

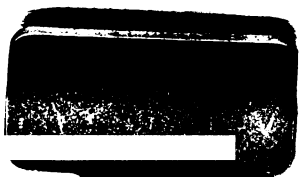
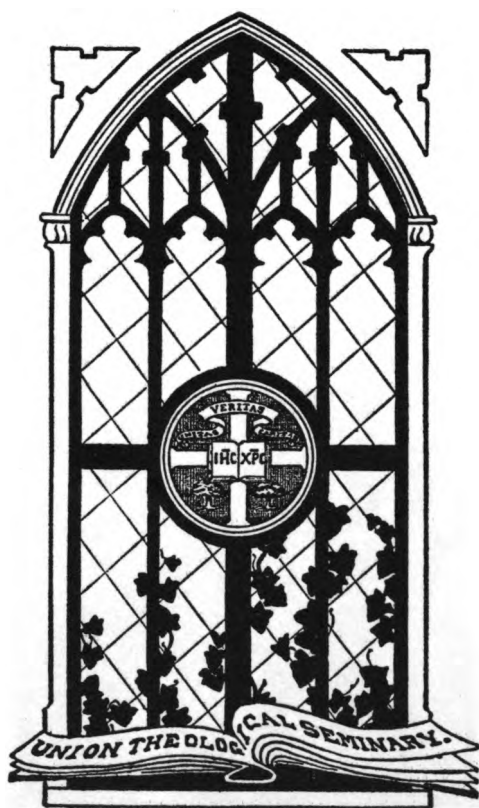
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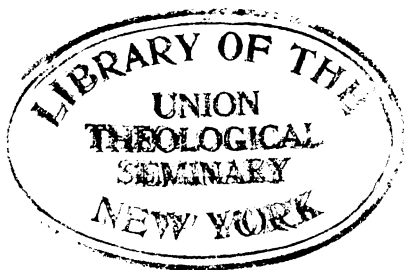
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE
HISTORY OF
THE SYNOD OF VIRGINIA.

WASHINGTON:
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Report of the Historical Committee to
the Synod of Virginia at its Centennial
Session, New Providence
Church, Rockbridge County,
Virginia, October, 1888.

The Synod of Virginia, on the third day of its sessions in Richmond, October, 1886, took the following action concerning a centennial celebration:

The Special Committee on the Centennial Meeting of the Synod, through the Rev. T. L. Preston, D. D., Chairman, submitted a report, which was received, and, after amendment, was adopted as follows:

“The committee appointed to recommend to the Synod a plan for the observance of the Centennial Meeting at New Providence Church, in 1888, report, recommending:

“1. That the 23d day of October, 1888, be set apart for such observance.

“2. That each of the ten Presbyteries of the Synod be requested to appoint a committee to prepare a historical sketch of the Presbytery, as full and complete as the time will allow.

“3. These several sketches shall be delivered to the Synod at its meeting in 1887, and submitted to a committee appointed at this session, whose duty it shall be to make such a summary of the papers as will constitute a suitable historical sketch to be read at the Centennial Meeting in 1888.

“4. That the Presbyteries of Redstone, in Pennsylvania, and Transylvania, in Kentucky, be addressed through their Stated Clerks and cordially invited to be present at the Centennial Meeting of Synod, and to have appointed committees similar to those which we appoint for the preparation of historical sketches to be delivered to the Synod in 1887.

“5. That the Synod enjoin on all the Presbyteries to see that the churches under them furnish to the committee appointed all the information touching the history, growth, and influence

of each church which can be gotten from the records, and all other reliable sources of information, within the year preceding October, 1887.

"6. That the Rev. M. D. Hoge, D. D., be invited to deliver a sermon, and the Hon. John Randolph Tucker, Ruling Elder, be invited to deliver an oration at the Centennial Meeting of the Synod.

"7. That a fund be raised by subscription, to be taken before, at, and after the Centennial Meeting, to bring out a volume containing the sermon, the oration, and the historical sketches of the Presbyteries, and, if the Synod shall so order, the historical summary also, delivered and read before the Synod."

Again, on the fourth day a committee was appointed by the Moderator, consisting of Rev. M. L. Lacy, D. D., Rev. A. C. Hopkins, D. D., and Maj. T. L. Kirkpatrick, to nominate a Historical Committee for the Synod, as called for by the foregoing report. The undersigned were subsequently nominated and elected by the Synod as this committee.

Duly sensible of the honor implied, your committee were, from the first, equally conscious of the importance and difficulty of the task assigned them. The work to be done was sacred and arduous, supposing all the facilities provided for by the Synod to be fully enjoyed. Compliance with the requirements of the plan proposed would have put into our hands at the Synod of 1887, in Norfolk, a complete report from each Presbytery, briefly presenting the more interesting facts concerning the Presbytery itself and the churches under its care. This would have afforded time for sifting and consolidating the various narratives, so as to constitute a connected and symmetrical report of the whole field.

But the work of this committee has been greatly embarrassed by delays, which, we doubt not, were in most instances unavoidable. Not more than half the Presbyteries were prepared to respond at the time appointed, and some reports were not sent in until the present year was considerably advanced. A proper summary would thus have been rendered

impracticable, even if the committee had been together, and all the materials finally available. But an equally serious obstacle was due to the heterogeneous character of the papers received. The expectation of the Synod appears to have been misapprehended in some cases, resulting in the transmission to us of the original papers sent in from the local churches. In one or two instances these local sketches are still in the hands of the Presbyteries, and no summary of them is or can be made. A few only of the Presbyteries have forwarded their reports in the form contemplated by the Synod.

With such different forms and materials in their hands, and so little time allowed for their reconstruction, your committee have found a historical summary of the churches impossible, because such a work implies a comprehensive view of the whole field in perspective. It would, however, be deplorable and unworthy of this body to bury in oblivion the materials already accumulated, and it is hoped that further effort will be made to complete an undertaking so well calculated to interest and benefit the church.

Notwithstanding all the obstacles in the way of success to which we have referred, the committee were unwilling to leave their task altogether unfulfilled. A brief and cursory sketch of the various Presbyteries at any time connected with the Synod during the last hundred years has been attempted and is herewith submitted as a partial, incomplete, and unsatisfactory contribution to the centennial history of our portion of the church. The facts already stated are our apology for its many imperfections. The several reports received from the Presbyteries were dissimilar and incongruous in their structure and contents, and a summary of them could only be made from a few visible points of agreement.

The committee, moreover, beg leave to submit to the Synod an introductory sketch of the rise and growth of Presbyterianism in Virginia between the dates of 1688 and 1788. The century just past could not be surveyed with success and

satisfaction without previous study of the preceding period of the same length, which happened to correspond very closely with the actual process by which our cause germinated and matured in the soil of Virginia.

Should the Synod be so inclined we would be gratified to have this introduction and the historical sketch of the constituent Presbyteries placed in the hands of a special committee, who shall report progress at the present meeting of the Synod and suggest what steps are advisable to complete the scheme initiated by the Synod of 1886.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES A. WADDELL.
WM. WIRT HENRY.
P. B. PRICE.

INTRODUCTION.

The first colonists who settled within the bounds of Virginia, after its discovery by English navigators, arrived at so early a date after the beginning of the Reformation that modern sectarian distinctions could not be expected in their annals. In 1607, when Jamestown was founded, Queen Elizabeth had not been five years in her grave, and the conflict between the Church and the Puritans, to which her arbitrary policy had given rise, was still, under her successor, a war of opinion in the bosom of the Established Church. Sects with distinct names could scarcely be said to exist. Protestantism had, it is true, taken different forms in the different countries where it had chiefly prevailed. Everywhere, except in England, the hierarchical organism of the Church of Rome had been repudiated, along with its superstitions, its theatrical worship, and its articles of belief, derived as much from tradition as from revelation. In Switzerland, Germany, France, and the Netherlands the power of the priesthood was regarded as a characteristic feature of the papal system, so interwoven with dogmatic heresies as to be inseparable from them, and the Reformation was not deemed complete until the whole structure was destroyed. The same policy attended the propagation of the new doctrine in Scotland, and Knox, as earnestly as Luther and Calvin, sought to eradicate the very conception of a priesthood of graded powers from the Christian church. In England, on the contrary, the work of reform was from its beginning directed and controlled by the crown and the court; and the Sovereign, apprehending, from the thorough change accomplished in other kingdoms, too much danger to the royal prerogative, determined to retain in the State church the principal features of the Romish hierarchy, and to associate with them such rites and ceremonies as the royal taste should prefer.

Both Henry VIII and Elizabeth succeeded, by arbitrary dictation, in giving to the Church of England its ritualistic and prelatie form, and placed it in that isolation among Protestant churches which it still occupyes.

It must not, however, be imagined that the separation was intended at first as a protest against the validity of other national churches. Such a design does seem to have been conceived by the leading English reformers. They assumed that each sovereign power had divine authority to determine the form of the church within its own jurisdiction. This principle gave validity to each national church within the geographical limits of the government by which it was legalized, and excluded therefrom every other ecclesiastical body; but instead of impugning, it fully confirmed the authority of the Reformed Churches in Scotland, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. The illegality of foreign orders was national, and not ecclesiastical. Even this exclusive force of the law of the realm was frequently evaded by the authorities for the purpose of securing the services of ministers ordained abroad, for it is a historical fact that ecclesiastics on whose heads the hands of no prelate had ever been laid were, in the reign of Elizabeth, admitted to important preferments in the church and the universities; and every intelligent reader of the early annals of the kingdom remembers that Henry VIII himself, with the coöperation of Cranmer, had appealed from the pope, on the question of divorce, to the continental universities and their faculties of Lutheran and Calvinistic divines. But it is unnecessary to multiply proofs of the fact, too evident for contradiction, that the validity of orders and sacraments in other Protestant churches was not questioned by the earlier English reformers, and the apparent exclusiveness of their ecclesiastical policy was simply due to the state-craft of the times. The king was recognized as the head of the Church within the realm, and, for the support of his prerogative in that sphere, it was deemed necessary to buttress the throne with that prelatie

peerage which Romish traditions had transmitted. James I, on assuming the English crown, rejoiced to escape the restraints of the Scottish reformers and find his childish love of power secured in its future indulgence by the adulation and subsiveness of a slavish hierarchy.

The colony at Jamestown was planted on the banks of the James within five years after the accession of the Stuarts, and before any new doctrine of orders had been formulated. King James, undoubtedly, adopted all the high pretensions of his predecessor, but did not hesitate, in 1618, to send a delegation of English divines to the Calvinistic Synod of Dort, in Holland, and thus set the seal of the head of the English church to the validity of that body as a representative council. It is obvious, therefore, that the history of Virginia began at a period when England and her dependencies were subject to a despotic monarchy and a prelatial Protestant church, which refused to legalize or tolerate dissent within the national jurisdiction, but did not question the equal validity of other Protestant churches established in other lands. It seems almost certain that the colonists at Jamestown were drawn to the new world by inducements of a purely temporal character, and, if not totally ignorant of the Puritan agitation for a more thorough reformation of the church, were at least indifferent to the issues it presented. They brought with them the form of Christianity established by law and approved at court, and with commendable fidelity to the civil and religious institutions of the mother country, initiated the usages to which they had been accustomed at home. In due time the church tower commanded the landscape, and the prayer-book and surplice introduced the Church of England to the Western hemisphere, before the distinctions of Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist had been incorporated with the language. Thirteen years after this event the *Mayflower* arrived on the coast of Massachusetts, and the first colony of Puritans established themselves on this continent. Within this short interval the

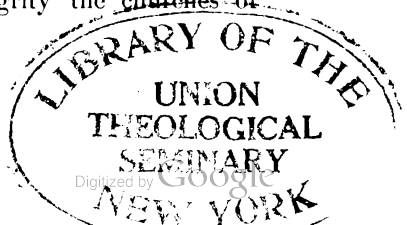
controversy in England had been greatly intensified, and the penal laws against non-conformity had been executed with remorseless severity. The voyagers on the *Mayflower* fled from persecution and sought refuge for themselves and their opinions upon an inhospitable shore. But not yet had the persecution in England assumed the form of persecution for heresy. The sufferers were victims of the civil power claiming the right to dictate to the conscience in matters of worship and discipline. The same arbitrary spirit doubtless inspired the lordly ecclesiastics of the time but they had not yet generally adopted the more modern high church dogma, that the orders of all other Protestant denominations should be discredited. The crime of the Puritans at that day was simply that of insubordination to the sovereign as head of the English church. The sufferings of the followers of John Robinson, inducing them to sacrifice everything for escape from this form of tyranny, were not inflicted for agreement with the rest of the Protestant world in doctrine, but for daring to think scripturally in spite of the crown.

About the same time with the first settlement in New England a colony of Dutch adventurers appeared in what is now New York, and occupied the site of the great metropolis. They brought with them the fixed commercial habits and the cherished Calvinistic faith of their country, which the English king and church so signally approved at Dort in 1618. We have, therefore, to note this unquestionable fact, that the first steps taken in the colonization of the American continent by Protestant nations were by parties who agreed in renouncing popery and in recognizing the divine warrant of the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Anglican churches. The conception of a claim of any one of these portions of Protestantism to an exclusive possession of authorized orders and sacraments, had not yet been formed except in the imagination of a few individuals. King James and his church claimed for England and her possessions what they conceded to other nations, the

right to regulate worship according to discretion, and there was as yet no separation of Protestant churches by any other than national lines.

