

2020

Slaveholders' Paradise: Conceptions of heaven in antebellum southern Presbyterian thought

Matthew Dawdy
Iowa State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd>

Recommended Citation

Dawdy, Matthew, "Slaveholders' Paradise: Conceptions of heaven in antebellum southern Presbyterian thought" (2020). *Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. 18114.
<https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd/18114>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact digirep@iastate.edu.

**Slaveholders' Paradise: Conceptions of heaven in antebellum southern Presbyterian
thought**

by

Matthew David Dawdy

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

Major: History

Program of Study Committee:
Lawrence McDonnell, Major Professor
Kathleen Hilliard
Rose Caraway

The student author, whose presentation of the scholarship herein was approved by the program of study committee, is solely responsible for the content of this thesis. The Graduate College will ensure this thesis is globally accessible and will not permit alterations after a degree is conferred.

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

2020

Copyright © Matthew David Dawdy, 2020. All rights reserved.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
INTRODUCTION: PART 1.....	1
PART II.....	5
CONCLUSION: PART 3	36
BIBLIOGRAPHY	37

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee chair, Larry McDonnell, and my committee members, Kathy Hilliard, and Rose Caraway, for their guidance and support throughout this process.

I would also like to offer my thanks to my friends, colleagues, and the department faculty and staff for making the time spent at Iowa State University a fantastic experience.

ABSTRACT

Heaven is humanity's place of eternal rest. In the years surrounding the Civil War, Southern clergymen and intellectuals interpreted heaven within the framework of their beliefs about and aspirations for the South. This study examines Southern Presbyterian conceptions of heaven. Studying the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, a Charleston-based denominational journal, this thesis explores what heaven meant to these authors, and how these views aligned with social reform efforts. Heaven focused Southern Presbyterian attempts to build an "almost-heavenly state" on earth. Intellectual leaders such as James H. Thornwell advanced connections between heavenly and terrestrial society that shaped discussion in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*. Although they did not claim a large membership in the Old South, Southern Presbyterian leaders were powerfully influential and strove to reconcile the fallibility of social order with their beliefs about the nature of the afterlife. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Presbyterian clergy seized the chance to guide society in a godlier direction, within the framework of their beliefs in a slaveholders' paradise.

INTRODUCTION: PART 1

Between 1847 and 1866, Southern clergymen packed the pages of the *Southern Presbyterian Review* with elaborate descriptions of God's realm.¹ Heaven is the ultimate reward for the faithful masses, and sermons have always appealed to congregants' desires to claim a place in the glorious afterlife. Yet heavenly imaginings are as varied as humanity, with little agreement on a unified image of our place of eternal bliss. What use did heaven have for religious intellectuals in the Civil War era? As true believers, antebellum Southern Presbyterians pointed toward a vision of heaven that helped readers recognize the gravity of their duties here on earth. The South, they argued, had committed a "grievous sin" that helped explain the turmoil within the Union. That sin, though, was not the slavery so reviled by the North. It was, rather, dereliction and disregard of the individual master's duty to the enslaved. Visions of heaven described in the *Southern Presbyterian Review* sought to shift the South onto a godlier path. The first step Southern clergy took toward unifying regional thought involved bringing their unique heavenly vision to the residents of the South. Christianizing slavery, according to their worldview, was central to that goal.

Since 1970, most historians have misunderstood or overlooked this problem, as studies of religion in the Old South have tended to focus on a few key points. One group of scholars focuses on the Great Awakening and its aftermath, discussing its impact on Southern religious thought. Authors such as Rhys Isaac and Donald Mathews argue that the South experienced a rejuvenation in Christian faith from the Awakening onward. From the egalitarian-rationalistic religion of the 1760s to the regional-defensive strands that characterized the South's religion by

¹ *Southern Presbyterian Review* will also appear shortened to *SPR* in the text.

1850, the South sought to adapt itself to changes within the Union, Mathews argues, especially when it came to slavery. By this account, compromise should have triumphed over crisis. It did not, though, and war was the result. The South came to believe in slavery as a Christian institution and a positive good, arguing that it needed to be “rendered humane” to protect their cherished Confederacy. Southern intellectuals, many of them clergymen, argued that God had entrusted white Southerners with Christian mastery of slaves. As part of this sacred covenant, God had required them to render it humane. In *A Consuming Fire*, historian Eugene Genovese posited that slaveowners and reformists shared a single worldview when it came to slavery-- specifically, that there should be no guilt felt since God had ordained the arrangement. This clerical cover in slavery’s defense strengthens the merit of examining religion as a source of political thought. Absent from these discussions, however, are motivation-s that compelled Southern clergymen toward a vision of heaven on earth. If they were true believers, what specifically did they believe about heaven and eternal life?

The interaction between slavery and Christianity forms a critical body of scholarship, focusing on the pathbreaking work of Albert J. Raboteau and John B. Boles. This work stresses the importance of Methodists and Baptists as the most dynamic evangelical denominations among the enslaved.² Of course, how slaves came to Christianity is hotly discussed in Southern religious and political history. Boles and Raboteau tend to focus on the impact of religion as control and how it was used by the master class to maintain its rule.³ In this view, religion-- both its implementation and its withholding-- allowed slaveowners to shape relationships with blacks. Other scholars, such as Vincent Harding, disagree, seeing slave religion as the “religion of the

² John B. Boles, “The Southern Way of Religion,” *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 75 (1999): 226-47.

³ Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The ‘Invisible Institution’ in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 290-318.

quarters,” a liberative force.⁴ Either way, religion mattered deeply. So too, Bertram Wyatt-Brown argued that although only a fraction of Southerners, black and white, belonged to Christian congregations, religious affiliation was a critical aspect of all Southerners’ social identity.⁵ Religious ideas found ways to influence thought and diffuse itself into communities, even where church membership was low. Religion gave status to people that seemed worth fighting for.

Other strands of historical analysis of religion in the Old South focus on the impact of the religious debates which roiled the upper echelon of Southern society. Here, religion causes war, due in part to conflicted interpretation of Scripture. James Farmer’s *Metaphysical Confederacy* argues for the importance of religious leaders such as Thornwell as political and social figures. This scholarship pushes back on the notion that Presbyterian power waned leading into the Civil War, a point which this essay affirms. Political and spiritual power were never so neatly divided, leading up to the war. Known as the “Calhoun of the Church,” Farmer’s Thornwell was the architect of the South’s religious response to secession, including the “regional-defensive” turn described by Mathews.⁶ Indeed, both Thornwell and Calhoun sought to create a heavenly Southern society on earth. Other scholars, such as Mark Noll, explain the onset of the Civil War through a broader examination of religion. His book, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*, argues that the Bible served as a main divisive factor within the Union.⁷

⁴ Vincent Harding, *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981), 224-230.

⁵ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), xviii.

⁶ Donald G. Mathews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 248.

⁷ Mark A. Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 29.

Lack of consensus over its meaning contributed to the inevitability of open hostilities. How to interpret the Bible's stance upon slavery, Noll asserts, especially tore the country apart.

What is missing in these discussions, especially among scholars of white Southern religious life, is an examination of what Southerners believed awaited them after death. As civil war became inevitable, clergymen sought to reinforce their hold on society by offering a special sort of salvation for those who followed God's path. The South had long disregarded its duty to its slaves they feared. Religious leaders such as Thornwell deployed heaven as an aspirational tool to reform Southern master-slave relations. The ramifications of such a strategy have been neglected by scholars on both sides of the racial divide. Reformation of slavery along Biblical precepts would, Southern clergy hoped, create perfect servants toiling under godly, angelic masters. They believed that God depended on Southern clergy to re-educate planters to their righteous purpose. These "ascended masters" would be the primary conduit of spiritual power and wisdom. This is not to say that clergymen did not truly believe in the Gospel, for no one could argue against Thornwell being anything but a true believer. However, the lengths they went to and the arguments they put forth from the pulpit sought to radically reconfigure society in the American South, in ways that make their own influence fundamental.

PART II

Denominations, such as Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist, enjoyed a better reputation here than others, such as Catholicism.⁸ Despite their other distinctions, nothing divided these groups more sharply than ideas about heaven. Heaven, among Southern scholars, took a variety of forms and was not confined to one singular image. Certain aspects held true across various sects. As well, some descriptions were pulled straight from Scripture. However, the Bible and heavenly imaginings only carried so far. A glance at Southern religious thought shows that visions of heavens drew upon traditional sentiments and popular symbols. Familiar accounts such as the writings of John Milton and John Bunyan, along with the hymns of Charles and John Wesley, offered Southern intellectuals a strong basis for imagining their own unique heaven.⁹ Scholarship has been devoted to the Devil and his domain, yet no one has studied any denominational understanding of heaven in an organized way.

