 1969, p. 288. Catawba Presbytery refused to pass a

memorial regarding FOR. The Rev. Ray King protested this decision on three grounds. A commission consisting of the Revs. Robert L. Brawley and Robert J. Robinson found two of King's protests valid. These objections were that the issue of FOR was an immediate one and a postponement was tantamount to ignoring the issue and that Catawba Presbytery would make no statement to aid congregations in dealing with any problems arising from such an organization. Brawley and Robinson reported that Catawba Presbytery was correct in delaying a consideration of a memorial on the issue of FOR in that no wise consideration could be made without sufficient factual information. *Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, October 18, 1970, pp. 36-37.

³⁸MS, 1969, pp. 246-47.

³⁹ARP, January 29, February 19, 1969.

⁴⁰ARP, February 26, 1969. MS, 1969, pp. 246-47.

⁴¹MS, 1969, p. 277.

⁴²MS, 1970, pp. 450-51.

⁴³MS, 1947, p. 485.

⁴⁴MS, 1970, pp. 450-51.

⁴⁵MS, 1970, p. 490. This resolution was signed by the Revs. J. Allen Derrick, G. R. Oates, Harry R. Edwards, Henry Lewis Smith, James D. Hatch, Lawrence C. Young, Richard B. Leap-trott, James Coad, Jr., James T. Stephenson, and Messrs. Monterey Campbell and John L. Parsons.

⁴⁶MS, 1970, p. 492. No listing of the new committee members could be found. Tennessee and Alabama Presbytery was the only one to include their delegates to the Constitutional Revision Committee in the 1971 *Minutes of Synod*. The Rev. R. C. Kennedy was elected to that position. MS, 1971, p. 804.

⁴⁷MS, 1971, pp. 731-34, 912-56.

⁴⁸MS, 1971, p. 736.

⁴⁹ARP, January 26, 1972.

⁵⁰MS, 1972, p. 4. The vote by chapter was:

Chapter	AYE	NAY	Chapter	AYE	NAY
I	234	3	IX	230	6
II	233	3	X	224	13
III	206	31	XI	231	6
IV	234	4	XII	228	11
V	227	14	XIII	228	10
VI	227	10	XIV	221	16
VII	154	73	XV	216	22
VIII	235	4	XVI	225	3

Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery, March 14-15, 1972, pp. 14, 17. Personal conversation with James Hunt, September 10, 1981.

³¹*Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, September 12-13, 1972, p. 25; March 13-14, 1973, pp. 10-15. *MS*, 1973, p. 368. A full discussion of the women's ordination issue appears in the chapter on theology.

³²*MS*, 1973, p. 372; 1974, pp. 647-51; 1975, pp. 266-68. *ARP*, July 1976, p. 3. *Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, March 17, 1974, p. 5; March 16, 1975, p. 6. *Minutes of First Presbytery*, April 2, 1974, p. 10; June 2, 1975, p. 2; March 9, 1976, p. 11. *Minutes of Florida Presbytery*, February 24, 1974, p. 2; February 23, 1975, p. 2; February 21, 1976, p. 2. *Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, March 12-13, 1974, pp. 10-11, 27.

³³*Minutes of First Presbytery*, April 13, 1937, p. 226.

³⁴*MS*, 1937, p. 164; 1938, pp. 293-94; 1939, pp. 420-22.

³⁵*MS*, 1943, pp. 484-85.

³⁶*MS*, 1943, p. 502.

³⁷*MS*, 1944, p. 24.

³⁸*ARP*, January 23, February 6, 1946.

³⁹*ARP*, June 4, 1947. Synod met in November until 1917. In 1918 Synod did not meet because of the epidemic of influenza. The 1919 meeting was held as soon as possible to compensate for the lack of a meeting in 1918. Since the 1919 meeting was in April, Synod began the practice of holding spring meetings from that date.

⁴⁰*ARP*, March 3, March 17, 1948. One editorial and six letters to the editor in these issues of the *ARP* competed in calling on Synod to emphasize certain programs.

⁴¹*ARP*, June 21, 1950.

⁴²*MS*, 1957, p. 236; 1958, p. 355.

⁴³The last moderator to serve consecutive terms was the Rev. Alexander Porter in 1810-11. Several moderators in the early nineteenth century served more than one term. Porter, for example, was also moderator in 1804. No other layman has served more than one term as moderator. *ARP*, June 13, 20, 1962.

⁴⁴*MS*, 1963, p. 689. This committee was composed of Messrs. A. M. Tuck, Chairman; W. L. Pressly, Vice-Chairman; Hugh C. Dale; Jim Mack Morrow, Sr.; and the Rev. C. Spears Alexander, Secretary. *MS*, 1964, p. 19.

⁴⁵*MS*, 1964, p. 17.

⁴⁶*MS*, 1965, pp. 313-17. The Committee proposing the Office of Inter-Board Services consisted of Messrs. William A. Deaton, Chairman; J. R. McQuiston; R. L. Scott; Dodd Vernon and the Rev. Roy Beckham, Secretary.

⁶⁷*MS*, 1967, p. 754.

⁶⁸*MS*, 1967, pp. 753-57. Mrs. Clarke became Acting Director of the office in 1968 and was appointed Director by the 1968 Synod, effective on January 1, 1969. *MS*, 1968, pp. 4-5.

⁶⁹*MS*, 1969, p. 307. This study was to be made by the Executive Committee of Synod and three additional persons: Messrs. Olin B. Cannon, John A. Bigham, and Charles N. Robinson. Because the committee met for an extended period of time there were numerous members serving on the Executive Committee. For a list of those participating in the work see *MS*, 1971, pp. 805-56.

⁷⁰*MS*, 1971, pp. 805-808.

⁷¹*MS*, 1972, pp. 138-39. In addition to Chairman Carlisle this Special Commission on Centralization consisted of Moderator-Elect W. P. Grier, Past Moderator Roy E. Beckham, Principal Clerk C. Ronald Beard, Treasurer Earle P. Barron, Finance Committee Chairman T. S. Watt, Chairman of the Board of Christian Education Carroll E. Voss, Chairman of the Board of Church Extension R. J. Robinson, Chairman of the Board of Foreign Missions Grady Oates and Director of the Office of Inter-Board Services Ed Hogan. *ARP*, July 26, 1972. *MS*, 1972, p. 261.