But half a century in subsequent history was pregnant with revolutions—political, social, and religious. The changes wrought within that time were among the most important ever experienced by man. Western Europe had advanced with the strides of a giant. England had gained and lost her liberties. The people, in chains, were in the last throes of intolerable subjection. The non-conformists were panting and praying for escape from the oppressions of a church which had followed the hierarchy to the extreme of high church assumption, and placed itself in irreconcilable antagonism to the rest of the Protestant world. It is astonishing to observe how vast a change has been wrought in the clerical mind among English churchmen towards the close of the reign of Charles II, when arbitrary power and most flagrant corruption had inclined the nation almost universally to a struggle for freedom. The suppression of dissent by cruel persecution was no longer the policy of the church. Toleration in some form was regarded as an inevitable necessity, but it was to be civil toleration, not ecclesiastical. The barbarities of the past were not to be repeated by the secular arm, but the church would henceforth subject dissent, to the scorn of a withering exclusiveness. Non-conformists, emancipated from many forms of oppression, should be exposed to perpetual reproach as schismatical separatists from the only true Protestant, Apostolical Church. The Fathers and the Scriptures must be cited against them, and the validity of clerical orders in all other Protestant denominations must be assiduously denied, in order to maintain the supremacy of the Anglican establishment under a constitutional government.

In 1688 the great political revolution, following the advent of William of Orange, secured the civil liberties of Great Britain, and confirmed in their integrity the churches of



England and Scotland. A limited toleration became the law of both kingdoms. Spiritual arrogance took the place of political influence on the part of ecclesiastics, and the church settled down for several generations as so much ballast on the ship of State. The language also had been greatly changed, and new nominal distinctions marked off the sections into which Protestantism was divided. The times of the commonwealth had originated the use of the term *Presbyterian* in a political sense, from the circumstance that the party opposed to the crown under Charles I derived some of their distinctive principles from the Scottish Reformers, who organized their churches under a government of presbyters or elders, to the exclusion of diocesan bishops. After the restoration and the consequent confusion of parties, the name continued to adhere to those Protestants who maintained this principle along with the Calvinistic faith. The Independents were also distinguished from other bodies by the same creed of local societies, free from all mutual control. The Baptists were at first simply Independents who had adopted anabaptist views and had not fully committed themselves to immersion. The Friends or Quakers constituted a fourth body of dissenters, who exerted a considerable influence upon the history of England and her colonies. The present name for the adherents of the Anglican church system was not in general use in the age to which we refer. Churchmen declined all designations that might seem to imply a community with dissenters, and both the hierarchy and the place of its worship were, by the title of "The Church," emphatically distinguished from the sects and the meeting-house.

It should be a subject of thanksgiving in Virginia that, in colonial times, the church principles of Archbishop Laud had not to any marked extent penetrated the minds of her people. They were generally attached to the Church of England from patriotic or loyal motives as late as 1688, but the questions in controversy between the Puritans and the hierarchy excited

little interest on our shores. For several generations repressive measures against dissenters were zealously enforced by the authorities, not from spiritual considerations, but as a reflection of the despotic principles which animated the court at home. Dissent was regarded as insolence rather than heresy. It was condemned, chiefly, because it impugned the royal prerogative in things ecclesiastical and claimed for the subject a freedom of choice in religious matters incompatible with the rights of the crown. The distance and circumstances of the colony prevented the controversies of the mother country from disturbing the peace of its homogeneous society, and excluded all popular knowledge of the doctrine of Laud until the revolutionary era, in which the establishment was wrecked, and the Erastian principles that sustained it were forever eradicated. The Episcopal church in Virginia arose after the Revolution, almost literally from her ashes, and began a new career as one of several Protestant denominations made equal before the law, and in spiritual revival no older than the others. The result has been a conspicuous resistance on her part to the lofty pretensions of some parties in the same connection.

We have glanced forward for a moment in order to clear the way for a satisfactory statement of the first entrance of Presbyterianism into Virginia. It will be found interesting to know that a century and more elapsed between the earliest advent of this denomination of Christians into the colony and its organization into a Synod simultaneously with the inauguration of our Constitutional Government in 1788. For convenience of division, we therefore designate the century preceding that date as the *formative period* in the history of the Synod. Presbyterianism is a growth from seminal principles positively and distinctly existing in the Word of God. It begins with a local assembly of Christians holding to that Word in its integrity, and free from the glosses of theory and tradition. Such a congregation unavoidably crystallizes under a body of presbyter-bishops, and establishes an equal fellowship

with other bodies so constituted to form a common authority. Delegations of the local Presbytery, variously called a Session or Consistory, unite to form a provincial Presbytery or Classis, and several of these combined constitute a Synod or Assembly. In the narrative now proposed, the first duty will be a historical statement of the origin of the local churches of our faith and order in various parts of the territory bearing the name of the colony, then an account of the presbyterial relations of these churches, and their increase until their numbers and strength suggested the organization of the Synod of Virginia. It must not, however, be forgotten, as a historical truth of primary importance, that although Presbyterians were not the first emigrants to occupy Virginia in its distinct territorial limits, they were not as a Christian body chronologically later than Episcopalians or Independents. In the old world, the earliest Protestant churches organized in separation from Rome were the Lutheran and the Reformed, and the example of continental nations led subsequently to the reformation of England and Scotland. As already shown, the Reformers of England fully recognized the churches already established with prelacy excluded, and were deterred from copying their polity by the influence of the crown and their misplaced subserviency. But Presbyterianism, as a form of church government, was *prior* in date to the Protestant Episcopacy of England, and came into Virginia, not as a new human institution, but as one claiming to derive its principles and authority from the Word of God. The Anglican Reformers and the Independent Puritans of a later day held the doctrine in common that the external form of the church is not prescribed, directly or indirectly, in the Scriptures, but was left altogether optional. But the one party assigned this option to the secular power in each State, whilst the other party held it to be a function of each local Christian society. Presbyterians alone, at the earliest period, sought to organize the church on the New Testament model, as essential, not to its validity, but to its purity and perfection. They arrived in America, first as an established

church of the Dutch Commonwealth, about the same time that the Puritan Pilgrims erected the standard of Independency on the New England coast. Some true Presbyterians mingled gradually with the latter body, but in the end lost their distinctive organization. The Calvinistic Church of Holland, introduced into New Amsterdam, was thus the earliest appearance of our system in America, but its propagation in Virginia was destined to be accomplished by Presbyterians speaking the English tongue. These for a time found themselves exposed to onerous disabilities and a thousand discouragements from the Church of England, established by law, and a civil government of the colony persistently reflecting, for the most part, the spirit of Charles II and his Parliaments. It was a conflict between principle and conviction on one side, with pride, prejudice, and power on the other. The bigotry of a profound religious faith was little observed among the colonists of the first century. The spirit of persecution was rather the product of social arrogance and political jealousy. They had little conception of conscientious scruples, but a supreme contempt and dislike for the apparent presumption of those who professed a religion different from that imposed by the government. When the civil rights of the people began to excite the British public again, and the throne of Charles II began to tremble under the forces that brought his father to the block, the rights of conscience also began to assert themselves with renewed rigor. The revolution that placed William of Orange, a Presbyterian in principle, upon the throne of England, was a revolution in thought, which demolished at one blow the whole assumption, so long maintained, of a *jus divinum* of the civil magistrate in the social and spiritual spheres. In 1689 the Toleration Act was passed, in spite of the opposition of the clergy, and from that hour Dissent, although not completely emancipated, was conditionally legalized for Protestant Christians in all parts of the kingdom and its dependencies, although a number of years elapsed before it was fully introduced into America.

We are now prepared to note more particularly the earliest efforts of Presbyterians to plant their system in Virginia. It appears certain that as early as 1680 a few such emigrants, probably from the north of Ireland, had reached the eastern shores of Maryland and Virginia, and others had located upon the Elizabeth River, on or near the site of the city of Norfolk. A desire to better their temporal condition was perhaps a natural inducement leading to an experiment so full of hazard and hardship. But it is equally reasonable to assume that the pressure of religious privations and severities in the old country had much to do with their longing for a home in America. The penal laws were still in force both in Ireland and Virginia, but in the latter there was more room for liberty and less ecclesiastical zeal for the punishment of non-conformists. The benign administration in Maryland probably gave a tone of moderation to the local authorities in contiguous parts of Virginia. The original settlers of Somerset County, in the former colony, were identical in race and feeling with those of Accomac County in the latter, and nothing was more natural than a general understanding in that region that peaceable colonists of every faith should be welcomed and encouraged. It is also presumable that the settlement on Elizabeth River enjoyed a similar indulgence, due to local sentiment. One thing is certain, that in these parts of the colony the Presbyterian immigrants were allowed a degree of freedom which was rarely enjoyed under the home government in either of the three kingdoms. That such was not the case in other portions of Virginia, we have painful proof in the annals of the times. But policy, popular indifference, and, sometimes, more generous sentiments, caused the local authorities to overlook occasional cases of non-conformity.

The first ordained minister of the Presbyterian order, whose entrance upon our territory is a matter of historical record, was the Rev. Francis Makemie. To confirm this fact all testimonies concur. He belonged to the Scotch-Irish stock, and

was born in Donegal County in the province of Ulster. Becoming sincerely pious in early youth under the influence of a godly instructor, he was carefully educated, and afterwards duly licensed and ordained by the Presbytery of Lagan. Certain Presbyterians on the eastern shore of Maryland having applied for a minister of their faith, the effort resulted in securing the services of Mr. Makemie, who arrived in the neighborhood of Snow Hill, Maryland, in 1683, after first laboring a short time on the island of Barbadoes. But his field of labor in this country was extensive, and he seems, after a few years, to have secured a foothold for preaching, not only in Maryland but in Accomac county, Virginia, where he married, engaged in mercantile enterprizes, prospered, and finally died, leaving a will, still extant, recorded in the clerk's office at Drummondtown.

The name of Francis Makemie is a great Presbyterian landmark. He was not only a man of sterling character and indomitable activity in the cause of truth, but was providentially led to act a most important part in the earlier history of our country. He travelled extensively across seas and continents on missions of public interest, and everywhere "contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." He encountered with firmness and skill the attempts of persecuting powers to silence or intimidate him, and was the leading spirit in securing for dissenters the benefit of toleration. His gifts and learning were appreciated by his bréthren, and, as a wise master builder, he was, more than any other, instrumental in organizing the first Presbytery in the country—that of Philadelphia, the earliest record of which extant shows him to have been the Moderator. The old question concerning the first planting of Presbyterianism in America remains obscured for want of specific records; but, so far as light has been attained, it is deemed most probable that no locality can compete with Virginia, and no surviving name with that of Makemie. Two ministers of the name of Denton, father and son, were,

indeed, serving Presbyterian congregations at Hempstead and Jamaica, Long Island, before 1664 ; but it is known that the former conformed to the Dutch ritual, and, in all probability, the latter did the same. The Presbyterian Church of Holland, beyond question, antedated our own on American soil, but the first organized church *of our order and connection*, according to Dr. Briggs, was established on Long Island. The first church in Virginia was on Elizabeth River, and is historically associated with the venerated name of Makemie.

Mr. Makemie was highly esteemed as a minister of the gospel, and abounded in labor for the cause of Christ. He seems to have acquired a number of tracts of land in different counties, and to have utilized them as places of worship and preaching. After his marriage and settlement in Accomac, he continued to fill appointments at Rehoboth for one of the congregations in Maryland which he had served, and also at his own residence near Onancock, and other points in Virginia. And not only on the Eastern Shore, but on Elizabeth River, at a point very near Norfolk, if not within its present corporate limits, he had a property of some value, which he doubtless dedicated to similar purposes. As early as 1684 we find him visiting that settlement, and by timely ministrations endeavoring to console a congregation of Presbyterians for the loss they had sustained in the previous year in the death of a beloved pastor, whose name has passed out of tradition among men, but stands written, we feel assured, in the Lamb's book of life. This incident in the life of Makemie shines as a single ray of light in the darkness of early colonial times that shrouds the origin of Presbyterianism in Virginia. But it is deemed sufficient as evidence to prove that this was the point where our system was first planted on her soil. The unknown minister, who first served the congregation, was evidently laboring there some years before Makemie came from Barbadoes to Maryland in 1683, and was the true pioneer of Presbyterianism within the old dominion. The proximity of the band of

Presbyterians to the site of Norfolk warrants the belief that it was the germ of the First Presbyterian Church of that city, and through it of the several churches of our order clustering around that favored locality. After the visit of condolence paid to the little flock by Mr. Makemie in 1684, the Rev. Josias Mackie rendered ministerial service for many years to the Presbyterians of the same settlement, and died at his post in 1716, without ever becoming connected with any Presbytery in the colonies. There is scarcely a doubt that his field of labor embraced that previously occupied by the pioneer of unrecorded name.

As illustrative of the ecclesiastical spirit of the times to which we refer, we call brief attention to the strange contrasts presented in adjacent counties of Virginia and Maryland. Before the Act of Toleration was passed under William and Mary in 1689, a most commendable liberality was manifested by the government of Maryland, in conformity with the original charter to Lord Baltimore, and Catholics and Protestants of different names, were allowed a free enjoyment of religious privileges. In many portions of Virginia, however, such freedom of worship, if allowed at all, was due to the local authorities and not to the laws of England. After 1689, the Act of Toleration was slowly introduced into the latter colony, and Makemie and others obtained licenses under it. But just across the line in Somerset County, Maryland, this policy had been completely reversed. The Church of England was now established in that colony and the Act of Toleration protecting Protestant dissenters was excluded from operation as long as possible. When, in 1704, Mr. Makemie applied to the justices of Somerset County, Maryland, in behalf of his ministerial bretheren McNish and Hampton, for license under the Act of Toleration, the vestry of the parish made such opposition that months elapsed, through the Governor's influence, before it could be secured. In this occurrence we find the former tolerant spirit long manifested in that colony superseded

by arrogant opposition to dissenters at least fifteen years after the passage of the Act of Toleration; whilst in Virginia that law had gone into successful operation, and rendered dissenters comparatively safe from annoyance.