The single richest repository of Southern theological debate for this period is the *Southern Presbyterian Review* published in Charleston, South Carolina. Few scholars have waded very far into its pages in a systematic way. To understand Southern Presbyterian views of heaven, I dove in, covering the years from 1847 to 1866. On heaven, the evidence is rich and rewarding, promising to revise and reinvigorate old conversations and spark new discussions. Southern Presbyterian clergy were not satisfied to sit idly by and let slavery and war dictate their fate. Even before 1860, they sought to reform the South into an unassailable bastion of God's

⁸ Thornwell authored three articles on the invalid nature of Catholic baptism. See James H. Thornwell, "Validity of Popish Baptism," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 5 (July 1851); "Validity of Popish Baptism, Continued," October 1851); and "Validity of Popish Baptism," (January 1852).

⁹ Andrew F. Dickson, "Hymn-Book Making," *The Southern Presbyterian Review*, 15 (1862): 61.

favor. That heaven would play a critical role in the description and implementation of such reforms has been overlooked by scholars.

How Presbyterians' religion reflected and tried to rectify central social and political conflicts is a focal point of this essay. In his poem "Andrea del Sarto," Robert Browning asks, 'What's a heaven for?'¹⁰ For Presbyterians, heaven invested with all the power of God was a good guide to discussion within Southern society. The *SPR* fostered a more profound sense of the motivations behind certain ideologies that southern Presbyterians chose to put forth. Some factional dissent occurred, though many cracks diminished come 1861 when caught between warring states, the Presbyterian Church in America split into Northern and Southern branches. For Southern authors, heaven supplied the connection between the rest of Southern society and themselves. Worry over the relationship between master and slaves dominated Southern Presbyterian concern. Driven by profit, Southern masters turned from the Biblical definition of slavery. The South needed to return to its roots, and the Presbyterian clergy sought to impress on society the need for reform. Heaven created a bridge between laymen, clergy, and the fervent churchgoers. The *SPR* provided a means to diffuse Presbyterian religious power into Southern society. Southern theologians were quick to offer solutions to social problems, using heaven as a celestial reward.

Church membership in the American South never quite lived up to the region's reputation as "God-fearing." On the eve of the Civil War, church membership across all denominations in America did not exceed forty percent.¹¹ Methodism held the lion's share of members at about 12 percent. Their membership dwarfed Baptists, at 6.2 percent, and Presbyterians, who boasted 3.6

¹⁰ Robert Browning, "Andrea del Sarto," in *Men and Women* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields 1855): 97.

¹¹ Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, "Turning Pews into People: Estimating 19th Century Church Membership," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 25 (1986), 184 (Graph).

percent membership across the country.¹² In 1860, the Presbyterian Church of America was the least followed of the four major Christian sects in the country. The Presbyterian Church's membership waned from the mid-nineteenth century onward. The Civil War exacerbated membership problems as lingering tensions from pre-1850s disputes led to sectional unrest. The final break between the two groups occurred in 1860 when the General Assembly voted to hold their 1861 conference in Philadelphia, far across the Mason-Dixon line and firmly in Union territory.¹³ This separation proved beneficial to the Church in the South. Presbyterianism, despite waning membership, held a disproportionate amount of power to affect change in the Old South. The lack of adherents did not equal powerlessness for the Presbyterian Church. The *SPR* proved essential to the success Southern Presbyterians had in reaching Southern citizens. While they lacked numbers in comparison to other denominations, they had more than enough mindpower. During the period leading up to and through the Civil War, the South cultivated some of the nation's greatest religious scholars. Southern Presbyterian theologians were well-read and even better connected. Men such as Thornwell and Thomas Smyth spoke much about the state of the South and its relation to the country. Never far from their minds and lips were matters of slavery and Southern society. The Southern clergy sought to exert influence and shape the South in their Father's image. This rhetoric became clearer as the war aged and the Confederacy crumbled. Building an almost heavenly society on earth seemed to them to be the perfect cure for what ailed their beloved South.

Much of their writing and correspondence appears in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*. Conducted by "an association of ministers," the first issue emerged from Columbia, South

¹² Finke and Stark, "Turning Pews into People," 188 (Graph).

¹³ John B. Adger, "The General Assembly of 1861," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 14 (1861): 280.

Carolina, in 1848 and illustrates the scholarly clout of its contributors. The journal originally ran from 1848 to 1867 but was brought back in 1876, lasting until 1884. It served as the backbone of Presbyterian thought leading into the Civil War. Despite limited church membership, the *Southern Presbyterian Review* sparked intense theological arguments which pertained to a host of topics, including slavery. The authors of the *Review* were willing to tackle critical topics of the day, such as the relation between natural science and revealed religion. Such critical debate sparked disagreement between Southern clergymen, Presbyterian, or not. The pages are filled with sophisticated, nuanced arguments that drew attention from those outside the South. The work undertaken by the authors of the *Southern Presbyterian Review* had an impact on American culture that moved beyond the Mason-Dixon line. Despite their official divide, members of the northern presbyteries kept a watchful eye on publications from the South. The material provided by the journal caught the attention of Northern Presbyterians who felt compelled to respectfully read and debate the arguments offered by their erstwhile brethren. Thornwell himself kept contact with clergymen as far north as Boston.¹⁴ The impact of the publication far outshone the limited membership base the Presbyterian church could collectively lay claim.

There is no denying the power of Southern Presbyterian rhetoric. Given their small base, the effect they had on Southern society was enormous. In the pages of the *SPR* they expanded on countless Biblical themes. Among the most critical involved heaven and the world after ours. The authors had quite a few discussions on heaven, touching on subjects that are not present in the Bible. The Bible contains three hundred and ninety-eight verses that mention heaven. Far fewer describe what eternal bliss might have looked like. The most explicit scene comes from the

¹⁴ James O. Farmer, Jr., *The Metaphysical Confederacy: James Henley Thornwell and the Synthesis of Southern Values* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986), 57-58.

Apocalyptic Vision of John. However, this description does not reveal much beyond God's throne room.

In this scene, a great general assembly sits before the Great King. These hierarchies of heaven are seated in semicircles before the throne.¹⁵ Heaven is where the angels and spirits reside in the glorification of God. There are hierarchies to the angelic chorus, each with their role.¹⁶ The Bible is vague about the actual layout of heaven. Scripture tells us that heaven is real and occupied by real people. Sometimes, the Bible compares heaven to a mansion with many rooms.¹⁷ Still, other descriptions liken heaven to an enormous city.¹⁸ Heaven is where God lives, and that is where the Throne and Christ are as well. Heavenly order and hierarchy are prominent; however, the experience of New Testament heaven is different than in the Old Testament.¹⁹ A physical location for heaven is never revealed. The city of God is likened to a better country, designed by the hand of our Maker.²⁰ The most elaborate picture humanity is given of our place of eternal rest originates in Revelation 21. Here, heaven is described with streets paved of gold, gates made of pearl, and walls made of many precious gems.²¹

God resides at the apex of heaven. This God is rigid, immovable. Cold judgment is tempered by his description, with clothes "of purest snow" and hair "like purest wool." The various spirits comprise most of the occupiers of heaven. The most famous beings within God's

¹⁵ Revelation 4-6.

¹⁶ For specific classifications of angels see Isaiah 6:1-8 (Seraphim), Ezekiel 10:20 (Cherubim), Daniel 10:13 (Archangel-Michael).

¹⁷ John 14:1-3.

¹⁸ Revelation 21.

¹⁹ Old Testament versus New Testament can be expressed as condemnation versus mercy. Law had been given to Moses by God (Exodus 20), and the grace came from Jesus Christ (Matthew 22:37-40). See also John 1:17, "For the law was given through Moses, grace and truth came through Jesus Christ."

²⁰ Hebrews 11:16, 11:10.

²¹ The *SPR* takes this further expanding on the idea of precious jewels and connects them to the original tribes of Israel.

temple are the “living creatures” as well as the Lamb. The Lamb is the symbolic representation of Jesus Christ. However, the exact nature of the “living beings” are harder to pin down. The four are first described in Ezekiel’s vision of heaven. His tenth chapter identified them as cherubim, a class of minor guardian entities.²² The four cherubim have four faces, man, lion, cherub, and eagle. Their appearances are human-shaped; however, unlike humans, they face the four compass points simultaneously. The four living beings reappear in John’s vision, however here they resemble a lion, ox, man, and eagle.²³ These figures have six wings, while in Ezekiel, they possessed four. Verse six of John describes them as having “eyes all over,” which suggests that nothing may escape their notice. They are said to surround “the one” on the red throne, which is comprised of ruby and sardine.

Heaven, mankind’s place of final rest, is not only home to God, Christ, and an uncountable number of heavenly beings. The saints of God who died on earth are now in heaven. This includes Old Testament saints and true believers regardless of country or creed. Children who had died before their “age of accountability” go to heaven.²⁴ The Bible states that those who truly trust in God, and in Christ as the savior, will have a place in heaven.²⁵ Paul spoke of death as the moment one enters the presence of the Lord.²⁶ Scripture teaches that not everyone will make it into God’s heavenly mansion. Some will be lost. Presbyterians, among others, believe that there is a set number of those who will reach heaven. This theory, predestination, became a

²² Ezekiel 10:14.