⁷²*ARP*, July 26, October 11, 1972; January 31, 1973.

⁷³*ARP*, September 1978, pp. 10-11; March 1979, *MS*, 1973, pp. 302-305. By March 1976 the materials of the *ARP* had been moved to the Greenville offices following the change of editors of that church publication. *ARP*, March 1976, p. 3.

⁷⁴*MS*, 1973, pp. 306-307.

⁷⁵*ARP*, September 18, October 30, 1963. Moderator Charles Younts appointed the following Commission to carry out Synod's order to organize Florida Presbytery: the Revs. Charles E. Edwards, Chairman; James H. Boyce, George L. Leitze and Messrs. James S. Moffatt, Jr., and Glen H. Burnett. Teaching Elders who were charter members of Florida Presbytery were: James P. Pressly, R. T. Nelson, Kenneth Nordvall, Harry R. Edwards, J. F. Beard, and Carroll Cash.

In the 1950's there was some sentiment to dissolve Tennessee and Alabama Presbytery due to its small size. Proposals would have resulted in churches in that Presbytery joining other presbyteries. *ARP*, November 5, 1952; November 4, 1953.

⁷⁶The particular issues behind this problem are not relevant to this study. The congregation became divided into a "minority" group and a "majority" group. The latter planned to build a new facility and the former group eventually remained in the old structure.

⁷⁷*MS*, 1977, p. 451. Members of the Ecclesiastical Commission were the Revs. James H. Boyce, James Dickson, Charles Ed-

wards, Harold S. Mace, Harold Probes and Calvin Todd and Messrs. Olin B. Cannon and W. J. Stricklin. *MS*, 1976, p. 388.

⁷⁸*Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, January 28, 1977.

⁷⁹*MS*, 1977, p. 451.

⁸⁰*Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, March 8-9, 1977.

⁸¹*MS*, 1977, p. 508. This solution had been defeated at a meeting of Mississippi Valley Presbytery. *Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, October 16, 1976.

⁸²*MS*, 1977, p. 508.

⁸³*Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, June 6, The Executive Board of Synod had reiterated the Commission's recommendations in an April 1, 1977 meeting. *MS*, 1977, p. 451.

⁸⁴*Minutes of First Presbytery*, June 6, 1977, p. 1. *MS*, 1977, p. 501. *ARP*, July 1979, p. 17.

⁸⁵*Minutes of First Presbytery*, March 8, 1977, p. 14.

⁸⁶*Minutes of First Presbytery*, October 11, 1977, p. 35.

⁸⁷*Minutes of First Presbytery*, November 8, 1977.

⁸⁸*Minutes of First Presbytery*, March 14, 1978, p. 9; December 8, 1977, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁹*MS*, 1978, p. 616. *ARP*, July 1978, p. 4.

⁹⁰*Minutes of First Presbytery*, October 10, 1978, p. 25.

⁹¹*Minutes of First Presbytery*, March 13, 1979.

⁹²*Minutes of Florida Presbytery*, February 23, 1980. For a record of the events surrounding the transfer of the Covenant Church see *Minutes of Florida Presbytery* February 26, April 18, October 22, 1978; January 16, June 26, 1979; February 23, October 26, 1980, pp. 10-11. *ARP*, October 26, 1980, p. 21. According to the *ARP* account, one reason for the withdrawal of Covenant was the failure of Synod to take a "clear-cut stand" on inerrancy.

⁹³*Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, September 10-11, 1980, pp. 6, 25. *ARP*, January 1981, p. 13.

⁹⁴*Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, December 6, 1980, p. 2. Attempts by representatives of the Mississippi Valley Presbytery to communicate with Carroll and Dr. Read Jones of the Lawndale Congregation failed with the attorney retained by the Lawndale Church instructing his clients not to talk with representatives of the *ARP* Church. See *Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, March 10, 1981, p. 8.

⁹⁵*Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, March 10-11, 1981. *ARP*, June 1981, p. 3.

⁹⁶*MS*, 1981, p. 389.

⁹⁷*MS*, 1981, p. 484.

⁹⁸Report of Committee on Inter-Church Relations to the 1982 Synod.

⁹⁹ARP, August 1982, p. 15. *The Presbyterian Journal*, June 30, 1982, p. 7.

¹⁰⁰*Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, May 6-7, 1979, p. 56.

¹⁰¹*Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, May 6-7, 1979, pp. 49-61. The charges against Fincher were: breach of ethics in not paying the church pledge; violation of church government by not protesting through Church Courts; violation of ordination vows in that he rejected the authority of higher Church Courts and he promoted disunity; falsely promoting the concept that Church boards and agencies except foreign missions were sinful; using false information to persuade the Session and Congregation to act; and violating Church Government by assuming the role of presbytery by determining that a man was theologically unfit for a Synod job. Charges against the Session were very similar to those brought against Fincher.

¹⁰²*Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, May 6-7, 1979, pp. 49-61.

¹⁰³*Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, January 14, 1979.

¹⁰⁴ARP, July 1979, pp. 14-18. Fincher asked for a special meeting of Presbytery the day Synod refused his appeal. He noted that he dropped further appeal when Synod did not sustain his appeal against Presbytery's refusal to try Coffey and King. Fincher contended that the Erskine Seminary faculty members were "teaching error" but Synod would not deal with the issue. He then resigned as pastor of Edwards Memorial Church as of July 30, 1979. *Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, June 6, 1979.

¹⁰⁵ARP, May 19, 1937; April 26, 1950; March 29, 1961. MS, 1961, p. 275; 1973, p. 462. One interesting feature of these treasurers is that all lived and worked in a short distance of each other. Lindsay was from Chester, South Carolina. The two Barrons and McCaw were residents of Rock Hill, South Carolina so for thirty-five years the Treasurer was located in that city. Kennedy was a long time resident of Rock Hill but had retired to Bonclarken when he became Treasurer in 1973.

¹⁰⁶MS, 1938, p. 381; 1939, p. 418. ARP, February 2, May 4, September 14, October 12, 1938.

¹⁰⁷ARP, March 29, 1950.