The subsequent history of Presbyterianism around the shores of Elizabeth River is wrapped in great obscurity, until we reach the limits of our present inquiry. From 1688 to 1788 a century elapsed without any distinct contributions to our annals from that quarter. The same must also be said of the scattered flocks in Accomac. The religious apathy of the eighteenth century appears to have affected many parts of the new world as well as the old, and these portions of Virginia shared in the general indifference of the times. We are compelled, therefore, to look to other points in the colony for marks of growth and themes of interest. The eighteenth century was considerably advanced before any interruption of the general spiritual torpor occurred. The stream of Scotch-Irish immigration, in the valley and elsewhere on the frontier, began to flow about the year 1732. They were Presbyterians almost to a man, and came armed, not only with weapons of defence against the savages, but with the Bible and the Confession of Faith in their hands for the spiritual welfare of their descendants. It is well known that Governor Gooch, who as a Scotchman was acquainted with the character and principles of the race, had given every encouragement to this remarkable movement. He knew their signal loyalty to the House of Hanover, their indomitable courage and spirit of endurance, their love of freedom and devotion to the Calvinistic faith into which they had been baptised, not only with water but with blood and fire. It impressed him and his advisers that a border inhabited by such a race would form an admirable defence for the outlying settlements of the colony east of the Blue Ridge. He accordingly assured them of a cordial welcome, and pledged to them, as dissenters, a quiet enjoyment of their religion under the provisions of the Act of Toleration. This stream of

emigration steadily moved up the valley with a well-defined breadth, like a bed of molten lava advancing from the volcano to the sea, and reaching the divide between the James and New River, passed eastwardly over the ridge through Bedford into Charlotte and other counties, and ultimately extended, with similar cohesion, into North and South Carolina. The colony of Virginia, in its eastern settlements, whose population was almost wholly of English blood, and with few exceptions adherents of the Church of England, was thus, by a masterly policy, girdled with a living wall of Presbyterian patriots, who continued for generations to bleed and suffer in its defence. But for this long line of pickets and skirmishers between the savages and the heart of the colony, it is possible that the English settlements would have perished under the torch and tomahawk of the Indian. An immense debt, in church and State, remains due to these pioneers of civil and religious freedom, who exposed themselves to battle and their wives and children to massacre, in behalf of Christian civilization, and the alien crown and hierarchy to which they rendered so generous a service. Let it be remembered that the hour had not yet arrived when they should enjoy full liberty of conscience and be relieved of a degrading exaction in support of an establishment which they could not approve. Another generation was compelled to wait and die before the goal of legal equality was reached. But, even then, an ecclesiastical brotherhood between themselves and the church they had suffered so much to save from the fury of the savages, however much desired, could not be attained. At this very day the possibility of fraternal recognition is conditioned upon the acceptance of terms, which, on conscientious conviction, they had resisted unto death. In this somewhat indifferent age, it is mortifying to observe many of their descendants, through ignorance or less pardonable facility, encouraging that arrogance which, when in power, had so persistently persecuted the Scotch and Irish Presbyterians to whom the Colonial

church was destined to owe its preservation. Not only has the debt of gratitude remained unpaid, but some of the inheritors of such noble blood, and such immortal principles, have shamefully forgotten their origin. The fathers endured for many generations the severest treatment from the English Government, rather than accept an unscriptural prelacy and a formal worship foreign, in their judgment, to the letter and spirit of the New Testament. Thousands of their sons, blind to the past and regardless of the future, have surrendered to these errors, and thus unconsciously condemned the heroic struggles of their ancestors.

It is a matter of thanksgiving, however, that the great majority of the Scotch-Irish race in the United States have either remained faithful to their inherited principles in their own communion, or carried most of them into other denominations, where they are still fondly cherished. In Virginia, a large portion of the original Presbyterian element has passed, through the operation of causes to be considered elsewhere, into the ranks of the Baptist and Methodist Churches, in neither of which are the high church pretensions of the Church of England admitted or tolerated. The Scotch-Irish race continues, therefore, even in its wanderings, generally true in its allegiance to the Protestantism of its ancestry, and will prove, we trust, to the end, to be the bulwark of civil and religious liberty.

The first Presbyterian congregation known to have assembled in the valley of Virginia was that of Opequon, six miles south of the site of Winchester. This was in 1735. Cedar Creek, not very distant, became another point for worship in the following year. The meeting-houses appear to have been erected by both congregations in advance. The deed for the land, embracing that of Opequon, was conveyed by William Hoge, in 1745, and one hundred acres were in like manner conveyed to the Elders of Cedar Creek by Lord Fairfax, in

1762. When these churches were organized by the Presbytery of Donegal, in Pennsylvania, cannot be learned definitely, owing to the loss of part of its records. The Rev. Mr. Gelston was sent by that body as a temporary supply for them in 1736. The Rev. John Hoge afterwards served them as pastor from a date prior to 1762 until 1772. The Rev. Mr. Montgomery subsequently held the same position from 1781 to 1789. There were frequent appointments of temporary supplies made by the Presbytery in the intervals of vacancy implied by these dates. It is also important to observe that the ministers who served these two churches were also relied upon for labor at other points, and particularly at Winchester, where, soon after its foundation, an important congregation was planted and organized. Very soon after the congregations were gathered at Opequon and Cedar Creek, Falling Waters, Elk Branch, and Bullskin were added to the number, and from these seminal points many new organizations subsequently sprang up in the counties of Page, Jefferson, Berkeley, Hardy, and other subdivisions of the country near the Potomac.

Another early settlement was effected by John Lewis in the present county of Augusta, and at his house, near the site of Staunton, the first sermon ever preached in that portion of the colony was delivered in 1739 by the Rev. Mr. Anderson, who had just secured from Governor Gooch the benefit of the Act of Toleration for the Presbyterian emigrants. In the next year the Rev. John Craig settled in the northern part of Beverly's Manor, and subsequently became pastor of the churches of Tinkling Spring and Augusta, about eight miles distant from Staunton, in a southeast and northeast direction respectively. About 1746 the Rev. John Blair visited this region and organized churches at several other points in Augusta, viz.: North Mountain, New Providence, Timber Ridge, and the Forks of James. From these original congregations were propagated those large and flourishing bodies that in a few

years constituted the Presbytery of Lexington. The emigration, however, under Mr. Caldwell, grandfather of the late Hon. John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina, passed beyond the Blue Ridge into Eastern Virginia, and left many settlers, including Mr. Caldwell, in the region now known as Charlotte, Prince Edward, Campbell, and other counties contiguous. Congregations were consequently formed in these settlements precisely like those established elsewhere along the line, and were visited by the same ministers. Cub Creek, Buffalo, Hat Creek, and other congregations were gathered early and served by Revs. John Thompson, Sanky, G. Tennent, Robinson, Davies, Henry, Waddell, and others.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, therefore, a living stream of Scotch-Irish immigrants extended along the frontier of the colony from the Potomac to the Dan, and, within limits originally narrow, deposited settlements, stockades, and churches between the helpless English inhabitants of the East and the savage tribes of the West. Thus did Divine providence furnish to the world a glorious example of Presbyterian heroism, fidelity, magnanimity, and moderation by constituting these long-persecuted Christians the generous guardians of their former persecutors against the ferocity of heathen foes. It seems to us at this distance of time like the heaping of coals of fire upon the head of an enemy, or the ministration of a despised Samaritan to the wants and woes of the unfortunate Jew.

But the defense of the frontier was not the only blessing received by the English colonists from this Calvinistic source. The very creed, faith, and polity which rendered the emigrants from Ulster so efficient as the living bulwarks of Christendom, were destined in a few years to obtain adherents among the English colonists themselves. Scarcely had the Presbyterian emigration given a sense of security in the East, when another remarkable act of the same providence planted the germ of a great religious movement in the very bosom of the English

settlements. It was probably about the year 1740, when Presbyterian congregations were first being organized among the Scotch-Irish on the frontier, that a new interest in religious themes began to manifest itself among a few adherents of the established church in Hanover County. The inquirers do not appear to have heard of the religious character of the new colonists in the mountains. They had no idea of dissent from the church of their fathers. They were simply dissatisfied with the want of spiritual life in its mode of ministration, and had found its tone of preaching and worship barren of those holy influences which certain religious books, recently obtained, had suggested to their minds.

It is instructive to note the coincidences of history at this interesting era. Whitefield and the Wesleys were just commencing their wonderful career. Jonathan Edwards was at the same moment sowing the first seeds of the New England revival at Northampton, Mass. The Moravians, under Count Zinzendorf, were entering upon their grand efforts for the salvation of the heathen, and at various points in Protestant Christendom the prevalent spiritual stagnation was giving way to a new religious life. John Wesley, at the age of thirty-five, an ordained priest of the Church of England, had returned home from Georgia in 1738, and, at a private religious service in London, in 1739, underwent new spiritual impressions, which he regarded ever afterwards as the exercises of his conversion. But the most important fact was that the impressions were made by hearing read Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. And, perhaps about the same time, in a distant hemisphere, a few obscure men in Virginia were spending their Sundays in private or social reading of Luther, instead of attendance at their parish church. Mr. Morris, Mr. Hunt, and several other citizens of Hanover County, having in some unknown way been awakened about this time to a sense of spiritual hunger and thirst which the ordinary services of the parish church could not satisfy, had picked up

casually here and there some religious books in the possession of their neighbors, and been favorably impressed by their contents as furnishing such spiritual instruction as they needed. Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians is mentioned as one of them. The interest in the themes there treated grew and extended, and Sabbath meetings for social reading began to take the place of formal attendance at public worship, which neglect subjected the parties to annoying fines and persecutions, but increased their appreciation of the truth, and led by degrees to the erection of log meeting-houses in different neighborhoods where interested congregations assembled, and the sermons of Whitefield, and works of like evangelical character, were read without other exercises, and without ever seeing or hearing a non-conformist minister of any name or creed. Through the instrumentality of these simple means, and by the blessing of God upon them, many persons were converted, and in a year or two their numbers were so considerable as to make the matter a subject of inquiry before the Governor and Council at Williamsburg. So free were the parties to this revival from all sectarian bias and purposes that they knew not what to call themselves when summoned to explain their aims and principles. The benefits of the Act of Toleration could not be enjoyed without an application under some definite name, and they were led by their appreciation of Luther's works to call themselves Lutherans. It was probably under this vague impression that they heard of the blessed mission of the Rev. William Robinson, a Scotsman, and an ordained evangelist from the Presbytery of New Brunswick, among the settlements on the frontier, and as he was returning, in 1743, from the counties south of the James through Nelson to the Valley by Rockfish Gap, a deputation from Hanover overtook him with an urgent request for a visit to the dissenters in that county. He yielded to the pressure, and reached the Morris meeting house on the 6th of July. Four days were spent in preaching and consultation with these

brethren and the result was a glorious illumination of their views, a confirmation of their faith, a blessed growth in grace, and a great increase of their numbers. Mr. Robinson then left them to fulfil his mission to the Valley, carrying with him the richest spiritual rewards. He also took with him a contribution in coin which the grateful brethren in Hanover forced him to accept, but which was accepted only on condition that he might use it in aid of a promising young friend in Delaware, who was then pursuing, under difficulties, his studies for the Presbyterian ministry. Appreciation of this timely assistance, and a warm interest in the congregations from which it came, considerably influenced the young minister, the Rev. Samuel Davies, a few years subsequently, in his determination to labor among them.

It must have been a little before Mr. Robinson's visit, in 1743, that several of the Hanover dissenters went to Williamsburg to appear before the Governor and explain their proceedings, when a copy of the Confession of Faith, which had accidentally fallen into their hands, was exhibited to his Excellency as an expression of their principles and opinions. The Governor, who was a native of Scotland, recognized the book as the creed of the Kirk, and gave them to understand that he would recognize those who adhered to it as entitled to the benefits of the Act of Toleration. When Mr. Robinson left them they were doubtless declared Presbyterians, and intelligently affiliated afterwards with their co-religionists on the frontier. These congregations opened communication with the Presbyterians in other colonies, and were visited at brief intervals by the Rev. John Blair, afterwards Vice-President and Professor at Nassau Hall, and the Rev. John Roan, of the Presbytery of Newcastle, the latter of whom encountered much opposition from the authorities, and was actually indicted, with several of his friends, on sundry charges. These prosecutions, however, were annoying rather than effectual, as Mr. Roan had already left the colony, and the mind of the

governor was soon disabused in reference to the Hanover meetings. Explanations were made and difficulties were partially removed, to such an extent that Revs. Samuel Finley and Gilbert Tennent, who were next sent to visit Virginia, were eminently successful in their mission to the Presbyterians of Hanover and the neighboring counties. A similar mission was conducted soon afterwards by Rev. William Tennent, brother of Gilbert, and the Rev. Samuel Blair, brother of the Rev. John Blair mentioned before. These brothers held a communion service at Morris' meeting house, after the Presbyterian form, and the novel impression seems to have lifted the wrapt worshippers to the very verge of Heaven. The interval was not long until the Methodist evangelist, the Rev. George Whitefield, visited the same field and preached four or five days to large assemblies of the people, delighting his dissenting audiences with his fervid presentation of the gospel of grace, and, as a minister of the Church of England, conciliating and attracting many adherents of the establishment. Thus, within little more than half a century from the first planting of Presbyterianism in the colony, six different points, widely separated from one another, became active centres of propagation, and were all providentially provided with ministerial supervision from the same Scotch-Irish source.