²³ Revelation 5:6-14.

²⁴ Biblical age of accountability is said to be the age where God holds children accountable for their sins. If at this age, they do not repent of their sins and trust Jesus, then they will face judgment. If they were to die before this age, they would be saved. See Matthew 19:14 and Abner A. Porter, “The Unity of the Human Race,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 4 (1851): 357.

²⁵ “For God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life.” John 3:16.

²⁶ 2 Corinthian 5:7-8, Philippians 1:21-23.

point of division within the Church. Whether the person was preordained to heaven via chance, or whether the person gained entry because God saw the person's heart and knew that they would faithfully serve Him was a matter of dispute within the Presbyterian church. The concept of the faithful entering heaven emerged in the New Testament. Prior to Jesus Christ, heaven was created for God and his angels. The prophet Elijah was seemingly the first to enter heaven.²⁷ His transcendence from the earth was a miracle of the highest order. Life, before Elijah, in service to God, was focused on living justly. There was no promise of the glittering city of God.

However, the Bible cannot quite reconcile itself on what happened to Elijah. Was he “taken by a whirlwind to heaven”? If so, verses in the New Testament make that interpretation problematic. The testimony of John's Gospel stated that “no one has ascended to heaven but He who came down from heaven, that is the Son of Man.”²⁸ Perhaps, Elijah was whisked away on the air to another location on earth. This theory holds Scripturally valid as it pertains to actions by the prophet after he was whisked away. Elijah warns a king of Judah that he should cease his sins, lest dire consequences result.²⁹

No human had entered heaven before Jesus Christ. Jesus, as he died on the cross, promised a thief entry into his Father's house. From there, the gates were thrust open. Furthermore, as proclaimed by Paul, “the dead meet Jesus upon death.” Biblical description of heaven contains as much about what is not allowed in as what is within. Heaven is the home to God, angels, and the spirits of departed saints. There are two factions of angel, Those Above and Those Below. Those who fell were cast down by the Throne of God during Satan's rebellion.³⁰

²⁷ 2 Kings 2:11.

²⁸ John 3:13.

²⁹ 2 Chronicles 21:12-15.

³⁰ Isaiah 14:12, Jude 1:6.

Those that remained in the heavenly orbit were split into various orders.³¹ Angels were each uniquely created to serve God. Angels originated from God with the uttering of a single word of Power.³² The Old Testament discussed heaven as a closed club. Heaven was not the reward of every believer. Very few could hope to find a place there. The New Testament broke that tradition with Jesus Christ.³³

In Jesus, anyone who repented would be saved and granted eternal rest. Hence, most heavenly description originated in the New Testament. However, outside of Revelations and some allusions to what awaits beyond, little is told of what to expect of mankind's eternal bliss. Here, the *SPR* picked up the slack. Rooted in Biblical stories, the authors expanded imagery to new heights. Since heaven became a place one could attain, attention had to be devoted to who was, or was not, there. The largest group present in heaven are the dead. However, their true nature and role in the afterlife are ambiguous. Death is but a change of state, a pause on the road to salvation that Smyth referred to as, "the sleep from which the weary and troubled spirit shall awake refreshed and invigorated."³⁴ These pious dead are happy and holy with Christ in paradise. Our earthly bodies are "houses of clay," which lie vacant in our graves upon death. Southern Presbyterians believed that although the body decayed and returned to dust, at some point, it would return, changed, to behold God's glory. Vacant bodies in graves would eventually be recaptured during the resurrection, and within them, the spirit would dwell, pure and immortal.³⁵ These "new beings" would be created from the old, and thus humanity's old selves

³¹ Not all are present in the Bible. Principalities, Virtues, Powers, and Dominions go unmentioned. Ralph McInerney, *Selected Writings of Thomas Aquinas* (London: Penguin Books Limited, 1998), 841.

³² Colossians 1:16.

³³ John 14:2. See Luke 23:43. Jesus Christ said to the crucified thief that he would be with Him in paradise.

³⁴ Thomas Smyth, "The Teaching of the Dead Sea," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 10 (1857): 236.

³⁵ Andrew F. Dickson, "Life out of Death," *The Southern Presbyterian Review*, 9 (1855): 386.

would be swept into oblivion.³⁶ These more perfect spirits would also lose human attachments, which give way to trust, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit. The new “bodies” are fashioned after Christ himself. However, they hold little resemblance to human forms now.

Clear Scriptural chronology expands on events which would occur during the resurrection. Though the people had died, they were not gone. The exact nature of this in-between state was not elaborated upon. It is potentially a form of purgatory. However, the Southern divines were quick to point out that John Calvin had declared purgatory a fiction of Satan.³⁷ According to Paul in 1 Corinthians, the “last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.” The millennium will be a spiritual reign of Christ on earth. There will be no physical reign of Christ; therefore, discussions of heaven would, in theory, concern spiritual imagery and constructs.³⁸ Millennium will occur, or so Southern divines claimed when mankind had reached its lowest point. To escape this state of complete depravity required mankind’s acknowledgment of their folly, casting themselves in humility and faith upon God. By the time these words were written, the South had all but lost the war. Southern Presbyterians conceived the millennium as an organic movement within society wherein mankind fully accepted Christ, and thus began the process of being in His kingdom forever. By this point, society would have moved toward perfection, and earth would be as close to heaven as possible. The millennium would not occur by miraculous means, they asserted.³⁹ The final sanctification of the elect and the final preparations for heaven were purely the work of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, man could not hope to achieve heavenly bliss by their efforts. The Southern Presbyterian Church, in its role as

³⁶ John G. Shepperson, “The Authority of Ecclesiastical Rules,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 8 (1854): 181.

³⁷ Anonymous, “2d. Maccabees 12: 39-45; and Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead,” *Southern Presbyterian Review* 13 (1860): 311.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 315.

³⁹ R. S. Gladney, “The Downfall of the Union,” *The Southern Presbyterian Review*, 16 (1863): 39.

mediator between mankind and the divine, would play an important role in preparing citizens for the afterlife. Thus, the Church pivoted itself as a power apart from and above civil government.

In the last days before the resurrection, bodies will rise and reunite with their souls.⁴⁰ At this point, the General Judgment of all souls will occur. In the wake of judgment, those found worthy will witness the final return of Christ. So, what were the risen dead like? They are said to have lost their corporeal forms yet were still recognizable to other dead. The dead in heaven will remember their former lives and pray for those who have not passed. The Reverend H. Harbaugh, in 1852, proclaimed heaven as the meeting place of all saints. There, we shall know each other in this heavenly state, “to which we are all hastening.”⁴¹ One group of people conspicuously absent in this discussion were the enslaved. Their relation to and role in heaven is hardly elaborated. In sixteen volumes, there is only one article from a synod in Mississippi which mentions former slaves being in heaven. Yet, this is a bit problematic as heavenly figures are described as spirits, or sometimes crystals. They were not depicted as resembling their past forms. Thus, outwardly they may resemble other spirits but inwardly harbor the scars of slavery.

Heaven, in the *SPR*, was described as a physical place- or at the least, a spiritual realm with physical properties adapted to our human understanding.⁴² What does heaven itself look like? The Bible is silent on its true glory. However, the *SPR* dutifully described the holiest of places. There are three spheres of heaven: the temple, the city, and “outer heaven.” The temple of God resides at the center, apart from the new holy city.⁴³ The foundation of this temple is rock,

⁴⁰ Anonymous, “2d. Maccabees,” 313.

⁴¹ “Critical Notices,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 6 (1852): 147-148.

⁴² Elihu P. Rogers, “Reflections upon Heaven,” *Southern Presbyterian Review* 4 (1850): 165

⁴³ Anonymous, “Thirty-Third Annual Report of the American Bible Society, May 1849,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 4 (1850): 103.

representing endurance and permanency.⁴⁴ The first mentioning of God's temple in the *Southern Presbyterian Review* was from John's Revelation. This apocalyptic view offered severe imagery compared to other representations. Within the temple, there are various orders of worshippers. The center is occupied by the Lamb, who surrounded by the twenty-four elders of the church. These elders have "the Father's name in their foreheads, cloaked in white garments and adorned with golden crowns."⁴⁵ Benjamin Palmer, Charleston resident, and Thornwell's neighbor portrayed the throngs of "just men made perfect" as surrounded by innumerable companies of angels. Beyond the angels stood the 144,000 elect of mankind.⁴⁶ Utilizing Revelation, author E.F. Rockwell offered a closer view of the throne room. John's vision depicts seven lamps set before the throne, blazing with fire.⁴⁷ The throne appears to be made of jasper or sardine and is adorned with an emerald rainbow above that did not quite encircle it. The *SPR* describes a throne aflame, signifying the justice of the Great King.⁴⁸ According to Rockwell, the emerald rainbow pairs with His blazing throne to signify two fundamental aspects of God's nature: justice and mercy.⁴⁹

The lowest level of the vision is dominated by a calm, clear sea of what appears to be glass.⁵⁰ This represents the nature of the new earth, one without seas and comprised of a single landmass.⁵¹ According to Elihu Rogers, oceans and other bodies of water created boundaries between people. In the new heavenly earth, all people are as one.⁵² The seas also brought the

⁴⁴ Nathan Hoyt, "The Abrahamic Covenant," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 2 (1848): 91.