¹⁰⁸ARP, March 15, 1933.

¹⁰⁹ARP, March 22, March 29, April 5, April 12, 1933.

¹¹⁰ARP, March 8, 29, April 12, 19, 1933.

¹¹¹ARP, March 15, 1933.

¹¹²ARP, March 22, 29, April 5, 1933.

¹¹³ARP, April 5, 12, July 12, 1933.

¹¹⁴ARP, March 24, 1937.

¹¹⁵ARP, May 16, 1934.

¹¹⁶ARP, May 16, 12, 1934; March 6, 1935. MS, 1935, pp. 627-28.

¹¹⁷ARP, November 27, 1935; January 15, 1936.

¹¹⁸ARP, January 15, March 11, 18, 25, 1936.

¹¹⁹ARP, August 15, 1934.

¹²⁰ARP, January 12, 19, 26, February 2, 16, 1944; January 15, 1947.

¹²¹ARP, April 28, September 29, 1948; January 11, April 26, 1950.

¹²²ARP, June 25, 1952; March 2, 1955.

¹²³ARP, February 18, 1959.

¹²⁴ARP, June 20, 1962.

¹²⁵Conversation between the author and Mr. W. H. Stuart in June 1982. Remarks delivered by Mr. Charles H. Carlisle on behalf of twenty-two living former moderators to the Synod on June 16, 1982. Manuscripts in possession of author.

¹²⁶ARP, February 21, 1968. MS, 1971. pp. 681-84.

¹²⁷MS, 1966, pp. 608-609; 1981, p. 405.

¹²⁸ARP, August 21, 1940.

¹²⁹ARP, August 21, 1940.

¹³⁰ARP, May 17, 1939. Committee members were: Messrs. John E. Gettys, M. G. McDonald, K. H. Patrick and the Rev. J. W. Carson.

¹³¹ARP, July 24, 1935; January 8, 1936; May 17, 1937; May 17, 1939; August 20, 1941; December 22, 1943.

¹³²ARP, June 21, August 9, September 6, October 4, 11, 18, 25, November 1, 15, 29, December 6, 1944; January 3, June 27, 1945.

¹³³ARP, January 22, 1958; November 24, 1948; November 30, 1949. There was a brief and abortive movement to secure a retirement home for ARP ministers in the late 1940's. See ARP, June 11, 1947; April 21, 1948. First Presbytery studied establishing a home for elderly in the 1960's. MS, 1961, pp. 260-61. First Presbytery, Catawba Presbytery, and Second Presbytery were sponsors for a retirement center funded by the Department of Human Services of the federal government.

¹³⁴ARP, November 23, 1960.

¹³⁵ARP, November 18, 1959.

¹³⁶MS, 1960, pp. 43-44, 57.

¹³⁷ARP, November 23, 1960; November 18, 1959; April 19, May 24, June 14, 1961. MS, 1961, pp. 205-209.

¹³⁸ARP, October 5, 1966.

¹³⁹ARP, July 1977, pp. 8-10.

¹⁴⁰ARP, April 1976, p. 15.

¹⁴¹ARP, July 1977, pp. 8-10.

¹⁴²ARP, April 1976, p. 15; July 1977, pp. 8-10.

Chapter V

- ¹*MS*, 1936, p. 25; 1937, p. 194.
²*ARP*, May 25, 1932, *MS*, 1934, p. 570.
³*MS*, 1935, p. 654; 1936, p. 25.
⁴*MS*, 1933, p. 443, 1934, p. 516; 1935, pp. 618-19.
⁵*MS*, 1937, p. 194.
⁶*MS*, 1937, p. 157; 1939, p. 447. *ARP*, January 6, 1954.
⁷*MS*, 1936, p. 25.
⁸*ARP*, January 22, 1946; January 6, 1954.
⁹*MS*, 1953, p. 224. *ARP*, January 6, 1946.
¹⁰*ARP*, November 9, 1966.
¹¹*ARP*, November 16, 1966.
¹²*ARP*, February 8, 1967.
¹³*ARP*, February 8, 1967.
¹⁴*MS*, 1972, pp. 35-38.
¹⁵*MS*, 1972, pp. 135, 374-75.
¹⁶*MS*, 1972, pp. 376-7.
¹⁷*MS*, 1972, p. 373.
¹⁸*MS*, 1974, p. 640; 1975, p. 26; 1976, p. 256; 1979, p. 59.
¹⁹*MS*, 1974, p. 640; 1975, p. 26.
²⁰*MS*, 1975, pp. 26-28.
²¹*MS*, 1976, pp. 255-57.
²²*ARP*, February 1976, p. 27; July 1976, p. 23.
²³*ARP*, December 1976, p. 3.
²⁴*MS*, 1978, p. 656.
²⁵*ARP*, July 1977, p. 3; January 1977, p. 12. *MS*, 1977, p. 447.
²⁶*ARP*, July 1978, p. 4.
²⁷*ARP*, March 2, 1932; February 24, 1932.
²⁸*ARP*, March 2, 1932.
²⁹*ARP*, March 2, 1932.
³⁰*MS*, 1932, p. 358.
³¹*MS*, 1932, p. 357.
³²*ARP*, March 16, 1932. *MS*, 1932, p. 337.
³³*MS*, 1932, p. 337.
³⁴*ARP*, April 6, 16, 1932.
³⁵*MS*, 1932, p. 359.
³⁶*MS*, 1932, p. 338.
³⁷*MS*, 1932, p. 297.
³⁸*ARP*, September 14, 1932.
³⁹*ARP*, July 12, August 2, 1933.
⁴⁰*MS*, 1932, p. 392. *ARP*, November 23, 1932.
⁴¹*MS*, 1932, p. 348.
⁴²*MS*, 1932, pp. 338, 295.

⁴³*MS*, 1933, p. 489; 1934, pp. 544-45.

⁴⁴*MS*, 1933, p. 439.

⁴⁵*MS*, 1933, p. 487.

⁴⁶*MS*, 1934, p. 538.

⁴⁷*ARP*, November 7, 1934.

⁴⁸*MS*, 1935, p. 666.

⁴⁹*MS*, 1935, pp. 667-68.