Previous to the awakening in Hanover, sporadic efforts had been made by a few Presbyterians in the Northern Neck, now comprising the counties of Northumberland, Lancaster, Westmoreland, and Richmond, to obtain the occasional services of ministers of their faith. Very early in the history of the colony a Mr. Organ, a pious schoolmaster from Scotland, had sought, by quiet and gentle means, to infuse some spiritual interest in the minds of the inhabitants of that region. Afterwards, for a series of years, occasional visits of a more or less official character were made to them by ministers from other colonies, until 1738, when the Synod of Philadelphia sent Rev. Mr. Anderson to Virginia on a mission to Governor

Gooch, in behalf of the dissenters of that communion. It is supposed that about that time two brothers of the name of Gordon, from Ulster, Ireland, emigrated to Virginia, and entered upon a business career. Col. James Gordon, the elder, settled in Lancaster, and the younger brother John, at Urbanna, in Middlesex, on the southern side of the Rappahannock. From these two families many of the Gordons of Virginia and the south have descended. Col. James Gordon was a man of profound religious convictions, and from the first identified himself with the Presbyterian interest in the Northern Neck. A small part of an extensive journal kept by him has been preserved and throws much light upon the religious conditions of society at that early day. It appears from this very sententious journal that there were meeting-houses in Lancaster and Northumberland, attended by considerable congregations of Presbyterians, who assembled for worship and the reading of sermons under the guidance of Col. Gordon and other intelligent elders. They likewise enjoyed from time to time the visits of ministerial brethren who administered the sacraments and held protracted services for their benefit. Mr. Todd, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Caldwell, and Mr. Davies are particularly mentioned. And we may add with satisfaction that the African slaves shared fully and freely in all these means of grace. This gratifying state of things, at the time of Col. Gordon's entries, in 1758, implies much progress in preceding years, and we are justified in supposing that these efforts in the Northern Neck were at least contemporaneous with those in Hanover, and for a time gave promise of results equally encouraging. It is also worthy of remark that although Col. Gordon and the several ministerial brethren who labored in the work were Presbyterians by education and descent, most of the members of the Church in those counties, judging from the names frequently given in the journal, were of the English stock and originally connected with the establishment. Many of them were probably found in the humbler walks of life, and

a considerable number were negro communicants. But the elders and leading men were evidently persons of the best social standing in the province, from which fact it is fair to infer that both the evangelical spirit and the literary culture of the Presbyterian ministry were gaining favorable attention in the community.

It is inexpedient to dwell upon historical details in a preparatory review. Far more profitable must it be to observe the development of causes and influences to which are due the ultimate results. Neither does it comport with the design to introduce discriminative notices of the eminent men who figured so largely and usefully in the advancement of the Presbyterian cause in Virginia. That cause could have no justification at our hands but for the sacred principles it involved, which rendered persistent conflict with unjust restrictions a solemn duty of dissenting Christians, and in their final triumph confirmed their claims to our respect and devotion. Indeed it becomes a sacred obligation to an intelligent people, now in the full enjoyment of truths and interests so nobly vindicated and secured by their fathers, to transmit the same to other generations consecrated and unimpaired. It would be a gross error to suppose that a temporary relief from civil disabilities on account of religion was the only aim of the prolonged contest between the dissenters and the Colonial Government. There were issues at stake which secular rulers could not comprehend, and secular historians failed to appreciate. Spiritual hunger may have rendered the inquirers in Hanover chiefly importunate for better preaching than the parish ministers could furnish. But the Scotch-Irish element, on the eastern coast and the western frontier, were of a different mould from the Baptist, Quaker, and Presbyterian

colonists of English blood in the interior. The former brought with them not only an ardent love of liberty, but an equal devotion to the integrity of their faith. The Bible in every family was the law of their social existence, and its familiar truths the most highly prized portion of their inheritance. Drawn directly from its pages were the sturdy Calvinistic doctrines of the Scottish Reformers, as well as their cordial rejection of prelacy and an arbitrary form of worship. In their estimation these were not mere suggestions of taste or expediency, but sacred convictions founded in the Word of God. For the first time in a hundred years, they had begun to enjoy, in 1688, some immunity for their consciences under an English king. The Toleration Act, due to the liberal spirit of William and Mary, had afforded some relief to them in Ireland and was now their best temporal defence in the colonies of Virginia and Maryland. But, true to their spiritual inheritance, they continued everywhere to claim *recognition* as a valid branch of the kingdom of Christ; and, even when equality before the law was at length conceded, they resented the exclusive pretensions of the late establishment as a gross contempt of chartered rights emanating from the Scriptures. Wherever faithful they still insist upon spiritual as well as civil equality in the body of Christ. They still extend a fraternal hand to other denominations who adhere to the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. But the demand for reciprocity cannot be consistently withdrawn. The Presbyterian who practically acquiesces in unscriptural exclusiveness on the part of others, is recreant to all the inspiring traditions of the house of his fathers.

Nearly all the churches and ministers of our faith in the colony, during the earlier portion of the eighteenth century, were under the care of Presbyteries in other parts of the country where greater freedom was enjoyed. The more eastern congregations were under the supervision of the Presbytery of Newcastle, the western settlements under that of Don-

egal. One Synod existed with the title of Synod of Philadelphia. The revival, to which reference has already been made, was attended with some differences of opinion among the brethren composing this body, and considerable strife ensued upon practical questions suggested by it, rather than doctrinal points in the common articles of faith. The new measures advocated by the zealous brethren engaged in the revival, acquired for them the party designation of the "New Side," whilst their opponents took that of the "Old Side," and the controversy grew so warm that in 1741 a separation took place into the two Synods of New York and Philadelphia. The Presbytery of Newcastle, under the former, which represented the "New Side," continued to supply the churches in Hanover and the surrounding counties. From this Presbytery the Rev. Samuel Davies came to Virginia in 1747, having been licensed and afterwards ordained as an evangelist for this field of labor. He was born of Welsh parents in Newcastle County, Delaware in 1723, became hopefully pious in his boyhood, was carefully educated in preparation for the ministry under able instructors, including the Rev. Samuel Blair, of Fagg's Manor, Chester County, Pennsylvania. In his letter to the Bishop of London in after years, Mr. Davies mentions Pennsylvania as the place of his nativity, which appears to conflict with his actual birth in Delaware. Such an apparent discrepancy in the life of our Lord would have furnished ground for much unfavorable comment on the part of unbelievers. It illustrates the necessity of a complete knowledge of all the facts in order to understand and unravel such difficulties. The solution is easy, when we remember that Delaware, before the Revolution, was administratively a part of Pennsylvania, although she was allowed her own legislature during the latter part of the period. The reason for this anomaly was found in the proprietary rights of William Penn extending over both territories. Mr. Davies came to Hanover through the eastern shores of Maryland and Virginia, and

called at Williamsburg on his way for the purpose of qualifying before the governor and council under the Act of Toleration. This license he obtained on personal application. It is worthy of observation, in connection with this fact, that the Presbyterian ministers in the colony were generally more fortunate in this respect than their Baptist cotemporaries, apparently for the reason that their learning made a more favorable impression upon the colonial officials. These gentlemen knew little about the doctrines of grace, but could appreciate the scholarship of such men as Mr. Davies and all his co-laborers.

Seven meeting-houses were licensed for Mr. Davies, three in Hanover, one in Henrico, one in Goochland, one in Louisa, and one in Caroline. Another was subsequently granted by the county court of New Kent, on the application of a number of citizens, and issued by John Dandridge, the clerk; but this order was revoked by the general court. From this time much annoyance was experienced by the dissenters in consequence of a question of jurisdiction, and also of a pretended limitation of the Act of Toleration as applied to Virginia. Presbyterian ministers were not prosecuted and imprisoned, nor were their services broken up by blackguard mobs, as was the case with the Baptists. But the policy of the colony was unfriendly and repressive, and the full benefit of the Act of Toleration was but slowly and reluctantly conceded. It was with great difficulty that Mr. Davies could secure any assistance in his large field of labor, and some officials were disposed to revoke his license, because he "itinerated" to fill his appointments. In the end, however, the Rev. Mr. Todd relieved him of several of his local charges in Hanover, which enabled him to perform missionary work in more distant localities, as Cumberland and Charlotte, and to extend the influences of his noble efforts among all classes of the population. From his home in Hanover, where were gathered into one group of domestic attraction his second wife, his parents, and his children, it was his habit to undertake long

horseback journeys, with the burning zeal of a truly apostolic evangelist, and the fervor of a cultivated eloquence hitherto unknown on the American continent. All classes of the people hung enraptured upon his lips. The most intelligent and refined among the colonial gentry, and the imported Africans fresh from the tobacco field, were charmed alike by his magnetic manner, his golden discourse, and his earnest advocacy of the most sacred themes.

In 1755, by order of the Synod of New York, the Presbytery of Hanover was formed in Virginia, consisting of six ministers and the churches served by them. The ministers were the Revs. Samuel Davies, John Todd, Alexander Craighhead, Robert Henry, John Wright, and John Brown. Mr. Davies presided. Nominally, the entire territory of the colony was embraced in the jurisdiction of this body, but it must be remembered that some of the Presbyterians in the same bounds were adherents of the "Old Side," and under the care of the Synod of Philadelphia. Happily for all, a reunion of the two Synods was effected within a few years after this date, and the Presbytery of Hanover, under the "Synod of New York and Philadelphia," actually embraced the whole Presbyterian fraternity in Virginia. It thus appears that the polity of this Church, which antedated Protestant Episcopacy in Europe, was fully instituted and exercised in the Old Dominion, long before the opposite principle was put into complete operation. Diocesan functions were not performed in Virginia until 1790, when Bishop Madison was consecrated to the office. With us, the question of priority is a matter of very little moment, but, in the minds of many so-called churchmen, it is an argument of acknowledged weight, and Presbyterians should be prepared to meet it on its own historical grounds.

About the time of the organization of the Presbytery of Hanover, the people of Virginia were deeply involved in the French and Indian war. Braddock had just been defeated, and the calamity filled the public mind with unspeakable agi-

tation and distress. Our ministers were conspicuous in the general alarm, as comforters in private, and patriotic advisers in public. Mr. Davies, in particular, became identified with the cause of his country, and devoted his matchless eloquence to its defense. But the time was at hand when his brilliant and fruitful career should close. He had already spent more than fifteen months abroad, on a joint mission with the Rev. Gilbert Tennent in behalf of the infant College of New Jersey, of which the Rev. Aaron Burr was president, and was before the religious public in England and Scotland, not only as an agent, but as a preacher and orator, adding daily to his reputation under the severest tests. He was now regarded as a man of the highest qualifications for the most important posts, and when the deaths of Presidents Burr and Edwards in immediate succession left the college without a head, attention was soon drawn to him as one eminently fitted for the position. He was, in his early prime, famous at home and abroad, and conspicuous for his learning, wisdom, and energy. The negotiations finally resulted in his removal in 1760 from Hanover to Princeton, N. J., where, within a few months after his inauguration as president of the college, he died, from a brief illness, at the early age of thirty-seven years. Thus was extinguished, at its zenith, one of the brightest luminaries in our hemisphere; and the cause of Presbyterianism in Virginia long suffered from the loss of its ablest advocate. The family of Mr. Davies returned to their southern home. Some of his descendants were conspicuous in the military and civil history of the State, and one now living, Bishop Francis M. Whittle, of the Episcopal church, enjoys the respect and love of all denominations of Christians, as he is known to be true in his elevated position to the precious spiritual principles so eloquently advocated by his Presbyterian ancestor.

Before Mr. Davies left Virginia for Princeton, perhaps about the year 1758, Mr. James Waddell, afterwards known as the "Blind Preacher," was passing through Hanover, intending

to seek employment as a teacher in South Carolina. He was a pious young man, born in Ireland, but brought in infancy to Chester County, Pennsylvania, and educated, under great privations, in the schools of the Rev. Samuel Finley and Rev. Robert Smith. Dedicated to the ministry by his pious mother, and inclined to the same service by the tokens of providence and grace, he was looking forward to this calling as the work of his life. Coming from the scenes of Mr. Davies' boyhood, and perhaps already known to him, he called on him in his journey, and consulted him in reference to the future. The interview resulted in his conclusion to remain in Virginia, assist the Rev. John Todd in his schools, and pursue his own studies for the ministry. His advantages under this arrangement were very great, in view of the daily guidance of Mr. Todd and the constant counsel and supervision of Mr. Davies. After one or two years thus favorably spent, he placed himself under the care of the Presbytery, at a meeting held in 1760 at the Stone Meeting-House, in Augusta. Passing through the usual trials for licensure and ordination, at different times, to the satisfaction of the Presbytery, he was finally set apart to his work by a committee of that body at Harris' Creek, Prince Edward, on the 17th of June, 1762. He had already been employed as a supply for vacant churches, including the Northern Neck, and according to Col. Gordon's entry in his journal, had, on his visits to that congregation, "performed to admiration." A call to the pastorate of the church or churches in that region, at first declined, was at last accepted by him in Presbytery at Providence, in Louisa, in October succeeding his ordination.

From the time of Mr. Davies' removal and death until the formation of the American Union, the condition of society in Virginia was very unfavorable to religious progress. The minds of the people, on the border especially, were engrossed by their exposure to Indian alarms, and finally the same kind of trouble invaded the interior, along with British hostility. Ecclesiastical history is greatly obscured in times of war, and

spiritual enterprise is necessarily impeded. Perhaps it ought to be confessed that the zealous fervor of a faithful ministry was considerably abated throughout our bounds, during this period of social agitation. Churches were, indeed, multiplied as population increased, and within fifteen years after the departure of Mr. Davies a continuous chain of Presbyterian congregations was completed from the Potomac into North Carolina south of the Dan. But the fervid evangelism of the past, which Mr. Waddell and a few others were laboring to sustain in Lancaster, Hanover, and the southwestern counties, gradually declined as political excitement increased, and the advancement of spiritual religion was to a great extent arrested. In all parts of the colony, the insecurity of property, the difficulty of subsistence, and the unsettled condition of the popular mind led to changes and removals, and a general breaking up of plans and prospects. The thoughts of all classes were diverted most unhappily from the principal work and highest interest of the church. In all that region lying north of the James and east of the Blue Ridge, the cause of Presbyterianism either declined or was greatly retarded. In a number of localities, at the close of the Revolution, it had entirely disappeared, and its work was taken up by other hands. In the Piedmont region, south of the James, and on the western side of the Ridge, the tenacity of the Scotch-Irish race preserved their principles from similar decay, but there was little religious activity. The sacred fire still burned in many devout hearts, and at many pious hearth-stones, among the Presbyterians and Baptists; but the external conditions painfully interfered with the general progress of evangelical religion.