⁴⁵ Revelation 4-6.

⁴⁶ Benjamin M. Palmer, "The Relation between the Work of Christ and the Condition of the Angelic World," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 1 (1847): 36.

⁴⁷ E.F. Rockwell, "On the Scene in Revelation, Chapters IV and V," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 2 (1849): 505.

⁴⁸ Revelation 4-6.

⁴⁹ Rockwell, "Revelation, Chapters IV and V," 511.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 516.

⁵¹ James A. Wallace, "The Dead Sea," *The Southern Presbyterian Review*, 3 (1850): 390-394.

⁵² Rogers, "Reflections upon Heaven," 165.

slaves to the New World, an event that led to the Civil War. Frank Owsley, the cantankerous agrarian intellectual, reintroduced this belief in his essay, “The Irrepressible Conflict,” that argued the South had been forced into a system where they had no choice but to take care of slaves for fear of rebellion.⁵³ The new earth will reconnect all humanity. Rockwell described the reconnected as devoted to celebrating God. Benjamin Palmer elaborated on the devotions, likening their voices to “many waters, a song of the harpers.”⁵⁴ There will be no need for prayer nor preaching, as all serve the glory of God. This earthly Kingdom of God is not meat or drink; thus, the new, spiritual bodies will be quite different than our own. Instead, the Kingdom is to be full of righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

According to Thomas Smyth, the inner temple of God is above the heavens, unable to be contained.⁵⁵ The temple sits at the center of God’s new holy city- a New Jerusalem. In Revelation, the city is revealed as cubic in shape. An exact cube, all measures are equal in its crystalline form that is said to be “emblematic of the righteous who will dwell in the new earth.”⁵⁶ New Jerusalem is a “gorgeous and magnificent” city of glittering gold.⁵⁷ The walls are resplendent with jasper, while the gates are of pearl.⁵⁸ All radiance in the city comes from the illuminating light of the Throne.⁵⁹ A river of “living, healing” waters from beneath the east gate bisect the crystalline streets through the middle. This living river borders evergreens, whose fruit

⁵² Rogers, “Reflections upon Heaven,” 166-170.

⁵³ Twelve Southerners, *I’ll Take My Stand* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006 [1930]), 62,76.

⁵⁴ Palmer, “Relation between Work of Christ,” 35.

⁵⁵ Thomas Smyth, “The Bible, not Reason, the only Authoritative Source and Stand of Knowledge of the Nature of God,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 7 (1854): 472.

⁵⁶ Revelation 21:16.

⁵⁷ Rogers, “Reflections Upon Heaven,” 166-167.

⁵⁸ Wallace, “The Dead Sea,” 389-391.

⁵⁹ Rogers, “Reflections Upon Heaven,” 167.

is plucked and renewed every lunar change.⁶⁰ Water flows directly from the Throne and the Lamb. If true, then the temple must lie beyond the eastern gate of New Jerusalem. These images are adapted to our mortal senses, invoking words which offer idyllic locations, refined and more glorious due to its divine connection.⁶¹ Brief descriptions of the city are scattered across Scripture. Some imagery in the *SPR* was derived from the 37th chapter of Ezekiel. The differences between the city and temple resemble the distinctions between the Old and New Testament. God's Old Testament throne stands in august and severe majesty, but the New Testament city is peaceful and serene.

The last area of heaven, Canaan, surrounds New Jerusalem. The foundation was set by God, the Maker, and builder.⁶² Both John Shepperson and James R. Gilland offer descriptions of Canaan. The glorious, revealed truth offered by Presbyterians was of a heaven of eternal rest after mankind's labors had ended.⁶³ Gilland described Canaan as full of emerald vales and shining hills.⁶⁴ The music of heaven permeates the place- as vales filled with echoes of their Maker's name. According to Shepperson, "this land is full of certainty, safety, and goodness, a green island struck off the great continent of heaven."⁶⁵ Standing upon this isle [humanity] "can catch from afar the sheen of the heavenly Jerusalem and hear unspent in their transit melodies of celestial choirs."⁶⁶ Shepperson likened eternal rest to the holy sabbath, as both glorified God. This relation put Canaan and the Sabbath close, yet both are apart from God's glory, neither fully

⁶⁰ Time does not enter discussions of heaven very often apart from references to its eternity. Its use here is likely to create a frame of reference for the reader. See Rogers, "Reflections upon Heaven," 165.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 165-166.

⁶² Thomas Smyth, "The Bible, not Reason, the Only Authoritative Source and Stand of Knowledge of the Nature of God," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 7 (1854): 462-466.

⁶³ James R. Gilland, "The Consolations of Survivors in the Death of the Pious," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 6 (1852): 191.

⁶⁴ Gilland, "Consolation of Survivors," 200.

⁶⁵ John G. Shepperson, "Who are Members of the Visible Church," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 7 (1853): 223.

⁶⁶ Gilland, "Consolation of Survivors," 193.

capable of capturing the true essence of heaven. Canaan, in the *SPR*, indicated a middle realm between sacred and mundane- an almost heaven.

These images played an important role for Southern Presbyterian efforts to shape social policy. This “glimpse behind the divine veil” was a useful tool to entice others to keep the Sabbath holy, and closely follow the Scripture. Presbyterian church power across the Union waned with the ascendancy of Methodists and Baptists. Despite their loss in popularity and attendance, the Southern Presbyterian Church served as some of the primary architects of Southern religious response to the Civil War. Their key to the door of power lay in their ability to craft an image of heaven that appealed to Southern society. At its best, slavery was a contentious topic. Certainly, few planters wished to see themselves on eternal even ground with people whom they had abused and exploited in life. Kenneth M. Stampp contended that some southerners felt uneasiness towards slavery and easily reconciled themselves to Southern defeat.⁶⁷ Trapped by the institution of slavery, losing the Civil War would free Southerners from the enslaved and their guilt.⁶⁸ Whether this was the case, Presbyterians never discussed in the pages of the *Review*. Yet, connections can be drawn between guilt and the desire for an outside event to help restructure society. Thus, when the subject approached the enslaved in heaven, little space was devoted toward describing their role and condition in the heavenly spheres. African slaves were instead discussed in relation to their degraded natures, evidenced by the Curse of Ham. Simply, they had been redeemed from the Curse of Ham by the “praise of God’s grace.”⁶⁹ Thus, any discussion of the afterlife omitted certain details and emphasized others.

⁶⁷ Kenneth M, Stampp, *The Imperiled Union: Essays on the Background of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 247.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 254-255.

⁶⁹ Related to Genesis 9:20-27. The curse that Ham’s father placed upon Canaan. It was used to justify racism and enslavement arguing that people of African ancestry were descendants of Ham.

Death as a transition held a deep connection to what Presbyterians perceived as their role in Southern society. They held the keys to eternal life, a concept critical to their sense of self during the waning years of the Civil War.⁷⁰ Death as a stop on the way to future paradise signified shifts in government, as well. Life was dominated by the physical assembly of government, whether the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church or the individual states' governments. However, after death, those bonds no longer held. The person ceased being "of the South" and became "of Christ." This shift prepared the dead for life everlasting in heaven. This has implications for understanding Presbyterian views toward the afterlife when it came to who may enter the gates of heaven. Ascendant Southern believers were not angels, as Scripture states that all angels were created at once. This has implications for understanding Presbyterian views toward the afterlife when it came to who may enter the gates of heaven. Since all angels were created together, the host that followed Satan into Hell were "birthed" at the same instance. Humanity also contains those who are tainted, evil, and sinful creatures consigned to darkness forever. This line of logic followed into the Civil War, where it provided an easy way to distinguish between sections of the former Union.