⁵⁰*MS*, 1935, p. 695; 1936, p. 95; 1937, p. 204.

⁵¹*ARP*, August 8, 1934.

⁵²*MS*, 1933, pp. 488-9.

⁵³*ARP*, January 25, August 2, September 6, 1933.

⁵⁴*MS*, 1933, pp. 466-67.

⁵⁵*ARP*, June 20, November 14, 1934. A misunderstanding followed this arrangement. The salaries of missionary couples had been paid by Foreign Missions Board before 1934. Beginning in that year the Woman's Synodical Missionary Union paid the salary of all women missionaries. In 1933 the Board paid \$1,200 to the Dales. In 1934 the Board was to pay J. G. Dale \$600 and Dr. Dale was to receive \$600 from the Woman's Synodical Union. The Pioneer Missionary Agency agreed to pay J. G. Dale's salary but the Board assumed the payment would cover both Dales. Dr. Dale's salary was included in neither the Board's nor the Synodical's budgets. When it was discovered that Dr. Dale was not being paid by the Pioneer Missionary Agency, a special solicitation outside all Synod budgets was carried out to provide for her.

⁵⁶*MS*, 1934, p. 558.

⁵⁷*MS*, 1935, p. 665; 1934, pp. 547-53.

⁵⁸*MS*, 1935, p. 637.

⁵⁹*MS*, 1936, p. 62; 1937, p. 161; 1938, p. 299; 1939, p. 496.

⁶⁰*MS*, 1936, p. 62.

⁶¹*ARP*, October 19, 1932.

⁶²*ARP*, July 31, July 17, August 7, 1935.

⁶³*ARP*, September 18, 1935.

⁶⁴*ARP*, March 17, 1937. *MS*, 1937, p. 187.

⁶⁵*ARP*, January 20, April 7, 1937. Gettys eventually was forced to return from India due to ill health. He was unable to return to India. "Getting out of the malarial climate of his field in India into the atmosphere of America has had the effect which Dr. Alexander thought would be the result of the change." *ARP*, December 13, 1939; November 23, 1938.

⁶⁶*ARP*, May 19, 26, June 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, July 7, 14, 21, August 4, 1937.

⁶⁷*ARP*, April 28, 1937.

⁶⁶ARP, April 21, 1937. One child of the Rev. and Mrs. E. Gettys died in India in 1937.

⁶⁷ARP, April 21, 1937.

⁷⁰ARP, March 2, May 18, July 6, 20, 1938. A "Missionary Travel Fund" was established in 1939. A committee consisting of the Revs. James P. Pressly, R. N. Baird, A. J. Ranson, R. T. Nelson, and D. T. Lauderdale raised money used for missionary travel in 1939-40. ARP, April 26, May 31, 1939; April 17, 24, 1940.

⁷¹MS, 1940, p. 31.

⁷²James E. Mitchell, *The Emergence of a Mexican Church: The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church of Mexico* (South Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1970), pp. 69-73.

⁷³ARP, November 8, 1943; February 26, 1941; July 14, 1943.

⁷⁴ARP, July 15, 1942.

⁷⁵ARP, July 8, 1942.

⁷⁶ARP, June 30, 1943.

⁷⁷ARP, September 19, 1945. MS, 1946, pp. 323-24. The Expansion Committee was chaired by the Rev. J. W. Carson; the Rev. P. A. Stroup was Assistant Chairman; the Rev. E. Gettys served as Secretary and Mr. John G. Barron was Treasurer. Committee members were: the Revs. R. C. Grier, M. W. Griffith, J. P. Kennedy, Mr. W. E. Blakely, and Drs. E. C. Draffin and W. J. Henry.

⁷⁸ARP, June 4, September 10, 1947. MS, 1948, p. 84.

⁷⁹ARP, November 8, 1943.

⁸⁰ARP, October 29, 1947.

⁸¹ARP, November 5, December 28, 1947. Sarah H. Pressly, *The Morning Star Is Mine!* (New York: Vantage Press, 1976), pp. 11-16. B. L. Hamilton, *Little Windows Into Pakistan* (Charlotte, North Carolina: Board of Christian Education, Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, 1967), pp. 12-19.

⁸²ARP, January 28, February 4, 1948; July 16, 1952; May 13, 1953.

⁸³ARP, July 24, 1963.

⁸⁴ARP, July 31, 1963.

⁸⁵MS, 1964, p. 121.

⁸⁶MS, 1970, pp. 493-94.

⁸⁷MS, 1970, p. 494.

⁸⁸MS, 1970, pp. 526-36.

⁸⁹MS, 1971, pp. 745-46. The Theological Seminary was opened once again in Mexico when funds and faculty were secured. MS, 1973, p. 322.

⁹⁰MS, 1975, pp. 78-79.

⁹¹MS, 1976, pp. 282-85.

⁹²ARP, May 5, 1948.