The work of education had been for some time in the hands of Presbyterian ministers, or laymen. Mr. Criswell, an elder in the Lancaster church, the Rev. John Todd in Louisa, and the Rev. John Brown in Augusta, were assiduous in this kind of labor in advance of all public measures for the purpose.

But about the beginning of the Revolution we find the Presbytery of Hanover frequently entertaining the question of educational institutions under the regulation of the church. These deliberations led to the foundation of two seats of learning, the one in Augusta, under the supervision of the Rev. John Brown, and the other in Prince Edward, under the direction of the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith. These appointments were in immediate succession to eminent educators among the Scotch-Irish around Philadelphia. The Rev. William Tennent, of the "Log College," at Neshaminy, Rev. Samuel Blair at New Londondery, the Rev. Samuel Finley at Nottingham, and Rev. Robert Smith at Pequa, conducted classical schools somewhat in the chronological order in which they are named. The places were all in Pennsylvania; Neshaminy in Bucks County, and the others we believe in Chester County. Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith was a son of Rev. Robert Smith, of Pequa, and there, and at the College of New Jersey, had enjoyed the highest educational advantages of his day. The Rev. John Brown was from the same portion of the country, and had been blessed with similar accomplishments. Under the latter, the Rev. William Graham, both before and after his licensure and ordination, was intrusted with the chief management of the school, and at length became its principal. Other schools of less note were conducted at different points by Presbyterian teachers, and the facts all conspire to show how great an influence had been acquired at that closing period of our colonial history by the high standard of scholarship exacted of her ministers by the Presbyterian Church. The chief seat of learning founded and sustained by other parties was the College of William and Mary, at Williamsburg; but not only the dissenters, but a large portion of the public recognized it as unsuitable for the training of their sons.

An unsettled interpretation of the Act of Toleration, as applied to Virginia, kept up the annoyance experienced by dis-

senters in the eastern part of the colony down to the day of dis-establishment. But the dissatisfaction of the incumbent clergy with the mode of compensation provided by law, and their concerted litigation to escape its effect, was a more potential cause than any effort in behalf of greater freedom in bringing about our ecclesiastical emancipation. The compensation in *Tobacco*, with its variable value, necessarily operated to estrange the clergy and laity of the colony from one another. The enlightened statesmen of Virginia, then multiplying under the stimulus of great public questions, and of whom several of the most influential had sought in the Presbyterian College of New Jersey the highest educational advantages of the period, were driven by the conduct of the parish ministers to ponder the fundamental principles of all established churches and finally brought to discover their incompatibility with free institutions. It is remarkable, as an evidence of the rapid development of correct opinions under favorable circumstances, how completely reversed was the attitude of the Virginia gentry towards the claims of the dissenters within a single generation. Even the Hon. Peyton Randolph, who had been, as Attorney-General, the most able and zealous adversary of Mr. Davies on the license question, yielded the entire ground in the end, and became as eminent for his patriotism as he had been for his loyalty to the church and crown. But Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, the noble leaders in the cause, were representatives of the general sentiment among all reasonable men in their day; and history does not record a more rapid advance in human opinion from darkness into light. But it is impossible to ignore the fact, that one of the most effectual causes of this strange intellectual revolution is to be found in the coincidence of the Virginia planters being interested at the same time in their own pecuniary interests, and in the philosophical inquiry concerning the natural rights of man. It is no imputation upon the honesty and candor of the class referred to, to suppose that

their deliverance from the bondage of an hereditary institution, and the theories associated with it, rendered them better prepared to deliberate upon the general subject of political liberty. And we must maintain that the good providence of God appears conspicuous in modifying the rational conclusions derived from French Encyclopedists, by the safer influence of Scriptural truth so faithfully impressed by Presbyterian preachers and professors.

The part taken by the Presbyterians in our revolutionary struggle has ever been among us a subject of generous pride and profound thanksgiving. Without entering upon the disputed question of the Mecklenburg, North Carolina, declaration of May 20, 1775, we have a right to claim, what all concede for the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of that county, the honor of adopting, as early as May 31, 1775, resolutions declaring the royal government for the present suspended, and forming a separate county government to last till superseded by the Provincial legislature, "or the legislative body of Great Britain resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America," which, though not amounting to absolute and irrevocable independence, were declared by the royal governor, Martin, to "surpass all the horrid and treasonable publications that the inflammatory spirits of this continent have yet produced." And the same sturdy population were honored by the complaint of the notorious Tarleton, who, after being in its midst in 1780, wrote: "It was evident, and it had been frequently mentioned to the King's officers, that the counties of Mecklenburg and Rohan were more hostile to England than any others in America." It was from the Presbyterian population of South Carolina that Marion and Sumpter

gathered their little bands which kept alive in the swamps of that State the spirit of patriotism during the darkest days of her experience. To the Presbyterian county of Charlotte, Virginia, belongs the honor of leading the way, on April, 23, 1776, in directing her delegates in the convention to instruct their representatives in Congress to "immediately cast off the British yoke, and to enter into a commercial alliance with any nation or nations friendly to our cause, and as King George the Third of Great Britain &c., has manifested deliberate enmity toward us, and under the character of a parent, persists in behaving as a tyrant, that they in our behalf, renounce allegiance to him forever, and that taking the God of Heaven to be our King, and depending upon his protection and assistance, they plan out that form of government which may the more effectually secure to us the enjoyment of our civil and religious rights and privileges, to the latest posterity." To that heroic Presbyterian, Col. Wm. Campbell, and his brave volunteers from Washington County, Virginia, the charge of the pioneer Presbyterian and warrior-preacher, Chas. Cummings, we were mainly indebted for the crushing defeat of the British at King's Mountain, which turned the disastrous tide of war in the Southern States.

It was from the Presbyterian county of Augusta that George Rogers Clark mainly gathered the volunteers with which he drove the British from their western posts, and secured to Virginia, and through her to the United States, the vast territory between the Lakes and Ohio, reaching west to the Mississippi, and opening the way to our extension to the Pacific ocean. We have the testimony of Mr. Jefferson to the fact that the revolutionary measures in Virginia were carried in the Legislature by the votes of the upper counties; counties in which lay the strength of the Presbyterian church.

But we need not multiply particulars, when the records of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia demonstrate the fact that this representative body, reflecting the sympathies of

the Presbyterian church in America, were true to the cause of the Revolution. This is established by the fasts and thanksgivings recommended, and the pastoral letters issued by Synod during this trying period. Two of the latter are deserving of special notice. The first was adopted at the May Session, 1766, and among the causes for special gratitude to God, included the recent repeal of the obnoxious Stamp Act,—a repeal which followed the opposition raised to it by the eloquence of a Virginian who was first taught true eloquence by the great Samuel Davies. The second was adopted at the May Session, 1775, and while it recommended continued allegiance to the king, urged the maintenance of the American Union just effected by the meeting of the Continental Congress, and an adherence to the resolutions of that august body. This was reported by the distinguished Dr. Witherspoon, who, as a member of that Congress, the following year came opportunely to the help of the advanced patriots and secured the passage of the Declaration of Independence.

We, as Presbyterians, may remember with just pride also that the union of our churches in America, first as a Presbytery, in 1705, and afterwards as a Synod in 1717, was the first practical demonstration of the possibility of a Federal Union among the colonies, and that to the Annual Synod of the American Presbyterian Church the Tories did not hesitate to attribute the united opposition to the aggressions of the British government which brought on the revolution. Nor should we fail to recall that the noble republican form of government under which our civil and religious rights are so completely protected, is patterned after the Presbyterian form of church government, a representative government based upon the will of the people, with local assemblies for local affairs, and a General Assembly of matters for general concern.

While it may be that, besides acting and speaking as members of the community, our ancestors sometimes allowed their patriotic feelings to express themselves strongly against the

measures of the mother country, in their pulpits and church courts, such action can only be a precedent for subsequent protests against *oppression*. It can never be justly cited against the efforts of communities to assert the right of self-government.

In our own day it has been affirmed to be the duty of the church to sustain established government over the whole territory once subject to its laws, provided those laws are not in obvious contravention of the letter of the Constitution. And, in a concrete case, such as our own history has presented, the principle has been avowed that obedience should be enjoined by the church upon all its members, not to "the powers that be," but to "the powers that *ought* to be." In other words, the church may determine a disputed question of allegiance for the citizen, and teach him which of two claimants is the rightful Cæsar. This assumption is in direct conflict with the word of God, which declares that the government *de facto* "is ordained of God" as the government *de jure* for the individual Christian, and, in so many words, condemns all personal "resistance" to such a power.

Now the Presbyterians of the United States, during the war of independence, did not, and could not, teach the slavish doctrine before referred to. Such a principle would have restrained every patriotic effort, and driven them to maintain the cause of England against her insurgent colonies. Their union with the mother country was far more complete and sacred than any union since established, and the authority of the British crown over them beyond measure more conspicuous. Yet our Presbyterian fathers, neither politically nor ecclesiastically, hesitated for a moment to recognize the Cæsar actually in power on American soil, and exulted in the triumph of rebellion and independence. This, then, is the vindication of their sons in Virginia in the present century. The burning patriotism of our people in 1776 cannot, with any justice, be pleaded now in behalf of a cause less obviously sacred than the

original one of Great Britain against a handful of revolted colonists.

But besides this, it was not determined by an ecclesiastical court whether Great Britain had or had not forfeited her sovereignty over the colonies. Such a decision would have been *ultra vires*. The church can exercise no power which her Lord declined. He refused to settle a question of inheritance between two brothers in those emphatic words, "Who made me a judge or a divider over you?" This is a positive inhibition to his church. And we are equally sure that had two rival emperors been then in the field, the Lord would have given the same answer to their partisans. Against such interference in secular contests the modified Westminster Confession committed all Presbyterians in their ecclesiastical capacity, whilst it left them free to exercise their judgments, and consciences, *as citizens*, on every civil question. The resolves of ecclesiastics cannot extend to the inherited or transmitted legacy of a government, but simply to support any established authority existing in a community at the time. The government *de facto* is the one which God has "ordained" to be respected and obeyed, and it is this Cæsar to whom tribute is due.

But the Presbyterians of Virginia were progressive as well as conservative. So far as documentary evidence goes, we are assured that they were the first of the dissenting bodies that, before the Revolution, urged upon the Legislature a Toleration Act far more favorable to dissenting Protestants than any yet enjoyed. A member of this committee has recently been so fortunate, whilst examining the archives of the State, as to find a paper of great historical value in its bearings on the part taken by the Presbyterian church in the struggle for religious liberty in Virginia. The occasion of its preparation was the introduction in the House of Burgesses in 1772, of a bill having for its professed object the better security of the religious

liberty of Protestant dissenters in the colony, but really contrived for their oppression in several particulars. The objectionable features are commented upon in the paper we send. Foote, in his "Sketches of Virginia," page 320, states the dissatisfaction of Hanover Presbytery with the proposed bill, and the appointment of Rev. John Todd and Capt. John Morton as commissioners to attend the next Assembly in opposition to it. Nothing was done in the next Assembly touching the matter, and at the meeting at the house of Robert Caldwell, on Cub Creek, in Charlotte County, October 14, 1774, there being apprehension that the Assembly would take action during the fall session, the Presbytery adjourned to meet on the second Wednesday of November next, at the house of Col. William Cabell, of Amherst, to remonstrate against the bill. This paper is that remonstrance, and is most interesting and instructive, not only because of its ability, and the light it sheds on the then condition of the church and the colony, but because it is the first paper of the kind, so far as we have seen, which was ever presented to the Virginia Assembly claiming equal rights for dissenters. It may therefore be regarded as the advance guard of that army of remonstrances, which so vigorously attacked the establishment, and finally overpowered it, and established perfect religious liberty on its ruins.

It is probable that Rev. Caleb Wallace, who wrote the memorial of 1776, wrote this older paper. He was a graduate of Princeton, and became in later life, a distinguished judge in Kentucky. The memorial is as follows :

*To the Honorable the Speaker and the Gentlemen
of the House of Burgesses :*

The petition of the Presbytery of Hanover, in behalf of themselves, and all the Presbyterians in Virginia in particular, and all Protestant dissenters in general, humbly sheweth, That upon application made by the Rev. Mr. James Anderson in behalf of the Synod of Philadelphia, the honorable Governor Gooch, with the advice of the council, did in the year 1738, or

about that time, for the encouragement of all Presbyterians who might incline to settle in the colony, grant an instrument of writing under the seal of the colony, containing the most ample assurances that they should enjoy the full and free exercise of their religion, and all the other privileges of good subjects. Relying upon this express stipulation, as well as upon the justice and catholic spirit of the whole Legislative body, several thousand families of Presbyterians have removed from the northern provinces into the frontiers of this colony, exposed themselves to a cruel and savage enemy and all the other toils and dangers of settling a new country and soon became a barrier to the former inhabitants who were settled in the more commodious parts of the colony. Ever since that time we have been considered and treated upon an equal footing with our fellow-subjects, nor have our ministers or people been restricted in their religious privileges by any law of the colony. Your humble petitioners further show, that with gratitude they acknowledge the catholic design of our late honorable Assembly to secure by law the religious liberties of all Protestant dissenters in the colony; accordingly they did, in the year 1772, prepare and print a Toleration Bill, but as the subject was deeply interesting it was generously left open for amendment. But notwithstanding, we are fully persuaded of the catholic and generous design of our late representatives; yet we are deeply sensible that some things in the above-named bill will be very grievous and burdensome to us if passed into a law. Therefore we humbly and earnestly pray that the said bill may not be established without such alterations and amendments as will render it more agreeable to the principles of impartial liberty and sound policy, which we presume were the valuable ends for which it was first intended. Therefore we humbly beg leave, while we are making the prayer of our petition in a more particular way, to lay before this honorable house in the most respectful manner, a few remarks upon the bill.

The preamble is agreeable to what we desire, only we pray that the preamble and every other part of the bill may be so expressed as will be most likely to obtain the royal assent.