Once a prize worth questing for had been set, the Church began to make moves toward changing policies. Again, it was not that slavery was inherently bad, as Abraham owned slaves. Southern clerical problems with slavery originated in their perception that masters had failed their servants. Masters needed to treat their slaves, as the clergy saw it, better. They needed the Gospel to assure themselves a place in heaven. Without the Bible, how would slaves properly understand their duties, both to their earthly masters and the one on high? Despite desiring to

⁷⁰ John B. Adger, "The General Assembly of 1860," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 13 (1860): 353. The concept of heavenly keys appears to originate from Ephesians IV:11-15.

reform the South's peculiar institution, Southern divines understood that they approached the master class from a position of weakness. Therefore, Southern clergy had to find a way in which to promote their power without appearing to do so. Here, they found an elegant solution. The Church did have power; however, their power was *spiritual* in nature. Worldly events fell outside the church's purview.⁷¹ The religion of Jesus Christ flowed directly from heaven to the pulpit. The pulpit was never intended as a tool of political agitation, contrary to what men such as Smyth believed.⁷² God granted the Presbyterian Church "spiritual jurisdiction" over the people of the world, or so they believed.⁷³ Thornwell took this argument further when he expanded upon what he considered the three classes of mankind: the true children of God, the "heirs apparent" to the kingdom, and those strangers and aliens who are not excluded from the call of the gospel but destitute of inheritance in Israel.⁷⁴ Thornwell's enumeration of the bodies of humanity were indicative of Presbyterian belief in predestination, originating from the belief that God had preordained specific people for salvation. The saved were commonly referred to as the elect. As Thornwell mentioned, even those who were not inheritors of God's kingdom were not immune to the call of the gospel. In that same article, however, Thornwell described a group of people who would not be saved. The baptized unbelievers were denied the gates of heaven by virtue of being "slaves of sin and the devil."⁷⁵

Thornwell served as Professor of Sacred Literature and the Evidences of Christianity at South Carolina College from 1840 onward.⁷⁶ A strong advocate of "Old School"

⁷¹ Benjamin M. Palmer, "The General Assembly of 1859," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 12 (1859): 520.

⁷² Thomas Smyth, "The Battle of Fort Sumter: Its Mystery and Miracle- God's Mastery and Mercy," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 14 (1861): 370-373.

⁷³ James H. Thornwell, "A Few More Words on the Revised Book of Discipline," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 13 (1860): 21-22.

⁷⁴ Thornwell, "Revised Book of Discipline," 5.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 13.

⁷⁶ Farmer, *The Metaphysical Confederacy*, 57-58.

Presbyterianism, in 1851, he became president of South Carolina College, a position of prestige in South Carolinian life.⁷⁷ Like others, Thornwell championed a theological defense of African slavery.⁷⁸ Thornwell served as both contributor and editor of the *Review* prior to his death in August 1862.⁷⁹ His aggressive views about Southern society revealed his desire to transform the South into an almost heavenly paradise. His clearest exposition on the subject is “The Rights and Duties of Masters,” a sermon preached on May 26, 1850, at Charleston, South Carolina. Dedicating a church “erected for the religious instruction of the Negroes,” he laid out arguments that were similar to other pro-slavery theologians, but in other respects, far more subtle.⁸⁰ These subtleties manifested themselves in Thornwell’s his belief in the South’s unique role in the world. Outsiders thought the South deserved “every epithet of vituperation and abuse.” They could find “nothing worth weeping for but the sufferings and degradation of the Southern slave.” That misrepresentation of Southern character, to Thornwell, seemed utterly divorced from reality. However, Thornwell readily acknowledged the role the South played in the predicament it faced. The moral assault on the South unleashed a too-bold language of defiance. This defiance yielded to suggestions of policy, which the South should have never accepted in clearer moments. The South, he conceded, had run into extravagancies in defense of slavery. However, as Thornwell astutely pointed out, they were men and not angels.⁸¹

⁷⁷ “Old School” Presbyterians were theologically more conservative than the “New School” and was unsupportive of revivals. It followed traditional Calvinist orthodoxy as outlined in the Westminster standards. Gary Dorrien, *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Imagining Progressive Religion 1805-1900*, (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 114-118.

⁷⁸ Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*, 95.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 58.

⁸⁰ James H. Thornwell, *The Rights and Duties of Masters: A Sermon Preached at the Dedication of a Church erected in Charleston, S.C., for the benefit of the Colored Population* (Charleston: Walker & James, 1850).

⁸¹ Ibid, 7-10.

The enslaved were considered of one blood with whites- as each has sinned, and each has an equal interest in the great redemption. Science may have falsely claimed differences between the races, and some even argued for the “brutish” nature of Africans. However, for Thornwell, God led Presbyterians to recognize the same humanity, “which we glory as the image of God.”⁸² Africans were brothers with whites, a fact which Thornwell was not ashamed to admit. Southerners must show faithfulness and diligence in the discharge of duties, which sprang from the relation of master and servant. That would signal proof to theologians such as Thornwell, and the world at large, that God had not condemned the South. This path toward Southern absolution required disasters and sacrifice before the nations could be taught the lessons of Providence. Yet, Thornwell believed that truth would triumph, and God would vindicate their actions.

Southerners were to maintain the principles upon which the “security of social order and the development of humanity depends,” or rather, their application to slavery.⁸³ Thornwell did not have to reach far for Biblical justification of his belief. Invoking Colossians 4:1, he sought to lay out what was incumbent upon the slaveholders of the South.⁸⁴ That the servants in question were slaves, there was no doubt. In Thornwell’s mind, slavery was sanctioned by Christ as an existing element of society. Envisioned by Thornwell, slavery was a personal relationship, which he referred to as being “man-to-man.” Its inclusion in the address served as Thornwell’s refutation of noted Unitarian scholar Dr. William Ellery Channing. Channing believed that slavery was a sin against God, as it prevented both slaves and slaveowners from following

⁸² Thornwell, “Rights and Duties of Masters,” 11.

⁸³ Ibid, 15.

⁸⁴ “Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in Heaven.” Colossians 4:1.

Jesus's teachings.⁸⁵ However, as Thornwell saw it, Christianity existed as a check on the relations between master and slave.

In Ephesians IV 5-9, Paul treated the services of slaves as duties, not bestial labor.⁸⁶ The duties rendered by slaves were payment in homage to God.⁸⁷ Slaves were thus moral characters possessed of conscience, reason, and will. Thornwell took it a step further, claiming that the apostles considered slavery as a social and political economy, in which relations subsisted between moral, intelligent, responsible beings. One side held the right to command, the other an obligation to obey. Both sides could do wrong and commit injustice. Even further, the right held by masters was to the man's *labor*, not the *man himself*.⁸⁸ This did not prevent the master from exercising his right to punish his slaves as long as the punishment was just and righteously administered. Slaves had essential rights, those considered intrinsic to humanity. However, there were also certain rights which belong to men in which the slave was not entitled. He was deprived of these rights because, according to Thornwell, they were non-essential to his humanity. They did not, in his words, "spring from humanity simply considered."⁸⁹

According to Southern Presbyterians, a master should never deprive their servants of free access to the instruction of the Gospel. The injustices of denying food and clothing were nothing to the injustice of "defrauding them of that bread which cometh down from Heaven."⁹⁰ Slave labor was *theirs*. From birth to death, slaves attended to the slaveholder's needs. The slave

⁸⁵ Channing's essay "Slavery" begins with the famous passage "The first question to be proposed by a rational being is, not what is profitable, but what is Right." William E. Channing, *Slavery* (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1835), 1.

⁸⁶ "Servants be obedient to them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling." Ephesians 6:5.

⁸⁷ Thornwell, "Rights and Duties of Masters," 20.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 24.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 40. Thornwell warns that if they did emerge from humanity they would also belong to women and children.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 47.

needed to be saved from an intolerable Hell through the redemption of Jesus Christ. The Gospel would not free nor civilize slaves but would do something Thornwell considered more precious—it would save them. Southern social security rested upon, Thornwell believed, the confidence and affection of their servants. Nothing would more effectually achieve slaves' regard than effort, on the masters' part, to promote their everlasting good.

Thornwell's words proved problematic for various reasons. Plainly laid out, Southerners had no issues with slavery in the abstract. They believed that they were the inheritors of a godly institution, traceable to the Old Testament.⁹¹ Slavery, they considered good. Evil was denying slaves the Gospel of Christ. Yet, this view did not sit well with all slaveholders. Some masters believed that enabling slaves to learn the *whole* Gospel would foster feelings of equality. Raboteau demonstrated this point in discussing how some slaves worshipped on their own, and how some groups came to view themselves as inheritors of Israel.⁹² Thornwell tried to circumvent that argument by divorcing the Church's role in slaves' Gospel education from the states. Southern clergymen were quick to point out, in slavery's defense, that scriptural learning did not, on its own, create equality for the slave. Slaves were still unable to make contracts with people, even other slaves.⁹³ To be sure, the souls were all the same, but God had ordained a specific role for each person. The South envisioned by Thornwell and those like him was a perfect slaveholding community. In time, his view expanded as he came to believe that the South could be remade into an almost heavenly place on earth.

⁹¹ Thomas Smyth, "The War of the South Vindicated," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 15 (1863): 480.

⁹² Albert J. Raboteau. *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 31.

⁹³ Anonymous, "A Slave Marriage Law," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 16 (1863): 156.

The *Southern Presbyterian Review* allowed the authors the ability to expand and elaborate upon their ideas for the country. Transcending the mundane world, some turned their attention to what occurred after death.⁹⁴ Preoccupation with sacred spheres enabled the South to further push ideas of an almost heavenly society, portraying heaven in ways that they wished upon the South. But was there slavery in heaven? Little description is given across sixteen volumes to the station, or role, of African slaves in the afterlife. Heaven, for Presbyterians, proved problematic. At best, they feared mankind's inability to overcome their sinful nature. Duty provided a workaround to mankind's fallibility as strict adherence to one's duties brought a person as close to heavenly bliss as possible⁹⁵ This dogmatic belief in duty fueled Presbyterian conception of just Southern society. No matter the lot of a person, they were duty-bound to others. Even clergy were not omitted from this design, as they were bound to the Southern people- a role portrayed as much greater in scope and more important than running civil society.