- ⁹³ARP, April 6, 1966.
- ⁹⁴MS, 1974, p. 605. ARP, March 1976, pp. 8-9, 21.
- ⁹⁵Annual Report, 1982, The Board of Foreign Missions (Greenville, South Carolina: The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Center, 1982).
- ⁹⁶MS, 1969, pp. 212-26.
- ⁹⁷Annual Report, 1982.
- ⁹⁸These calculations were based on the figures contained in the Annual Report, 1982, and the number of active church members at the end of 1981 (20,375). MS, 1982, p. 740.
- ⁹⁹MS, 1982, pp. 647, 683.
- ¹⁰⁰ARP, February 26, 1941.
- ¹⁰¹ARP, February 22, 1933. MS, 1933, p. 460.
- ¹⁰²ARP, October 3, 1934, MS, 1933, p. 459.
- ¹⁰³ARP, March 6, 1935, MS, 1935, p. 645.
- ¹⁰⁴ARP, December 4, 11, 1945. MS, 1936, p. 18; 1937, p. 166.
- ¹⁰⁵ARP, January 19, 1938.
- ¹⁰⁶ARP, July 13, 1938.
- ¹⁰⁷ARP, December 21, 1938.
- ¹⁰⁸ARP, April 22, 1936. The home missionary Smith referred to was probably the Rev. Joseph Pressly who died in February 1936.
- ¹⁰⁹ARP, March 3, 1937; April 22, 1936; October 13, 1937; December 2, 1938.
- ¹¹⁰ARP, June 26, 1935. MS, 1935, p. 644; 1939, p. 432.
- ¹¹¹ARP, July 24, 1935.
- ¹¹²MS, 1936, p. 37.
- ¹¹³ARP, July 29, 1936.
- ¹¹⁴ARP, February 9, 1938.
- ¹¹⁵MS, 1938, p. 378.
- ¹¹⁶MS, 1938, p. 293. ARP, February 1, 1939.
- ¹¹⁷ARP, March 29, 1939.
- ¹¹⁸ARP, April 5, 1939.
- ¹¹⁹ARP, April 5, 1939.
- ¹²⁰ARP, April 12, May 3, 17, 24, June 14, 1939.
- ¹²¹MS, 1939, p. 444; 1940, p. 45. ARP, April 24, 1940.
- ¹²²ARP, August 13, 1941.
- ¹²³ARP, August 13, 1941; August 11, 1943; July 25, 1945.
- ¹²⁴ARP, August 13, 1941.
- ¹²⁵ARP, August 13, October 8, 1941; May 6, July 29, 1942; January 20, June 9, 16, July 21, August 11, 1943; November 29, 1944; July 25, 1945.
- ¹²⁶ARP, June 9, 16, July 21, 1943; September 10, 1952.
- ¹²⁷MS, 1947, pp. 569-573.

- ¹²⁸ARP, June 4, 25, 1947.
- ¹²⁹ARP, April 7, 1948; June 25, 1947; March 24, April 21, 1948.
- ¹³⁰MS, 1948, pp. 36-37.
- ¹³¹MS, 1949, p. 294; 1951, p. 594.
- ¹³²ARP, October 13, 1948; October 26, 1955.
- ¹³³MS, 1951, pp. 523-25.
- ¹³⁴ARP, January 2, 1952.
- ¹³⁵ARP, February 13, September 2, 17, October 22, 1952; June 10, 1953.
- ¹³⁶ARP, September 17, 1952; September 8, 1954; October 31, 1956.
- ¹³⁷ARP, September 10, 1952.
- ¹³⁸ARP, August 17, 1955; January 25, 1956.
- ¹³⁹ARP, April 9, 1958.
- ¹⁴⁰ARP, October 18, 1961. MS, 1961, pp. 250-51.
- ¹⁴¹ARP, October 11, 1961.
- ¹⁴²ARP, December 6, 1961; January 3, 1962.
- ¹⁴³ARP, March 13, 1962.
- ¹⁴⁴ARP, January 1, 1964; January 27, February 24, March 3, 24, October 27, 1965.
- ¹⁴⁵ARP, October 20, 1965.
- ¹⁴⁶ARP, May 2, 1962; June 2, 1965; March 9, 1966.
- ¹⁴⁷MS, 1970, pp. 472-75.
- ¹⁴⁸MS, 1963, p. 621.
- ¹⁴⁹ARP, October 9, 1968.
- ¹⁵⁰ARP, February 16, 1972; November 28, 1973; April 10, 1974.
- ¹⁵¹ARP, July 31, September 18, October 16, 1974; November 12, 1975; January 1976, p. 19; September 1980, p. 4.
- ¹⁵²ARP, August 14, 1974; September 1982, pp. 13-14.
- ¹⁵³ARP, April 1976, p. 22.
- ¹⁵⁴ARP, February 1980, p. 11; October 1980, p. 23.
- ¹⁵⁵MS, 1982, pp. 655, 673-74.
- ¹⁵⁶ARP, June 15, 22, July 20, 1932.
- ¹⁵⁷ARP, October 30, 1935. Peggy B. Murdock, *Bonclarken: A Story of Faith, Hope and Tenacity* (Greenville, South Carolina: Woman's Synodical Union, 1975), pp. 40-72. The reader should consult Peggy Murdock's work for any information on Bonclarken before 1975.
- ¹⁵⁸ARP, February 17, 24, March 10, 17, 24, 31, April 7, 14, 21, 18, May 5, 19, June 2, 1937.
- ¹⁵⁹ARP, September 1, 1943; June 9, 1948. Murdock, pp. 69, 76-77, 80-81. MS, 1948, p. 42.
- ¹⁶⁰ARP, November 2, 1949. Murdock, p. 86.
- ¹⁶¹ARP, August 21, 1940; March 8, 15, 29, April 5, 12, 19, 1933. Murdock, pp. 60-63.