We are also willing that all our clergymen should be required to take the oaths of allegiance, etc., usually taken by civil officers, and to declare their belief of the Holy Scriptures.

Likewise, as is required in the said bill, we shall willingly have all our churches and stated places for public worship

registered, if this honorable house shall think proper to grant it. But every minister of the gospel is under indispensable obligations to follow the example of our blessed Saviour, "who went about doing good;" and the example of his Apostles who not only "taught in the Temple, but in every house where they came they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ." From which, and their constant practice of traveling into every quarter of the world, we humbly trust that it will appear to this Assembly, that we cannot, consistently with the duties of our office, wholly confine our ministrations to any place or number of places; and to be limited by law would be the more grievous, because in many parts of this colony, even where the majority of the inhabitants are Presbyterians, it is not, and perhaps it may not in any short time be, easy to determine where it would be the most expedient to fix upon a stated place for public worship, and indeed where we have houses for worship already built, generally the bounds of our congregation are so very extensive that many of our people, especially women, children, and servants, are not able to attend by reason of the distance, which makes it our duty, as faithful ministers of Christ, to double our diligence, and frequently to lecture and catechise in the remote corners of our congregations. This restriction would also be very grievous to us in many other respects. We only beg leave to add: That the number of Presbyterians in this province is now very great and the number of clergymen small, therefore we are obliged frequently to itinerate and preach through various parts of the colony, that our people may have an opportunity to worship God and receive the sacraments in the way agreeable to their own consciences. As to our having meetings for public worship, in the night, it is not in frequent practice among our churches; yet sometimes we find it expedient to attend night meetings, that a neighborhood may hear a sermon or a lecture, or be catechised, without being much interrupted in their daily labor, And so long as our fellow-subjects are permitted to meet together by day or by night, for the purposes of business or diversion, we hope we shall not be restrained from meeting together as opportunity serves us, upon business of all others the most important; especially if it be considered that the Apostles held frequent societies by night, and once St. Paul continued his speech till midnight; accordingly it is well known

that in city and collegiate churches evening prayers and lectures have long been esteemed lawful and profitable exercises. As to any bad influence this practice may have upon servants or any others, it is sufficient to say that there is nothing in our principles or way of worship that tends to promote a spirit of disobedience or disorder, but much to the contrary; and if any person shall be detected in doing or teaching anything criminal in this respect, we presume he is liable to punishment by a law already in being; therefore we pray that no dissenting minister, according to law, may be subjected to any penalty for preaching or teaching at any time, or in any place in this colony.

We confess it is easy for us to keep open doors in time of divine service, except in case of a storm or other inclemencies of the weather; yet we would humbly represent that such a requirement implies a suspicion of our loyalty, and will fix a stigma upon us to after ages, such as we presume our honorable representatives will not judge that we have anyhow incurred; therefore we pray that this clause may also be removed from the bill.

And as to baptizing or receiving servants into our communion, we have always anxiously desired to do it with the permission of their masters; but when a servant appears to be a true penitent and makes profession of his faith in Christ, upon his desire it is our indispensable duty to admit him into our church, and, if he has never been baptized, we are to baptize him according to the command of Christ: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen." And we are so confidently persuaded of the liberal sentiments of this house, that, in obeying the laws of Christ, we shall never be reduced to the necessity of disobeying the laws of our country.

And we also, having abundant reasons to hope that we shall be indulged in every other thing that may appear reasonable, your petitioners further pray:

For liberty and protection in the discharge of all the functions and duties of our office as ministers of the gospel, and that the penalties to be inflicted on those who may disturb any of our congregations in the time of divine service, or misuse

the preacher, be the same as on those who disturb the congregation or misuse the preachers of the Church of England, and that the dissenting clergy, as well as the clergy of the Established Church, be excused from all burdensome offices. All which we conceive is granted in the English Toleration Act.

And we pray for that freedom in speaking and writing upon religious subjects, which is allowed by law to every member of the British empire in civil affairs, and which has long been so friendly to the cause of liberty.

And also we pray for a right by law to hold estates, and enjoy donations and legacies for the support of our churches and schools for the instruction of our youth. Though this is not expressed in the English Act of Toleration, yet the greatest lawyers in England have plead, and the best judges have determined, that it is manifestly implied.

Finally, we pray that nothing in the Act of Toleration may be so expressed as to render us suspicious or odious to our countrymen, with whom we desire to live in peace and friendship; but that all misdemeanors committed by the dissenters may be punished by laws equally binding upon all our fellow-subjects, without any regard to their religious tenets. Or if any non-compliance with the conditions of the Act of Toleration shall be judged to deserve punishment, we pray that the crime may be accurately defined, and the penalty ascertained by the Legislature; and that neither be left to the discretion of any magistrate, or court whatsoever.

May it please this honorable Assembly, There are some other things which we omit, because they are less essential to the rights of conscience, and the interest of our church; we trust that we petition for nothing but what justice says ought to be ours; for as ample privileges as any of our fellow-subjects enjoy: "To have and enjoy the full and free exercise of our religion, without molestation or danger of incurring any penalty whatsoever," We are petitioning in favor of a church that is neither contemptible nor obscure: It prevails in every province to the northward of Maryland, and its advocates in all the more southern provinces are numerous and respectable; The greatest monarch in the north of Europe adorns it; It is the established religion of the populous and wealthy states of Holland; It prevails in the wise and happy Cantons of Switzerland; And it is the possession of Geneva, a state among the foremost of those who, at the Reformation, emancipated them-

selves from the slavery of Rome ; and some of the first geniuses and writers in every branch of literature were sons of our church.

The subject is of such solemn importance to us, that, comparatively speaking, our lives and our liberties are but of little value ; and the population of the country, and the honor of the Legislature, as well as the interest of American liberty, are certainly most deeply concerned in the matter : Therefore, we would willingly lay before this honorable house a more extensive view of our reasons in favor of an unlimited, impartial toleration ; but fearing we should transgress upon the patience of the house, we conclude with praying that the allwise, just, and merciful God would direct you in this and all your other important determinations.

Signed by order of Presbytery.

DAVID RICE, *Moderator.*

CALEB WALLACE, *Clerk.*

At a session of the Presbytery in Amherst County, November 11, 1774.

During the war of independence, when the Confederation and the States were supreme in almost the whole interior of the country, our church was eminently scriptural in recognizing the legitimacy of that authority, and enjoining submission to its civil administration. With the merits of the controversy it could rightfully have nothing to do as a Christian body. To decide in favor of the colonies would have been an unwarranted interference with the functions of the Parliament and the crown on the one hand, and popular opinion on the other. But an opposite decision in favor of the British government would have been equally reprehensible. It no longer existed in the colonies in a civil capacity. The only such authority was that established by the Americans themselves, and to this was obviously due, from the Scriptures, the orderly obedience of the people.

During the earlier years of the war of independence, hostilities were for the most part confined to the northern colonies. At a later period, they were transferred by the enemy to the

extreme south. Before the close, however, several attempts were made to devastate Virginia, and her defenseless coasts were greatly exposed to marauders and plunderers from the British fleets. These were disastrous times for the planters in the tide-water section of the State, and many communities, formerly prosperous, were almost ruined. Many families removed to a safer distance, and found new homes near or among the mountains. The congregation of Rev. Dr. Waddell, in Lancaster and Northumberland, which he had been compelled to leave that he might seek health and safety for himself and family in Augusta, were so completely obliterated by the calamities of the period that no trace of them now remains, and the very sites of their church edifices are almost lost to tradition.

The American Revolution was incalculably more than a mere war of independence. It was a revolution of ideas throughout the civilized world. Among the vast changes wrought by it in human society, none was more far reaching and complete than that which affected the relations between civil government and the institutions of religion. The hand of a divine Providence seems conspicuous and unquestionable in the concurrence of causes that resulted in the separation of church and State in the new commonwealth of Virginia. It was in Virginia that the exclusive domination of a church, constituted on purpose to form a part of the English system of government, had been long maintained with unrelenting rigor, and in practice only moderated by the temporal policy of her governors. The removal of this incubus from the necks of the people was due, not merely to the success of the rebellion, but to the meeting of several distinct forces in the atmosphere of thought which prevailed at the period of popular emancipation. Among the statesmen of the commonwealth at that day were a number of intellectual men, of the first order in natural gifts and of profound knowledge of the science of government, several of whom had enjoyed the best educational

advantages at Nassau Hall in New Jersey, where Presbyterian learning was moulding the foremost of our public men. These enlightened leaders of the revolutionary movement in Virginia, like the future Girondists of France, were imbued with such notions of human rights and civil society as are generated by the study of the Grecian and Roman commonwealths, and developed on rational and natural principles by the brilliant French literature of the eighteenth century. Had the influence of such training been left to operate alone in the formation of our institutions, it is impossible to conjecture what might have been the result. But, at Princeton, the principles of liberty were maintained with an ardor unsurpassed by any of the French essayists, yet not as the dictates of a self-confident, unsanctified reason. It was a liberty inseparable from the righteous government of God. It was a liberty, not of words and theories, but practical and comprehensive, extending to the thoughts and intents of the heart. This earnest love of actual freedom had been popularly instilled into the minds of Virginia Presbyterians by the earlier ministers who labored among them. Francis Makemie and Samuel Davies were the evangelists of a gospel of liberty, and among the eminent men who learned the principles of Christianity and free government from the lips of the latter was Patrick Henry, whose mother was a member of Mr. Davies' congregation in Hanover. Without known exception, the Presbyterian ministers of the day were enlightened advocates of a well-regulated liberty, and the rapid growth of the denomination by immigration had diffused throughout the state those sober, scriptural views of human rights which occupied the minds of our earlier statesmen, and found such emphatic expression in the Virginia Bill of Rights. This celebrated paper does not breathe the spirit of a speculative philosophy, but of those Christian principles of government, which were to so great an extent realized by the Parliament of England and the Westminster Assembly of divines, under the commonwealth, and

were further matured in all the subsequent experience of the Presbyterian people. These principles dictated the Bill of Rights which was adopted by the Virginia Convention, June 12, 1776. This document marks an epoch in the history of religious liberty in the world. Its sixteenth section declares "that religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason or conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other." It is stated by Edmund Randolph, who was on the committee that reported the paper, that this section was proposed by Patrick Henry. It was somewhat amended in Convention on the motion of James Madison, so as to read as it now stands. Mr. Henry, in proposing this provision, was but giving expression to those principles which he had learned from Samuel Davies. The section clearly expressed the great principles of religious liberty, and by placing it among the inalienable rights of man, made it one of the foundation-stones of our system of government. This principle had been declared by Christ and his Apostles, but no civil government had ever admitted it as a rule of practice in the sense in which this section has been construed. The action of Virginia was the completion of the Reformation begun by Luther. The Virginia Bill of Rights was taken as a model upon which every State government in the Union, as well as the Federal Constitution, has been since fashioned, and its principles have been steadily gaining ground in Europe. Its importance therefore, as an expression of fundamental truth, cannot be estimated.

The convention that adopted it, however, did not act upon its principles, and order the disestablishment of the Episcopal church, but left it as they found it, supported by law. The dissenters of the State, realizing the incompleteness of the

work, and unwilling longer to bear the burden of the support of an establishment, presented, at the fall meeting of the Legislature, numerous signed petitions praying relief. The most remarkable of these, because of its elaborate and conclusive reasoning on the subject, came from Hanover Presbytery, representing all the Presbyterians in Virginia, and was presented by its clerk, Rev. Caleb Wallace, of Cub Creek church, in Charlotte County, who is believed to have been its author. This memorial is, from beginning to end, an earnest plea for the practical application of the principles of religious liberty as expressed in the Bill of Rights. It not only urges a complete equality among sects, but claims that the functions of civil government are limited to the interests of men in the present state of existence. And it is especially worthy of note, in view of subsequent criticism, that Hanover Presbytery here pleaded ardently that "every religious sect may be protected in the full exercise of their several modes of worship, and *exempted from all taxes for the support of any church whatsoever, further than what may be agreeable to their own private choice, or voluntary obligation.*"

In accordance with the petitions of the Presbyterians and Baptists, which were in perfect harmony, the Legislature, the lower house of which was composed of members of the previous convention, acted so far as to relieve dissenters from all compulsory attendance or support of an establishment. But it was also resolved, with a view to future legislation, "that religious assemblies ought to be regulated, and provision ought to be made for continuing the succession of the clergy, and superintending their conduct." This language was understood by the public as hinting at an establishment of some kind; for, according to Mr. Jefferson, whilst the majority of the people were dissenters, the Episcopalians were still predominant in the Legislature. The Presbytery of Hanover, therefore, at its spring sessions at Timber Ridge, in 1777, prepared another memorial, reiterating its opposition to any form of establish-

ment, urging the equality of all sects before the law, and insisting that their support be left to the voluntary contributions of the people. The Revs. Samuel Stanhope Smith and David Rice were the committee who drew up the paper. It is thus placed beyond question that the Presbyterians of Virginia had fully committed themselves against any scheme of general assessment for religious purposes before any such measure had been definitely proposed as a legal enactment. The fact that afterwards a few of their number appeared to acquiesce in the measure proposed, under the apprehension that no better could be expected, should not overshadow the overwhelming sentiment of the denomination. It is a singular coincidence that the Presbyterians alone protested against the assessment scheme in 1777. Those who, in a spirit of captiousness or jealousy, have from time to time represented the Presbyterians of the revolutionary era as pursuing an inconsistent and selfish course, have done so in ignorance of these memorials of Hanover Presbytery, which not only contradict all such charges, but place both the ministers and members of our communion in the position of leaders in the march of opinion towards that complete severance of church and State which has been accomplished on American soil.