The Presbyterian platform hinged upon the need for social control in the Old South. To this end, clergymen like Thornwell sought to stress the "true" nature of slavery as a tool for social welfare and a means of stressing the most important form of government, the familial. The Bible stressed the connection between heaven and family.⁹⁶ Thornwell's Rights and Duties of Masters illustrates that these paternalistic relationships were not built upon kindness- it was the pure pleasure of a duty well done. A household unit existed as both a conjugal unit and a unit of labor. Whether in "The Big House" or a small tenant farm, masters and slaves negotiated how they worked together. Duty became the backbone of these interactions. The Church carved a role

⁹⁴ See Thomas Smyth, "The Teachings of the Dead Sea," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 10 (1857): 233, and E.F. Rockwell, "The Alphabet of Natural Theology," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 10 (1857): 411.

⁹⁵ This "heavenly bliss" was only meant for some. In the Calvinistic tradition, Presbyterians believed in the idea of predestination. For more on Presbyterian predestination and Calvin's beliefs on the matter see John Levering, *Predestination: Biblical and Theological Paths* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 102.

⁹⁶ "In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you." John 14.

for itself in the familial unit as the shepherds of the lost. The Southern divine, first and foremost, wanted to lead people to the gates of heaven. This could occur if they followed the doctrines set forth by Southern Presbyterians. Who could be perceived as more lost during this era than the enslaved masses? While Presbyterian churches attempted missionary efforts abroad, they saw teaching the Gospel to slaves as a primary responsibility of slaveowners. The slavocracy did not necessarily agree with these ideas. They feared any attempt by slaves to obtain equality within Southern society, so much so that attempts to promote slave literacy were illegal in states such as South Carolina.

Throughout the pages of the *SPR*, Presbyterian clergy set specific guidelines for how to spread the Gospel. The first step toward enlightening the public saw the Presbytery sending forth an evangelist. This minister proclaimed the existence of the Kingdom of God, its ineffable blessings and glories, and the terms of admission.⁹⁷ The community ultimately chose whether to accept the evangelist or not, as they held power to decide by consensus whether to continue forth as a congregation.⁹⁸ If accepted, the minister would instruct the faithful in the Gospel and doctrine of Jesus Christ. Above the teaching elders, or evangelists sat a body of ruling elders. Elders oversee the functions of the teaching elders and ensure their adherence to the Gospel and the policies set forth by the Church. Ruling elders were responsible for making sure the Presbyterian Church did not overstep its bounds, and to ensure that the “spiritual power” of the church was not sullied in dealing with the state.

Church and state were as “planets moving in different orbits.”⁹⁹ Surely, the Church believed that there needed to be drastic changes to the relationships between master and slave,

⁹⁷ J.B. Hillhouse, “Principles of Church Government,” *The Southern Presbyterian Review*, 14 (1861): 434.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 434.

⁹⁹ Thornwell, “Book of Discipline,” 5.

yet they wanted to avoid a fight. Despite their reluctance to discuss politics from the pulpit, they believed that some connection existed between church and state when it came to politics. Agitating for political change was taboo. However, if a minister were to instruct his Christian flock on the Christianity of their political relations, all the better.¹⁰⁰ Southern Presbyterians perceived an ultimate connection between true religion and politics. Thus, the State could and should be religious. Every State must have a religion, asserted Thornwell, or cease to be a government of men.¹⁰¹ Without distinction of sect, Christianity was viewed as the fountain of national life. Here, the Church and religiosity were to be two separate entities. Religious feelings were a general adherence to Scripture, whereas Church referred to a specific denomination. Thus, a government should follow Biblical precepts, but should not declare for itself a religion. The Presbyterian Church saw itself as the government appointed by the hands of Jesus.¹⁰² This government God gave to his people through Moses. As such, politicians should “yet consult Moses for laws and forms of government.”¹⁰³

Presbyterians viewed the Mosaic Law as the basis for civil government on earth. Enacted by the “Legislator of heaven,” it was humanity’s moral code.¹⁰⁴ In fact, according to the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, the Mosaic Law was the first written law code given to people.¹⁰⁵ Southern divines argued that states had lost their way. Statesmen had not yet learned that to govern a country successfully required obedience to the plain laws of heaven.¹⁰⁶ Justice and

¹⁰⁰ Smyth, “National Righteousness,” 25.

¹⁰¹ James H. Thornwell, “National Sins: A Fast-Day Sermon,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 13 (1861): 655.

¹⁰² Hillhouse, “Church Government,” 440/ 1 Cor. 12:28.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 443.

¹⁰⁴ Anonymous, “Christianity Vindicated from the Charge of Fanaticism,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 4 (1850): 198.

¹⁰⁵ It was not. Hammurabi ruled from 1792-1759 BC. There are at least two different codes that predate his, namely one Ur-Nammu in Sumeria and Lipit-Ishtar of Isin also in Sumeria. Moses received the Tablets at Mt. Sinai around 1446 BC. (Exodus 20:1-26).

¹⁰⁶ Joseph R. Wilson, “The General Assembly of 1862,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 15 (1862): 60.

Judgment are the basis of God's Throne.¹⁰⁷ All law is derived from God. When put into this context, the Presbyterians set themselves up to be portrayed as the "true power" in society. However, this idea would not have been as easy to articulate in the earlier days of the *Southern Presbyterian Review*. The groundwork established between the nature of heaven and Presbyterian power in Southern society paved the way to public expression of such sentiments. Southern Presbyterians established conceptions of the empyreal realms enough to justify a transition into the mortal realm. This desire to put themselves in the forefront of dictating Southern policy gained forward momentum with the creation of the Confederate States of America. With its creation, the Church saw the possibility of re-writing the sins of the Founding Fathers. Slavery could evolve into a truer, more benevolent, and biblical form. Concrete bonds could be set between civil and ecclesiastical government. The years before the war allowed the Church to spread its vines throughout the bedrock of Southern society. Now that the Union had been formally broken, ample ground existed for Southern Presbyterians to nurture the seeds sown throughout the *SPR*.¹⁰⁸

The creation of the Confederate States of America provided the Presbyterian Church in the seceded states the ability to promote a government more amicable to religious sentiment. Pre-secession, the pages of the *SPR* discussed connections between civil government and Mosaic Law. Now, the time had come to take these ideas further. Their rhetoric changed as they attempted to connect religion to the new Confederate constitution. Thornwell claimed that one reason the Union fractured lay with Northern refusal to accept religion as the genesis of all good

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Smyth, "The Late Dr. Chalmers, and the Lessons of His Life, from Personal Recollections," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 1 (1847): 45.

¹⁰⁸ Anonymous, "The Rev. Dr. Thornwell's Memorial on the Recognition of Christianity in the Constitution," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 16 (1863): 77.

government. The “old” Constitution of the North fundamentally failed by its exclusion of religious-leaning moral laws which were critical of God’s design for government. Taken further, in volume thirteen, Thornwell went so far as to claim that “every State must have a religion, or cease to be a government of men.”¹⁰⁹ A State without religion was not capable of law, but instead may only be governed like “a lunatic asylum.”¹¹⁰ Civil government was thus a divinely created institution of heaven, created to realize God’s ideas of justice.¹¹¹ Presbyterian morality was a necessary link between understanding civil government’s connection to God, the arbiter of all good in the world. States should strive to be “essentially moral” and form connections between civil law and God. This intersection between God, morality, and all that is good became a focal point for the South post-1861. The South, via the *SPR*, did everything it could to prove to its readership that God had shone on the South in its holy endeavors. One only had to look as far as Thomas Smyth to see rabid attempts at justifying the South’s connection to the divine.¹¹² Fort Sumter was a “righteous tribunal of Heaven’s avenging justice.” It was also proof of the “powerful providence of God.”¹¹³ To Smyth and those who believed likewise, angels watched over the siege at Fort Sumter for, “Christ regulates all things through the instrumentality of the angels,” which he further refers to as “ministering spirits.” Others, unlike Smyth, deployed more strictly biblical representations of the South’s divine right.¹¹⁴

Early in the Civil War, the South clung to the idea of being chosen. However, in time their logic and writings changed to reveal a different side to their relationship with God. No

¹⁰⁹ Thornwell, “National Sins,” 655.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 655.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 654.

¹¹² Thomas Smyth, “The Battle of Fort Sumter,” 372. “When you march up to attack a city, make its people an offer of peace... If they refuse to make peace and engage you in battle, lay siege to that city.” Interestingly, Smyth leaves out the middle verse which pertains to enslaving the surrendering city. Deuteronomy 20:10,12.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, 370.