- ¹⁶²*MS*, 1982, pp. 813-14.
- ¹⁶³*ARP*, August 21, 1946; July 30, 1947.
- ¹⁶⁴*ARP*, January 27, March 24, 1954. *MS*, 1954, p. 375; 1955, p. 494. Murdock, pp. 89-90.
- ¹⁶⁵*MS*, 1955, p. 513. *ARP*, December 21, 1955; July 11, 1956; August 7, 1963.
- ¹⁶⁶*ARP*, August 27, 1958. Murdock, pp. 92-93.
- ¹⁶⁷*ARP*, October 8, 1958; October 12, December 4, 1960; February 22, 1961; August 7, 1963. Murdock, pp. 91-99.
- ¹⁶⁸*ARP*, April 15, 29, May 13, 1964. Murdock, pp. 100-102.
- ¹⁶⁹Murdock, pp. 99-105. *ARP*, February 1, 1967.
- ¹⁷⁰Murdock, p. 104. *MS*, 1981, p. 466; 1982, p. 617. *ARP*, February 1980, p. 2.
- ¹⁷¹*ARP*, November 14, 1973; May 29, 1974. *MS*, 1974, p. 637.
- ¹⁷²*MS*, 1975, p. 28; 1976, pp. 285-87.
- ¹⁷³Murdock, pp. 95-97. *ARP*, December 1977, p. 21. *MS*, 1978, p. 645.
- ¹⁷⁴*MS*, 1977, pp. 457-58.
- ¹⁷⁵*MS*, 1981, p. 465. *ARP*, July 1979, p. 21.
- ¹⁷⁶*MS*, 1981, p. 466.
- ¹⁷⁷*MS*, 1932, pp. 328-29.
- ¹⁷⁸*MS*, 1935, pp. 688-89; 1933, p. 483; 1934, p. 527; 1936, pp. 86-87; 1937, p. 191; 1938, p. 353; 1939, p. 490; 1940, p. 78.
- ¹⁷⁹*MS*, 1934, p. 572; 1936, pp. 80-81; 1937, p. 191; 1938, pp. 291, 689.
- ¹⁸⁰*ARP*, March 16, 23, May 25, 1932; March 15, 1933; May 23, 1934; October 29, 1952. *MS*, 1935, p. 638.
- ¹⁸¹*ARP*, January 27, February 10, 24, March 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, April, 6, 13, 20, 27, May 18, 25, June 1, 22, 1932; January 11, February 1, 1933. *MS*, 1932, p. 328.
- ¹⁸²*MS*, 1939, p. 440. *ARP*, February 8, May 10, 1939; August 19, 1942.
- ¹⁸³*ARP*, May 27, January 14, February 25, September 23, October 11, 1942; January 27, 1943.
- ¹⁸⁴*ARP*, February 10, 17, 1943; July 5, 1944.
- ¹⁸⁵*ARP*, December 20, 1944; May 18, 1949.
- ¹⁸⁶*MS*, 1938, p. 356; 1939, pp. 440-1. *ARP*, November 9, 28, 1949.
- ¹⁸⁷*ARP*, January 30, February 13, 27, 1952; January 21, 1953. *MS*, 1949, p. 255.
- ¹⁸⁸*ARP*, April 7, 28, 1954.
- ¹⁸⁹*MS*, 1932, p. 313; 1933, pp. 444-45; 1934, p. 513; 1935, p. 653; 1936, p. 88.
- ¹⁹⁰*MS*, 1939, p. 439. *ARP*, June 7, December 6, 1939; February 12, December 17, 1941.

¹⁹¹ARP, December 7, 1938; May 17, 1939. MS, 1939, pp. 426-27.

¹⁹²ARP, May 18, 1932; August 29, 1934.

¹⁹³MS, 1936, p. 87.

¹⁹⁴ARP, June 10, 1942; January 3, 10, 17, 24, February 28, August 1, 1945.

¹⁹⁵ARP, June 30, January 7, 1948; February 23, March 23, August 17, 1949; March 8, April 5, May 10, 1950.

¹⁹⁶ARP, May 10, September 27, November 22, 1951; January 16, February 20, 1952; February 18, November 11, 1953.

¹⁹⁷ARP, June 2, 9, 1954; March 30, 1955. May 1982 conversation between writer and Mr. W. H. Stuart, Sr.

¹⁹⁸ARP, October 20, December 15, 22, 1954; February 13, 20, 1957.

¹⁹⁹ARP, August 13, 1958; December 7, 1959; December 9, 1964.

²⁰⁰ARP, August 10, 1955; August 1, 8, 15, 22, 1956; February 13, April 17, May 1, August 14, September 4, 1957; August 13, 1958. MS, 1961, p. 306.

²⁰¹ARP, March 27, 1963. Conversation with J. M. Lesesne.

²⁰²ARP, August 16, 1939; October 21, 1964.

²⁰³ARP, November 3, 1965; February 1, 1967.

²⁰⁴MS, 1952, p. 35. ARP, June 11, 1952; August 8, 1951. Conversation with J. M. Lesesne and Mr. Harold Nickles, brother of Miss Elizabeth Nickles.

²⁰⁵MS, 1958, p. 451; 1959, pp. 564, 613.

²⁰⁶ARP, July 8, 1964; May 13, June 3, 24, December 30, 1970; February 3, 24, April 7, 14, 21, 28, May 19, 1971; May 16, 23, 1973.

²⁰⁷MS, 1970, p. 524; 1971, pp. 817-18. A typed manuscript copy of the "listening session" held in Bartow, Florida on January 17, 1971 is included in the manuscript collection of Erskine material in McCain library.

²⁰⁸MS, 1971, p. 812. There are two ways to count the number of students who matriculate at a college or university: a "head count" and a "Full-Time Equivalent" (FTE) count. The former is the total number of students who register during one semester. Included in the head count are persons who may take only one course. One FTE is a full-time student enrolled in the normal number of courses. Two students each of whom is enrolled in one-half the normal number of courses might be counted as one FTE. All enrollment figures used in this work were taken from the reports of Erskine College and Seminary that appear in the *Minutes of Synod*. Generally these figures are head count figures although they are not always specified as such.

Lowry Ware, in preparing the section on Erskine for the bicentennial supplemental volume, has painstakingly counted

the number of students listed as "regular students" in each annual Erskine catalog. He reports 756 students for the 1970-71 year and 618 for the 1981-82 year. The comparable figures from the *Minutes of Synod* are: 772 (1970-71) and 643 head count, 634 FTE (fall term, 1981).

The procedure of counting students is complicated. During one year the student population may fluctuate slightly during one term and significantly between the fall and spring semesters. To further complicate matters this writer has encountered two FTE counts for the same semester. One, calculated on the basis of number of courses taken, might be called the "academic FTE." The other, calculated on the basis of the amount of tuition and fees paid, can be termed the "financial FTE." These two methods of computing FTE figures produce slightly different totals. One who attempts statistical studies with students enrollment figures opens Pandora's box.

²⁰⁹ARP, June 10, 15, 22, July 15, August 5, 1959; April 13, 1960; February 19, 1964. MS, 1961, p. 311; 1963, p. 665; 1977, p. 462.

²¹⁰MS, 1977, p. 462. ARP, June 1980. p. 3; July 1979, pp. 3, 23; January 1980, pp. 23, 31.

²¹¹ARP, June 20, August 15, 1973; June 12, 1974; May 1977, p. 7; June 1977, p. 7, MS, 1974, p. 589.

²¹²MS, 1971. p. 812; 1982, p. 660.