The most notable effect of these memorials was the preparation of the celebrated act for the establishment of religious liberty. At the session of October, 1776, a committee was appointed by the Assembly to revise the laws and adapt them to the changed condition of the State. Mr. Jefferson was a member of this committee, and drew the important act just mentioned. It was reported on the 18th of June, 1779, and thus he had the benefit of the memorials of Hanover Presbytery in preparing it. A comparison of this act with those memorials, one of which is given above, will demonstrate the fact that it is but an expression of the conclusions of Hanover Presbytery. After a preamble containing an elaborate argument in the line of the Presbytery the act follows in these words :

“ Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in nowise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.”

This act was not passed until 1785, and in the meantime the Legislature was agitated by petitions touching the establishment and the support of religion. On the 10th of November, 1779, a petition was presented to the Assembly by some members of the Church of England along with the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, declaring their hearty assent to the act of January, 1779, declaring all church laws null, and claiming that the act of religious freedom is the true exposition of the Bill of Rights. This, no doubt, was the cause of the act of that session repealing all the laws of the statute-book for the support of the Episcopal clergy. At the meeting of the Hanover Presbytery, in April, 1780, at Tinkling Spring, in Augusta County, a memorial to the Assembly was adopted, praying that they “ abstain from interfering in the government of the church.” At the session of the Assembly held in October, 1780, it was enacted that marriages might be performed by any minister of any society or congregation of Christians. At the meeting of Hanover Presbytery, May 19, 1784, at Bethel Church, in Augusta County, a memorial reported by Messrs. Smith and Waddell, was adopted and ordered to be presented to the Legislature, complaining of the exclusive privileges enjoyed by the Episcopal church, and, among other things, of its enjoyment of the Glebe lands. It was a noble protest against all inequality in legislation concerning religion, and emphasizes the Presbyterian doctrine of a clear “ distinction between matters purely religious and the objects of human legislation.” It is argued at length that the State cannot enter

the spiritual sphere, or in any degree provide for any other interests than those of the present life; and it follows, with irresistible conclusiveness, that the church cannot penetrate the civil sphere except with a petition in its hands.

During the spring sessions of the Assembly, the subject of an assessment for the support of religion was again agitated, because of several petitions on the subject, but the matter was postponed until the fall. In the meantime so great was the pressure for the measure that it was believed that it would pass at the fall session. With this belief, the Presbytery, at its meeting in October, 1784, was impressed, and they determined to have the proposed act as free from objection as possible. On the 28th of October, a memorial was adopted which had been reported by Messrs. Graham and Smith, and which has been severely criticized. Along with the memorial, the Presbytery sent to the Assembly a plan of assessment considered least objectionable. This memorial, whilst arguing against the interference of the State in religion, admits that it may use means for preserving the public worship of the Deity, and for supporting institutions for inculcating the great fundamental principles of all religion, without which society cannot easily exist. But this was a concession to the advocates of the support of the churches by the State which was not to be expected from a Presbytery which had so uniformly and ably argued against all interference of the State with the church.

Mr. Madison, who was the greatest opponent of the proposed assessment, wrote, concerning the contest over it in the Legislature: "The Episcopal people are generally for it, though I think the zeal of some of them has cooled. The laity of the other sects are generally unanimous on the other side. So are all of the clergy, except the Presbyterians who seem as ready to set up an establishment which is to take them in, as they were to pull down that which shut them out. I do not know a more shameful contrast than might be found between their memorials on the latter and former occasions." Mr. Madison

did the Presbyterian clergy great injustice in this statement, although he was correct in saying that the members of the church were generally opposed to the proposal. That the judgment put down in writing by him, and in later times repeated to our injury, was due to a misconception, will appear to the satisfaction of all dispassionate persons from the consideration of a few facts. In preceding memorials, the ministers of Hanover Presbytery had committed themselves irrevocably against any form of assessment. The obnoxious paper referred to by Mr. Madison simply conceded that the State, for the sake of temporal good, might provide for the inculcation of morality, as most people now admit who advocate such instruction in public schools. It is a long and very elaborate document, and any one familiar with the process by which such reports are passed in ecclesiastical bodies, will easily understand how it may have been accepted without sufficient deliberation. But whether it can be now explained or not, an explanation must have been possible at the time, for subsequent action demonstrates that neither the Presbyterian people nor the clergy had any leaning whatever towards an assessment. This is the necessary conclusion unless we are prepared to acquiesce in the malicious estimate of their enemies that they were a corrupt body.

The bill for an assessment was postponed till the next session, and memorials were circulated against it, the ablest drawn by Mr. Madison himself. At the meeting of Hanover Presbytery, at Bethel Church, in Augusta, May 19, 1785, the following action was recorded:

“On motion, the opinion of Presbytery was taken, whether they do approve of any kind of assessment by the General Assembly for the support of religion. Presbytery *are unanimously* against such a measure.”

At the same meeting, a general convention of the Presbyterian body was called. The convention met at Bethel, August

10, 1785. The meeting adopted a very able paper addressed to the Legislature, drawn by the Rev. Wm. Graham, opposing any assessment for the support of religion, and urging the adoption of the bill for the establishment of religious freedom, drawn by Mr. Jefferson but not yet acted on.

At the fall session of the Assembly, Rev. John Blair Smith, President of Hampden-Sidney College, and one of the commissioners of Hanover Presbytery, appeared before the body to oppose the assessment act, though he had been the author of the memorial of May, 1784. The discussion lasted three days, and was conducted with great ability by Mr. Smith. It resulted in the defeat of the bill, and the passage of the act drawn by Mr. Jefferson for the establishment of religious freedom. The disestablishment of the Episcopal church was completed by the bill passed January 24, 1799, which purports to declare the construction of the Bill of Rights and Constitution concerning religion, and repeals all acts relating to the Episcopal church. This act sets forth that "whereas the Constitution of the State of Virginia hath pronounced the government of the King of England to have been dissolved by the Revolution; hath substituted in the place of the civil government so dissolved a new civil government, and hath in the Bill of Rights excepted from the powers given to the substituted government the power of reviving any species of ecclesiastical or church government in lieu of that so dissolved by referring the subject of religion to conscience, &c." Thus the Legislature came at last fully to the position taken by Hanover Presbytery in its memorial of April 25, 1777, to wit, "that the kingdom of Christ and the concerns of religion are beyond the limits of civil control."

The last act in the struggle against the late established church was to reduce her to the common level in respect to property. By the act of January 12, 1802, the glebe lands were taken from her and applied to public uses, as they had been bought with taxes imposed upon the public. In all this

long-continued effort for religious liberty the Baptists and Presbyterians were allies, but a perusal of the memorials presented by the two denominations will show that the winning arguments were penned by the Presbyterians. The principles thus established in Virginia have slowly permeated America, and are engrafted upon her State and Federal constitutions. They are steadily influencing Europe, and will be recognized and acted on as the teaching of Christ himself when that teaching is clearly understood and followed as the highest wisdom in church and State.

It is a fair summary of the facts now presented to state that the Bill of Rights and the free commonwealth of Virginia were the result of a combination of intellectual and moral forces operating upon the minds of her citizens from various points, and that among these forces the most powerful and salutary was that contributed by her Presbyterian population. The achievement of liberty, both civil and religious, about the same time, was the consummation of centuries of conflict and discussion in Scotland, Ireland, and America, and the answer of a Covenant God to supplications offered before his mercy-seat by successive generations of his suffering children. Had their persistent influence been wanting in Virginia, it is not probable that this victory over the enemies of freedom of conscience would ever have been won, and established hierarchies would still oppress the various churches in many States of the Union.

Until 1786, the Presbytery of Hanover nominally covered the whole territory of Virginia. In that year it was divided by the Blue Ridge line, and the country lying northwest of that line was assigned to the new Presbytery of Lexington. Before the division, the Rev. Dr. Waddell, who had for some years served the Tinkling Spring and Staunton congregations jointly, found himself constrained by various considerations to remove with his family to a new homestead near the junction of Orange, Albemarle, and Louisa Counties, and actually

within the latter but a short distance from where Gordonsville now stands. Here he spent his declining years in the midst of kindred and friends, farming and teaching for a support, and serving, even in protracted blindness, several small congregations of Presbyterians. Here, despite his almost morbid modesty, he achieved that reputation for cultured pulpit eloquence which the glowing pen of his friend, the Hon. William Wirt, has preserved from coveted oblivion. Here he died, in the precious faith he loved and served so well, at a good old age, in 1805.

The first century of Presbyterianism in Virginia was drawing to a close when Lexington Presbytery was organized. As before stated, the status of the church was not satisfactory in a spiritual sense, although its material strength was constantly increasing. The same growth was visible in the more northern States. The Synod of New York and Philadelphia began to contemplate subdivision and a new arrangement of Synods and Presbyteries better adapted to the civil condition of the country. The West was expanding, and a large emigration to Kentucky, Tennessee, western Pennsylvania, and Ohio was already translating thousands of Presbyterians from the old settlements to the new.

In the meanwhile the two Presbyteries of Hanover and Lexington were concentrating their educational energies at the two points selected in the counties of Prince Edward and Rockbridge. Hampden-Sidney College was chartered in 1783, under the presidency of Rev. John Blair Smith, and issued its first degrees in 1786. The name chosen for it indicates the reverence entertained by its pious founders for those eminent apostles of human freedom, John Hampden, the famous statesman of the Long Parliament, and Algernon Sidney, who suffered a martyr's death on the block, in the next reign, for devotion to the rights of man. About the same time Liberty Hall, the germ of the present Washington and Lee University at Lexington, received its charter, under Rev. William

Graham, rector, and a large body of trustees. The name of Washington College was afterwards bestowed upon it, in remembrance of the liberal contribution to it of canal stock by the immortal father of his country. The name of Lee is now associated with his in a sacred union, the propriety of which is both obvious and beautiful. These two institutions, the nurseries of so many of our Presbyterian youth, continue still, as they were designed, to be noble monuments of the zeal of our fathers in behalf of liberal and consecrated learning.

Address by John Randolph Tucker.

Delivered before the Centennial Meeting of the Synod of Virginia, at New Providence Church, Rockbridge Co., Virginia, October 24, 1888.

MODERATOR, FATHERS, AND BRETHREN

OF THE SYNOD OF VIRGINIA :

Upon this memorable anniversary, at this place and on this day, you meet to recall the leadings of God's providence to his church during a century full of progress in this country and the world. Of these it is not my province to speak. Others of your number will, in one form or another, array the historic events which demonstrate the spiritual influence of the Presbyterian church upon the people of Virginia. It will be mine to consider the influence of Presbyterian polity upon the cause of civil and religious liberty in Virginia.

What is liberty? It is the gift of God to man—as life is—and is the unconstrained power of man, in the use of life, to do his duty to God. Life comes through birth, and the liberty to use life is qualified by conditions and subject to trusts. Life is not an absolute gift, but a gift from God in trust for him. *Inter homines*, the gift is absolute, but between God and man, it is in trust. So liberty, or the right to use life, is an absolute gift *inter homines*, but a gift on trusts, between God and man. It is absolute as to other men, because the essential means to the complete execution of the trust of life to the God who gave it.

I have said that liberty to use life is not only subject to trusts, but qualified by conditions. These conditions, which limit liberty, are of divine appointment; for its conservation, not for its destruction. Unconditioned liberty to infancy would destroy the entrusted life. Infant life needs protection. God provides for it. Parental guardianship is ordained to protect, foster, and develop the germinal life to its independent maturity.

Parental power, though extensive, is restrained from tyranny by the instinct, divinely implanted, of parental love.

This instinct is like God's love ; and the subjects of parental power are insured thereby, as are the children of God, against the abuse or misuse of authority. The mother's love God makes use of to exemplify his own, and the paternal chastening as illustrating the motive of his own dealings with his children. Hence it is, that while parental power conditions the liberty of infant life, that power is not autocratic, but divinely delegated ; nor is it tyranny, because restrained by tender love for the highest good of the child. It is thus divinely delegated in trust for the benefit of the child, not for that of the parent. It is given to save life, not to destroy it ; to conserve health, not to injure it ; to enhance happiness, not to make misery ; to promote growth, not to check it ; to foster progress, not to impede it ; to direct liberty to its right use, not to abridge or take it away ; to bring to full and fruitful maturity the infant germ, not to dwarf or impair its best development.

Infancy is protected by the father's arm and nurtured by the mother's love, and guided by the wisdom of both, not because of any autocratic right in either, but wholly because God has appointed such guardianship for the child until he comes to self-guidance in his full maturity. The limits and conditions upon his liberty are imposed by him who gave it. Their origin is not human, but divine. God limits and conditions the liberty he bestows, not man.

When the infant reaches maturity, he finds his lot to be social. Society is the arena for his activity and the school for his development. Society is divinely ordained for man. But in his relation to his fellow-men, all of whom, like himself, are tainted with sin, which manifests itself in selfish greed and lawless violence, man finds a need for some organic social force, which, based on mutual assurance of protection among the members of society, will defend the weak from the aggressions of the strong, and cause order to reign in peace over the turbulent passions of men. This "organic social force" is government. "The powers that be are ordained of God ;" and hence they are not autocratic. Government was made for man, not man for the government. It is divinely ordained for the good of men, not for their oppression ; not to hurt, but to protect ; to help, not to injure life or liberty ; to insure the liberty of each man to do his duty to God, against the licen-

tiousness of others, for lawless liberty is licentiousness. Liberty, as long as it respects the like liberty of others; as long as it is self-use in duty to God, and without impinging on the rights of others, has a just claim to be unrestrained by others, or by human law. This results from the fact that life, and the liberty to use life, are the gifts of God to man in trust for him, for the use of which he is alone responsible to the Divine Giver. "To his own Master he standeth or falleth." To him he owes primary, and only secondary responsibility to human authority. In the sanctuary of his own soul he must give account of himself to God, and no human power can intrude therein without sacrilege. It is only when he violates or trespasses on the equally sacred rights of other men, that the "powers ordained of God" can intervene to redress the wrong he has done and defend the rights he has invaded.