¹¹⁴ Hillhouse, “Principles of Church Government,” 443.

longer the righteous chosen, the South had become the unrepentant in need of divine reproof. The first volume of the *Southern Presbyterian Review* set precedent for this belief when Smyth proclaimed that “God had the right to take away the Life he gave when used contrary to His Will.”¹¹⁵ However, they did offer an interesting interpretation of humanity’s relationship to God. Humans are, after all, God’s property- body and soul. Slaves were to own no property. Thus, Thornwell asserted, God was the master of all, and all property belonged to God alone.¹¹⁶ The *SPR* attempted to redefine, a decade before the Civil War, the relationship between the freed and the enslaved.¹¹⁷ Some, such as Thornwell, took issue with the lack of religion implicit in the Constitution, both the Union and the one drafted by the CSA, as the State existed by divine ordinance. Civil officers were to be called of God “to receive fearful trust of the keys to the kingdom of Heaven.”¹¹⁸ Thus, Southern Presbyterians championed the idea that governmental duty was supernaturally conferred by God.

Explicit in Presbyterian teaching is the belief that humanity is subservient to God. The duty of the faithful is to bring glory to Him and affirm His greatness in all things. Scripture asserts that humanity is flawed, full of sin.¹¹⁹ Thus, all people are enslaved to the power of sin and in need of the Savior.¹²⁰ These ideas were conceptualized by St. Augustine in the “invisible church.”¹²¹ This “church” was only known to God and those who genuinely believed. This invisible church was considered the “elect of God throughout the ages” and was also referenced in the Apostles’ Creed as the “communion of saints.” The invisible church provided Southern

¹¹⁵ Smyth, “The Late Dr. Chalmers,” 57.

¹¹⁶ Thornwell, “Validity of Popish Baptism,” 186.

¹¹⁷ James H. Thornwell, “Report on Slavery,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 5 (1852): 393.

¹¹⁸ James H. Thornwell, “The Elder Question,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 2 (1848): 38n.

¹¹⁹ Romans 3:23.

¹²⁰ Romans 6:17, Ephesians 2:1

¹²¹ Justo L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought: From Augustine to the Eve of Reformation*. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970): 140.

Presbyterians a means to distinguish themselves from the North. While all members belonged to one Church in the past, by the time of the war, they had parted ways. The Southern true believers could view themselves apart, and perhaps, a bit above of their Northern brethren- even if they did not explicitly say so. Despite their belief in their salvation, God's plan fell outside their understanding. Therefore, the question of whether their rebellious, Northern Presbyterian counterparts would be saved had to remain unanswered.

According to Lynchburg, Virginia divine Clement Reed Vaughan, God is the providential and moral governor of the universe. He has an "interest in our obedience."¹²² As such, under God, whatever is most expedient is to be considered right.¹²³ Even above expediency, order is considered heaven's first law. All manner of creatures or spirits have their place before the Throne of God, that seats the Lamb, emblematic of heaven's desire for order. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church reflected this adherence to order and hierarchy. Writing in the twelfth volume of the *SPR*, J.R. Gilland declared that the Church followed the "pattern of all things heavenly."¹²⁴ Government, in the eyes of the Southern Presbyterian Church, was to impart order on the world. The Church represented characteristics of desirable society such as good order, the security of person and property, justice, and equal and impartial rights.¹²⁵ The design of God's kingdom is to return the world to its lawful and divine allegiance to God, the moral governor.¹²⁶ God has "countless worlds to govern", which he rules by vast, comprehensive, and happy law.¹²⁷

¹²² C.R. Vaughan, "The Doctrine of Future Punishment, Part II," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 6 (1853): 351.

¹²³ James H. Thornwell, "Paley's Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 7 (1853): 11.

¹²⁴ J.R. Gilland, "No Priest but Christ," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 12 (1860): 697.

¹²⁵ Smyth, "The War of the South Vindicated," 509.

¹²⁶ Andrew F. Dickson, "God's Rest, our Rest," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 8 (1855): 383.

¹²⁷ Vaughan, "Future Punishment," 349.

Mundane, civil government was impossible in their minds without the aid of the will of God. Earthly governors, “ordained” by God, carried out their obligations while simultaneously not “using their cloak of liberty in maliciousness.” God sent the governors themselves, although they were chosen and appointed by men.¹²⁸ God, it was acknowledged, spoke to governors from heaven, “in plain and distinct language,” but “some [rationalists] choose to stop their ears.”¹²⁹ Thus, the discharge of duty to government should flow from a higher authority to man.¹³⁰ Duty to God held highest precedence, and only when that duty had been met, should the country be considered of the utmost consequence. To these scholars, politicians and governors were distinct categories of individuals. Many in the South believed that the Civil War was caused by Northern politicians, or rather, a single one- Abraham Lincoln. His role as demagogue provided ample fuel to light the fires of Southern rebellion. In one figure, the South had their divinely ordained right to secede.¹³¹ The election of Abraham Lincoln has often been cited as critical to the secession of the Southern states. The Southern Presbyterians saw the Confederacy as an expression of will, derived from the institute of God.¹³² The North, as mentioned before, had lost their way beginning with the signing of the Constitution when they failed to acknowledge Jesus Christ, whom “to Him, all power in heaven and earth are appointed.”¹³³ The Constitution was fundamentally flawed because it contained laws contrary to the Decalogue, or God’s moral law.

The Ten Commandments formed the backbone of Presbyterian conception of what good government must look like. Mankind is a social creature, but society requires order. Government provided society with the stability to function and not devolve into a “lunatic asylum.” Thus,

¹²⁸ Smyth, “South Vindicated,” 507.

¹²⁹ Rogers, “Reflections on Heaven,” 169.

¹³⁰ Anonymous, “The Phases of Society,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 8 (1854): 194.

¹³¹ Smyth, “South Vindicated,” 509.

¹³² Anonymous, “The Rev. Dr. Thornwell’s Memorial,” 82.

¹³³ *Ibid*, 82.

mankind saw civil government as a necessary step to creating a stable society. God created man, and so God created government. Laws may have been enacted by men but were done so under the implementation and Law of God.¹³⁴ As such, Southern Presbyterians believe that the Decalogue contained all the information needed to create “good government.” However, Southern Presbyterians viewed civil government as a transitory phase. Civil government was imperfect, as was man. Therefore, when Christ “aggressively” returned his kingdom to earth, old governmental systems would be pushed aside to make way for the new Governor of the World.¹³⁵ This makes sense, given the Presbyterian desire to characterize humanity as apostatized and anti-Christ. Mankind, due to sin, strayed from the path of God and must be returned to its “lawful and divine allegiance.”¹³⁶ Southern Presbyterians hoped to shrink the gap of separation between religion and politics as one necessitated the need for the other. The Confederacy could be molded into a just government, one ordained by God, as an expression of his Will.

While the Mosaic covenant formed the basis of large portions of the discussion in the *SPR*, following the Civil War, the Southern divines turned themselves to an earlier period in Christian history.¹³⁷ The Abrahamic covenant was one of tribulation and exile for the chosen. They must endure punishment to gain their reward. The story of Abraham, and his covenant, provided an almost tailor-made justification of slavery, as well as the bonds between master and servant.¹³⁸ The bond formed between God and Abraham ensured that all the people of earth would be blessed through Abraham. Inherent in this blessing was an obligation from the master

¹³⁴ Thomas E. Peck, “Church and State,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 16 (1863): 125.

¹³⁵ James A. Lyon, “Religion and Politics,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 15 (1863): 570.

¹³⁶ Lyon, “Religion and Politics,” 570.

¹³⁷ Also known as the “Old Covenant,” pertains mostly to the relationship between God, His people, and the commandments. See Acts 6:8-14.

¹³⁸ On the Abrahamic Covenant see Genesis 12:1-3, 15:18-21, and 17:2-9.

to their servants. Abraham was to be the “father of many nations.” This set up a cycle of obligation and dependency between the father figure and their “children.” Southern ties to slavery and its use were numerous. In much the same way as God is the Father, the slaveowner was the Father of their little realm. The paternalistic bonds that the slavocracy fostered with their enslaved mimicked the Abrahamic sense of obligation discussed in Genesis, which established the household as the most fundamental governmental system.¹³⁹ The superior capacity of the parent allowed for them to provide for, protect, and govern the child.¹⁴⁰ Slaves were depicted as children, incapable of governing themselves. Thus, the benevolent slaveholder heroically stepped in to take care of and guide these displaced peoples. Household government, however, not only bound the slaveholder to the slave but also bound humanity to God. Reinforcing humanity as “God’s slaves,” this rhetoric asserted that no one was born free. Everyone born into a family or household government.