²¹³ARP, March 1976, p. 12; April 1977, p. 15; May 1977, p. 31; June 1977, p. 18; July 1977, p. 3; August 1977, p. 2; September 1977, pp. 2, 10-11; October 1977, p. 17; November 1977, p. 16; December 1977, p. 24; February 1978, p. 2; July 1978, p. 4; July 1979, p. 22; September 1979, pp. 24, 30. MS, 1976, pp. 254-59; 1977, p. 459; 1978, pp. 222-23. *Minutes of Mississippi Valley Presbytery*, April 30, 1977, p. 1. *Minutes of Catawba Presbytery*, November 20, 1977, p. 56.

Chapter VI

¹ARP, January 12, 1944.

²All statistics for church growth were taken from the statistical tables published annually in the *Minutes of Synod*. Unless otherwise noted, information on church membership has been taken from the statistical column containing total communicant members. In 1979 that column shows an increase of four members. If the columns entitled "total gains" and "total losses" are consulted for 1979 they yield a decrease of 135 members for that year. These columns normally indicate membership numbers that are substantially different from the membership listed in the total communicant membership column. There is no

way to reconcile the differences in these statistics. If the net gain or loss columns are correct there should be over 40,000 ARPs in 1982. These columns have been used to measure fluctuations in membership, not to calculate membership growth over the fifty year period.

Census records from the federal government were used to compare church growth with the growth of the white population in counties containing ARP churches. Some census records listed native whites and some listed whites. The writer assumes that in all areas under study the non-native white population is not large and these two statistics can be used interchangeably. Figures from the 1980 census were taken from preliminary census bureau publications. All statistical information was displayed in chart form from which conclusions that appear in this study were taken. This research is in the possession of the writer.

¹In September 1982 this writer spoke at the Greenville ARP Church and used some data included in this chapter. Two persons to whom the writer is indebted but whose identity is unknown, suggested that a comparison of church membership changes between the ARP Church and other presbyterian denominations might be helpful. The *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches* from 1939 to 1982 lists the following as the presbyterian denominations: ARP; Cumberland Presbyterian; Orthodox Presbyterian; PCA; PCUS; UPUSA; UPCNA (after 1959, UPCUSA); Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America; Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod; and Second Cumberland Presbyterian Church (formerly Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church). The last three denominations were not included in this comparison because their membership totals were listed irregularly.

Combined membership changes for these presbyterian denominations were: 1940-1950, a twenty-four per cent increase; 1950-1960, a twenty-three per cent increase; 1960-1970, a six per cent increase; 1970-80, a sixteen per cent decrease; and 1980-1982, a three per cent decrease. These patterns were somewhat similar to membership changes in the ARP Church in the 1940's, 1960's, and from 1980 to 1982. The patterns were different from those of the ARP Church in the 1950's and 1970's.

²When a new church was developed in a county formerly without an ARP church, that county's white population has been included in the subsequent census figures. In calculating the growth of the white population, the county's white population was added to the previous census totals to compute percentage growth.

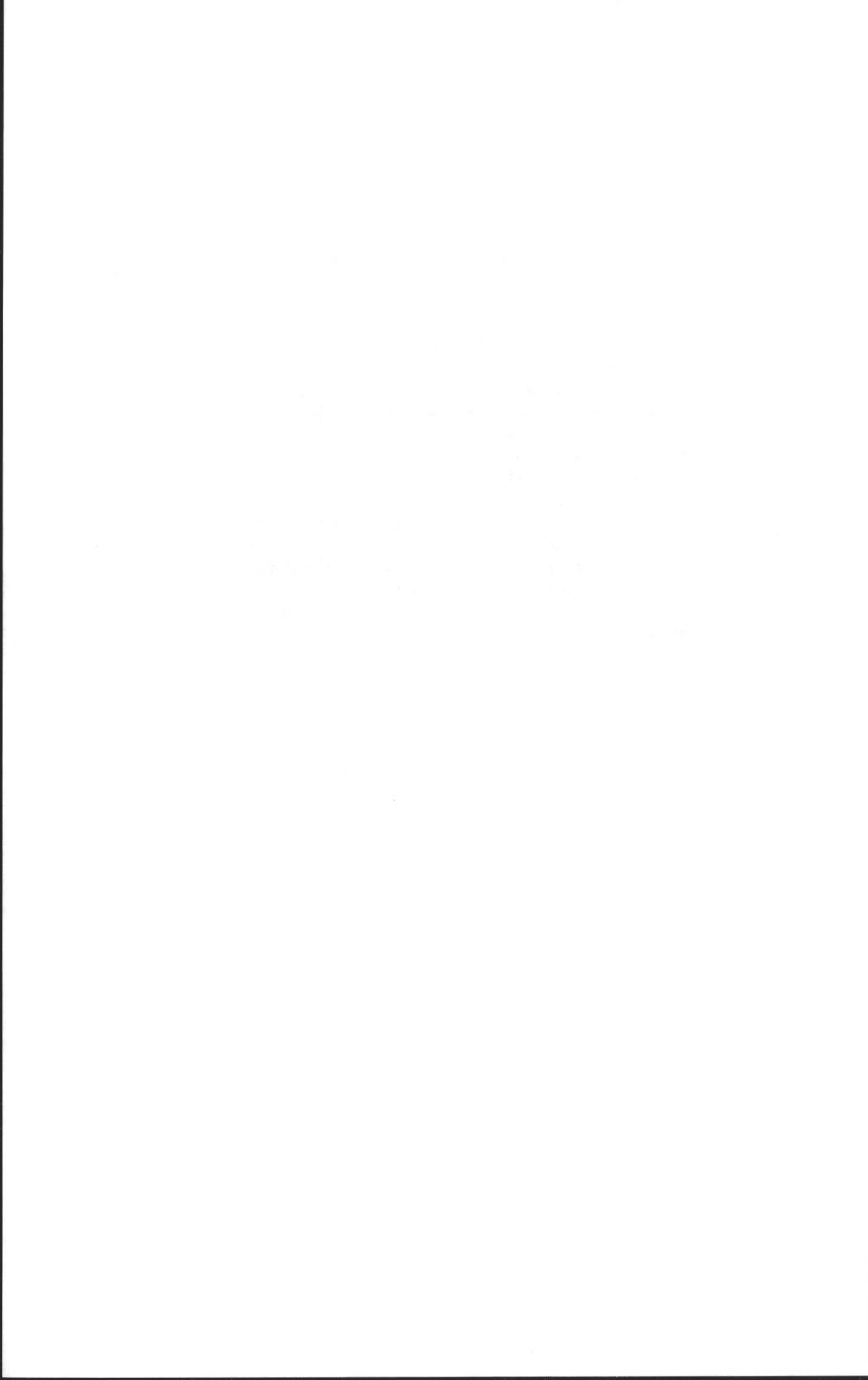
³For the statistical study Florida churches were separated from

Second Presbytery in 1930. The Florida churches remained in Second Presbytery until the former presbytery was created in 1964.