The Ten Commandments formed what Presbyterians referred to as the “Law of the Two Tables.”¹⁴¹ The first table, commandments one through four, created a vertical relationship between humanity and God. The second table, the remaining six commandments, set up the horizontal relationship between all humanity. No matter how they chose to expand upon the relationship between God and people, Southern Presbyterians spent less time in discussion of how these relationships affected master and slave. That the system was fundamentally broken seemed obvious, as time and time again, Southern divines cried out to the masters to refine and restructure their relationship with their slaves. Southern Presbyterian attempted to integrate

¹³⁹ Gladney, “Downfall,” 43.

¹⁴⁰ James A. Lyon, “Slavery and the Duties Growing out of the Relation,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 16 (1863): 13-16.

¹⁴¹ Benjamin M. Palmer, “Church and State,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 3 (1849): 211-214.

religion and government in hopes of creating a more benevolent slave society. Society remade closer to Biblical instruction served as a necessary step toward receipt of God's favor.

When the tide of war favored the North, the *SPR* called for change in Southern society. The Confederate constitution offered the logical first step toward creating a godlier society. The Confederate States Constitution was adopted on March 11, 1861, and went into effect from February 22, 1862, until the Confederacy crumbled at war's end. The Preamble established a strong connection between God and State, but for Southern Presbyterians, this was not enough.¹⁴² Good governance, they asserted, derived from the connection between Mosaic Law and civil government. Southern Presbyterians, however, never argued for Presbyterianism as the Confederate religion, instead, they advocated the opposite. In their minds, the State should hold no official religion. The State, they asserted, must not prescribe a religion as a rule of faith and practice. So, what did this mean to Confederate states?

First and foremost, the State could and should be religious. Yet, the State should mandate no religion. In the enactment of good government, the State should believe in the Scriptures and use them to regulate its conduct. Legislation undertaken by such a government should seek to follow scriptural teachings. Thus, authors of the *SPR* interpreted Scripture as a "negative check" on government.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Confederate States of America, *The Constitution of the Confederate States of America* (South Carolina: Congress of the Confederate States of America: 1861), Preamble.

¹⁴³ Anonymous, "The Rev. Dr. Thornwell's Memorial," 84.

CONCLUSION: PART 3

Despite their opposition to state-sponsored religious sects, Southern Presbyterians positioned themselves as the power behind the civil throne. That they argued against formal recognition of sect makes sense due to their fear of planter's power. Southern divines had always tried to circumvent old sources of power to project their influence. They sought to integrate religion and politics into an enduring institution that would enable the South to thrive. The South, even before the Civil War, had a peculiar institution that needed to be fixed. Despite their views of the delinquencies of slavery, Southern Presbyterians never sought to do away with what they considered "a State's problem," if indeed it were a problem at all. They acted as mediators between the slavocracy and the divine. To them, a state of almost heaven upon earth would have vindicated the South and all but assured their place in paradise. To realize this goal, the South would have to endure tribulations on the road to their eternal reward.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Adger, John B, "The General Assembly of 1860," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 13, no. 2 (1860): 352-417.
- Adger, John B, "The General Assembly of 1861," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 14, no. 2 (1861): 296-348.
- Anonymous, "2d. Maccabees 12:29-45; and Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 13, no. 2 (1860): 296-323.
- Anonymous, "A Slave Marriage Law," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 16, no. 2 (1863): 145-162.
- Anonymous, "Christianity Vindicated from the Charge of Fanaticism," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 4, no. 2 (1850): 198-230.
- Anonymous, "The Phases of Society," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 8, no. 2 (1854): 193-218.
- Anonymous, "The Rev. Dr. Thornwell's Memorial on the Recognition of Christianity in the Constitution," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 16, no. 1 (1863): 55-77.
- Anonymous, "Thirty-Third Annual Report of the American Bible Society, May 1849," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 4, no. 1 (1850): 52-77.
- Confederate States of America, *The Constitution of the Confederate States of America*. South Carolina: Congress of the Confederate States of America: 1861.
- Dickson, Andrew F, "God's Rest, our Rest," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 8, no. 3 (1855): 382-393.
- Dickson, Andrew F, "Hymn-Book Making," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 15, no. 1 (1862): 61-77.
- Gilland, J.R, "No Priest but Christ," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 12, no. 4 (1860): 691-711.
- Gilland, James R, "The Consolations of Survivors in the Death of the Pious," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 6, no. 2 (1852): 186-202.
- Gladney, R.S., "The Downfall of the Union," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 16, no. 1 (1863): 37-54.
- Hillhouse, J.B, "Principles of Church Government," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 14, no. 3 (1861): 431-444.
- Hoyt, Nathan, "The Abrahamic Covenant," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 2, no. 1 (1848): 81-94.

- Lyon, James A, "Religion and Politics," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 15, no. 4 (1863): 569-580.
- Lyon, James A, "Slavery and the Duties Growing out of the Relation," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 16, no. 1 (1863): 1-36.
- Palmer, Benjamin M, "Church and State," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 3, no. 4 (1849): 573-609.
- Palmer, Benjamin P, "The General Assembly of 1859," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 12, no. 3 (1859): 513-604.
- Palmer, Benjamin M, "The Relation between the Work of Christ and the Condition of the Angelic World," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 1, no. 1 (1847): 34-63.
- Peck, Thomas E, "Church and State," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 16, no. 2 (1863): 121-144.
- Rockwell, E.F, "The Alphabet of Natural Theology," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 10, no. 3 (1857): 411-436.
- Rockwell, E.F, "On the Scene in Revelation, Chapters IV and V," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 2, no. 3 (1849): 505-520.
- Rogers, Elihu P, "Reflections upon Heaven," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 4, no. 2 (1850): 165-176.
- Shepperson, John G, "Who are Members of the Visible Church," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 7, no. 2 (1853): 209-239.
- Rogers, Elihu P, "Reflections upon Heaven," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 4, no. 2 (1850): 165-176.
- Smyth, Thomas, "The Battle of Fort Sumter: Its Mystery and Miracle- God's Mastery and Mercy," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 14, no. 3 (1861): 365-399.
- Smyth, Thomas, "The Bible, not Reason, the Only Authoritative Source and Stand of Knowledge of the Nature of God," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 7, no. 4 (1854): 461-484.
- Smyth, Thomas, "The Late Dr. Chalmers, and the Lessons of his Life, from Personal Recollections," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 1, no. 3 (1847): 56-89.
- Smyth, Thomas, "The Teachings of the Dead Sea," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 10, no. 2 (1857): 233-275.
- Smyth, Thomas, "The War of the South Vindicated," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 15, no. 4 (1863): 479-514.
- Thornwell, James H, "The Elder Question," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 2, no. 1 (1848): 1-68.
- Thornwell, James H, "Paley's Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 7, no. 1 (1853): 1-52.
- Thornwell, James H, "National Sins: A Fast-Day Sermon," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 13, no. 4 (1861): 649-689.

- Thornwell, James H, "Report on Slavery," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 5, no. 3 (1852): 379-394.
- Thornwell, James H, *The Rights and Duties of Masters: A Sermon Preached at the Dedication of a Church erected in Charleston, S.C., for the benefit of the Colored Population*. Charleston: Walker & James, 1850.
- Thornwell, James H, "Validity of Popish Baptism," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 5, no. 1 (July 1851): 12-51.
- Thornwell, James H, "Validity of Popish Baptism, Continued," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 5, no. 2 (October 1851): 177-206.
- Thornwell, James H, "Validity of Popish Baptism," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 5, no. 3 (January 1852): 321-365.
- Vaughan, C.R, "The Doctrine of Future Punishment, Part II," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 6, no. 3 (1853): 349-378.
- Wallace, James A, "The Dead Sea," *The Southern Presbyterian Review* 3, no. 3 (1850): 381-410.
- Wilson, Joseph R, "The General Assembly of 1862," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 15, no. 1 (1862): 52-61.

Secondary Sources

- Boles, John B, "The Southern Way of Religion," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 75, no. 4 (1999): 226-245.
- Browning, Robert, "Andrea del Sarto," in *Men and Women*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields 1855.
- Dorrien, Gary, *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Imagining Progressive Religion 1805-1900*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.
- Farmer, James O, *The Metaphysical Confederacy: James Henley Thornwell and the Synthesis of Southern Values*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986.
- Finke, Roger and Stark, Rodney, "Turning Pews into People: Estimating 19th Century Church Membership," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 25, no. 2 (1986): 180-192.
- Gonzalez, Justo L, *A History of Christian Thought: From Augustine to the Eve of Reformation*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970.
- Harding, Vincent, *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981.
- Levering, John, *Predestination: Biblical and Theological Paths*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Mathews, Donald G, *Religion in the Old South*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

- McInerny, Ralph, *Selected Writings of Thomas Aquinas*. London: Penguin Books Limited, 1998.
- Noll, Mark A, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Raboteau, Albert J, *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.
- Raboteau, Albert J, *Slave Religion: The 'Invisible Institution' in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Stampp, Kenneth M, *The Imperiled Union: Essays on the Background of the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.
- Wyatt-Brown, Bertram, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.