⁶Without Covenant Church the ARP growth rate in Polk County from 1930 to 1980 was two hundred and twenty-eight per cent.

⁷Both Tennessee and Alabama Presbytery and Mississippi Valley Presbytery were created after the 1930 census. Statistics on church growth and the growth of white populations was taken from 1940 to 1980 for those two presbyteries.

⁸ARP, May 2, 1962; June 2, 1965; March 9, 1966; March 1976, p. 4; May 1978, pp. 18-19; July 1980, p. 21. In 1934 R. M. Stevenson noted that pastors sometimes manipulated statistics to make the church rolls appear to contain more persons than actually belonged to the church. One who works with statistics from the *Minutes of Synod* will agree with Stevenson's editorial against "The Sin of Statistics." The editor declared that "padded rolls, like padded ballot boxes, are an evil under the sun and need to be discontinued." ARP, February 14, 1934.



INDEX

THE SECOND CENTURY

A History of the Associate Reformed Presbyterians
1882 - 1982

This index is a combined index for Part I, Growth, Change and Stability, and Part II, Conflict, Change, Continuity: The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. Both authors have contributed to this Index.

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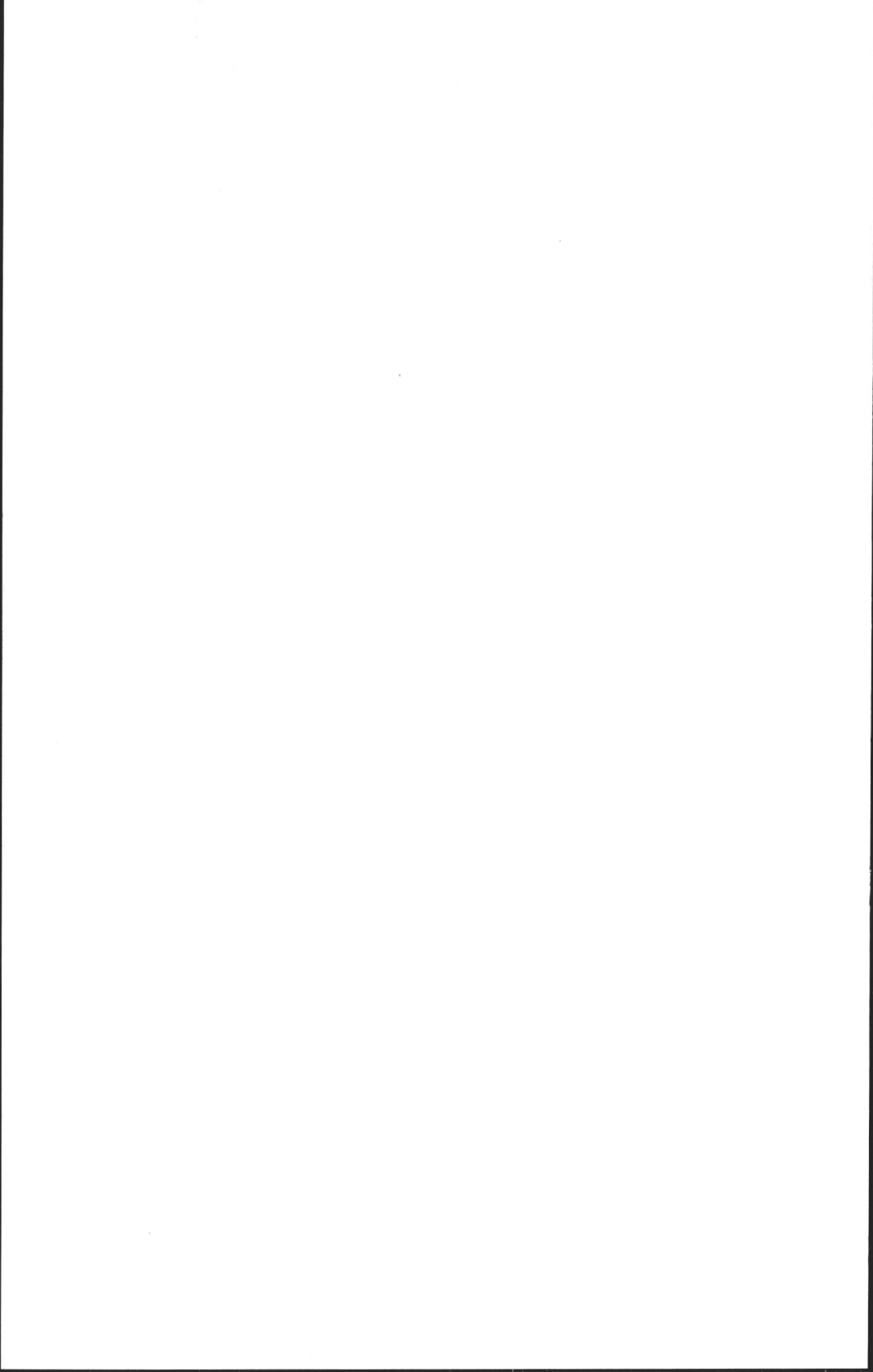
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PART III

INDEX TO LATHAN'S HISTORY

Lathan's *History* (the full title is *History of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South*, to which is prefixed a *History of the Associate Presbyterians and Reformed Presbyterian Churches*) was first published in 1882. Using "every source accessible," the author in his own words regarded "neither expense nor labor." In 1979, it was reprinted as a part of the bicentennial commemoration of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church.

Due to the limitations under which Lathan worked a century ago, no index was included in his volume. For accounts of his history, see Part I, pp. 1-2, 91-92. This index has been prepared to make the work more useful for the reader.

Lowry Ware

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