In the wonderful parable of the talents, with the injunction, "Occupy till I come," we have the evidence of the divine gift, the human trust, and of man's accountability to God. But how can he be accountable unless he be free to do his work? How responsible, unless his liberty be unrestrained? If controlled by external forces, how can he meet the divine demands?

God means him to be free—free to do his whole duty to him—and thus to meet his awful account. To restrain his liberty, in the doing of his work under responsibility to his Maker, is to invade the divine right in him, to take away the powers of life entrusted to him for divine use; and the man, charged with this duty, must either resist the invasion of the realm of his conscience by human power, or commit treason to his God. "Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever!"

"The older I grow, and I now stand on the brink of eternity," said Thomas Carlyle, "the more comes back to me the first sentence in the catechism which I learned when a child, and the fuller and deeper its meaning becomes. What is the chief end of man? To glorify God and enjoy him forever." This fundamental truth, "whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, do all to the glory of God," linked with "prayer without ceasing," which makes life a prayer, and both a perpetual self-consciousness of dependence on and duty to God; which charges man with a mission to glorify God in all things, and makes him awfully responsible for its fulfillment; this it

is which constitutes man's title to freedom, not under grant from human governments, or as an article in any social compact, but by divine patent, under the royal seal of heaven's chancery. This it is which makes him resolute and intrepid in upholding the divine right in him—the divinely-invested right to civil and religious liberty.

Do you not see that in this sense—the Bible sense—the Presbyterian sense—all duty is religious, all life is worship? Secular duties in common life are as religious as the worship of the sanctuary. These so-called secular duties are means to the chief end of man, and all labor and all fruits of labor are and must be conducive to this final purpose, or the man fails in his religious duty. It is false in philosophy, as it is false and dangerous in religious practice, to divorce civil from religious duty—to banish religion from common life for six days, and let it exhaust itself in song and prayer and preaching on the seventh. Religion must sanctify by leavening every-day life, or it is a failure.

All duty is religious duty. All civil life must be religious life. Civil rights are religious rights. All liberty, therefore, to do religious as inclusive of all civil duty, must be religious, as inclusive of civil liberty. Religious liberty is, therefore, not merely freedom to worship God on Sunday, but to serve and work for God on every other day. The invasion of my right to work in my proper calling; to direct my industry to the chief end of my life; to do what my conscience tells me is best in what are called my secular labors, is to invade the realm of my religious obligations, and to infringe my religious liberty. For how can I "glorify God in my body and spirit, which are his," (not even my own, much less another man's,) if my freedom to do, think, and speak, to work as well as to worship, be denied me? The divine right in me is impaired; the sacred obligations between me and my Master are intruded upon; his prerogative in me is usurped, when you limit my absolute freedom to use my life according to my conscience and will—only so as not to hurt another's equal right.

The fruits of my work are not my own. They are mine exclusively, as to my fellows—and yet not mine absolutely, but only in trust for God. My powers are mine, exclusive of all human claim—but mine to be used for God's purposes. They are my talents, only to make other talents for him. When despotism demands the property which is the talent I

have earned for my Divine King, I cannot surrender it to be wasted on its lawless pleasure and wicked ends, when it is needed for the treasury of heaven, to promote the chief end of man, and to give glory to God.

In my desire to emphasize this great principle, that all civil right is embraced in religious right, and all civil in religious liberty, I have purposed to explain how in all the historic struggles for civil liberty, its most zealous friends have been religious men, whose deep enthusiasm has given purity and elevation to the contest, and the inspiration of the fear of God to win its victories. And while I do not mean to affirm that the philosophical relation between civil and religious liberty, as I have tried to present it, has been consciously perceived by the religious defenders of both, yet it cannot be denied that the Bible basis for the assertion of religious liberty is broad enough to have produced in the religious mind the motive of action in civil contests, which finds utterance in the aphorism, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." Even fiction, which caricatures as gloomy bigots the religious enthusiasts of England and Scotland in the seventeenth century, cannot rob them of the glory which crowns their martyrdom for truth, nor decrease our admiration of the intrepid consistency of the heroic defenders of the solemn league and covenant.

The historic identity of civil and religious liberty, and their natural and indissoluble alliance, is in striking analogy to that between civil and religious tyranny. Despotism, which strikes down civil right, will always invade the church and desecrate her altars; and the despotism which restrains the human conscience in its worship of its God will never shrink from destroying the liberty of men in the exercise of their civil rights. These are the causes which make the Bible Christian the zealous friend of civil and religious liberty, and the determined foe of civil and religious despotism. His convictions hold him to eternity as well as to time, and time-service must yield to infinite duty and eternal interests.

Modern liberty is the outgrowth of Christianity. In ancient society, the state, not the individual; the mass, not the man, was chiefly regarded. In modern free institutions the reverse is the fact. The intense personality of the relation between God and man, as revealed in the Bible, and the isolated attitude and distinct individualism of the man to his Creator segregate him from the mass, and make his right and his lib-

erty the chief objects of conservation in every system of government. Christianity alone of all religions has made each man an absolute bond-servant of God, and yet an absolute sovereign among men. No such idea ever came into the world but through the Bible; and it finds its best formulation in the Pauline creed, embodied in our own Westminster Catechism, whose first question and answer makes the whole of human life to consist in self-consecration to the glory of the Divine King and Father.

It is worth while to cite some texts upon this point to show the scriptural view of the relation of man to government. The duty of obedience of the man to his government is not without limits and conditions, and the powers of government are not absolute, but trust powers for the good of the man. In other words, the man is bound by his supreme duty to God to permit no human power to prevent its performance. He must see that, in the constitution of the government, no such power shall be vested in it, and that in its action none such shall be exercised. On the other hand, the government cannot, as an organic social force ordained of God, rightfully interfere with the supreme duty of the man to his Maker, and can, in consequence of the trust nature of its powers, exert no lawful authority against the "liberty of life" to which each man has title, that by its use he may accomplish the "chief end" of his being.

That government is ordained of God is conceded, but that every act of government is rightful and to be submitted to is denied. The rightful authority of government is only when exerted within the limits fixed by the trust nature of its powers. The submission of the man to the authority of government is rightful when its powers are rightfully exerted; but that submission is not rightfully demanded to the wrongful exercise of powers by government. I do not mean that every wrongful exercise of power should be forcibly resisted or disobeyed, but it may be opposed and set aside by lawful means; and when it strikes at fundamental rights, and threatens to be permanent, there is not only nothing in the Bible which enjoins tame submission to such tyrannical action, but much in its examples and its precepts to justify revolution. That government is a divinely-ordained authority, with powers divinely delegated in trust and not absolutely, is easily demonstrated.

The Jewish king was bound by oath to administer his office in the fear of God and in obedience to the book of the law. This was the Jewish constitution, which limited his power. (See Deut. xvii. 14 to end.)

Our Lord manifests a like limitation in his significant answer, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." This answer proves there are things which are, and others which are not Cæsar's. Cæsar has limits on his power. He cannot claim, nor is man enjoined to render to Cæsar, the things which are God's and not Cæsar's. It is right to render to Cæsar what is within his rightful authority, but it is wrong to rob God by giving what is his to Cæsar. Rightful power and rightful obedience are correlated, and so are wrongful power and wrongful obedience.

When the Sanhedrim ordered Peter and John to desist from preaching the new religion, their answer rang like a trumpet in asserting the supremacy of conscience over the power of government, a canon of religious liberty for all ages and in all climes, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." (Acts ix. 19.)

Paul appealed to the civil constitution to protect his liberty as a citizen, and to Rome against the violence of the local tribunals. The civil power should be a shield to religious and personal liberty.

But the limited and truest nature of the powers of government is established by the context to those passages, on which reliance has been had for the divine right of kings.

When Paul enjoins obedience to the "powers that be," he adds, "for he is a minister of God to thee for good;" that is, the ruler is God's servant to the man for the man's good, and clothed with power to serve the man in order to his good. Here is limitation, and trust, and dutiful service put on the government for the purpose of good to the people. (Romans xiii. 4.)

Paul directs prayers to be made "for kings and all in authority." Why? "That we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." Here is the trust purpose of power in the government for the people, and, prayer enjoined, that government may faithfully observe it. (1 Tim. ii. 2.)

Peter, when enjoining submission to the "ordinance of man for the Lord's sake," adds, "As unto them who are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well." Here is trust power for good and against evil.

The exodus was the revolt of the chosen people against lawless tyranny, enjoined by God and led by his servant; and in all modern history the leaders of revolution against despotic misrule have been found in that class of men who served God too zealously to submit to human authority contrary to their religious obligations and convictions.

This impulse to assert that liberty against human despotism is based upon what I have already said, that each man (who is a Bible Christian) feels the most intensely personal obligation to his Divine Sovereign. God seems to separate him from his fellows in the decalogue; each command is to him alone, not to the mass. "*Thou shalt,*" and "*thou shalt not.*" The gospel "*calleth thee.*" "*Whosoever believeth shall have eternal life.*" "*Believe and thou shalt be saved.*"

The man is *isolate*. "To his own master he standeth or falleth."

And then this law and gospel include all of life. All life must be worship; all human action must be religious. The man is not his own; he must be a living sacrifice; his life must be in all things self-consecrated. Thus all civil life is religious life; all civil rights are religious rights; all civil liberty is comprehended in religious liberty. As already indicated, this impulse to the assertion of liberty against despotism is born of Christianity. No such inspiration was felt in Paganism. Christianity is the mother of freedom.

You may touch a man's life, property, and family; he may tamely submit. But touch his awakened conscience; invade his soul, which he believes is the temple of the living God; put manacles on his will, and cut off his communion with his Maker; compel him to renounce the faith which binds him to the cross of a dying Redeemer, and you arouse a power which the ancient world never knew, and which Christianity only has evoked, and impel the voice, which despotism would stifle, to cry out in tones which have electrified a world, "Though there be as many devils at Worms as there are tiles on its roofs; though it rain Duke Georges, I will enter Worms." It is this which has made the Christian so zealous

in the maintenance of the liberty of his isolated individualism as a supreme duty to God, not to be destroyed or impaired by human government.

I am justified in saying that the peculiar type of the Westminster creed, which is intensely Pauline in doctrines and in their formulation, has made this Christian impulse for liberty deep and all-pervading in the mind of the members of the Presbyterian church. Its fundamental dogma is that the chief end of man is to glorify God; that he is not his own; that all things work together for the good of those who are foreordained to be the children of God; that he stands in isolated relations to his Creator, Redeemer, King, and Judge, with an awful sense of his solemn responsibility for life, for its use, and its best results, and of his supreme duty and chief end in life to make his manhood reflect the divine perfections, and thus manifest the glory of God in the subordination to this supreme object of all human relations and of all human authority.

This creed has made men of inflexible courage, fearing God, but not man, and bold even to disloyalty to earthly monarchs, rather than cease to be loyal to God. In adoration of Christ as only head of his church they have not hesitated to resist human headship in the church, because it is treason to God and death to the soul. In the face of persecution, amid the fires and pains of martyrdom, in the presence of death, such men are calm, because safe under the shadow of the Almighty. If called to battle for their convictions they stand as a stone wall, charge like a thunderbolt, and die Christian heroes.

Wherever this system has taken hold upon a people it has created a character unique and powerful. It makes firm, strong, hardy, and intrepid men, honest in principle and rigid in morals, simple in habits and sincere in manners, determined friends to right and uncompromising foes to wrong, inflexible in duty, brave in danger, and meeting misfortune, disaster, and death with unshaken fortitude and Christian resignation.

In the history of British liberty the part which Presbyterians took is due, in large degree, to a tenet of their creed, already mentioned.

The absolute headship of Christ in his church, without human vicar or mortal representative, is the canon of the Scotch Covenanter and of the English Puritan. It was the

royal denial of this in England and Scotland which infused religious enthusiasm into the English revolution, and which, united with the assertion of civil liberty, made the John Hampdens of the seventeenth century. It was this religious fervor for the divine and against the human king in the church which made them what Mr. Hallam describes so strongly: "The Presbyterian clergy of Scotland, individually and collectively, displayed the intrepid, haughty, and intractable spirit of the English Puritans."

It is obvious that this impulse for liberty in the Christian mind, due to the causes already adverted to, and so intensely operating upon the Presbyterian church, would make such men jealous of power, because tenacious of freedom, and lead them to seek for political securities for liberty through constitutional organism; for be it never forgotten, that right must wed itself to power in order to save liberty. Constitutional guarantees, without political power to enforce them, are valuable as evidence of right, but valueless to maintain it.

And Christianity has done another thing for liberty. It makes free institutions possible, as they are essential to man's duty to God; possible, because it is only as man is self-governed by a supreme law in his heart, that the need of external government to maintain the order of society approaches its minimum; for strong governments are required to keep in order men who have no self-control, and the restraints of human liberty may safely be lessened when, and only when, man learns to govern himself by religious principle. Hence, where Christianity has prevailed, liberty becomes more possible. And where it has prevailed in its purest forms, liberty has reached its greatest ascendancy.

If I am asked, whether, in attributing to the principles of Presbyterianism so strong an influence in favor of liberty, I am forgetful of facts in its history which show its intolerance and violence when it has held power, I answer, I freely concede that the earthen vessels in which our faith has been held have shown that human sinfulness may prevail against the teachings of Christ. The corrupting influence of the alliance between church and State has been shown in respect to all churches, and our own is not free from its effects. But I may adopt the language of an eminent writer in regard to our own church. But "the Reformers," says Mr. Froude, "required a position more sharply defined and a sterner leader than

Luther, and that leader they found in John Calvin. * * * Nor was there Reformer in Europe so resolute to excise, tear out, and destroy what was distinctly seen to be false, so resolute to establish what was true in its place and make truth to the last fibre of it the rule of practical life. * * * The Calvinists abhorred, as no body of men ever abhorred, all conscious mendacity, all impurity, all moral wrong of every kind, so far as they could recognize it. Whatever exists at this moment in England and Scotland of conscientious fear of doing evil, is the remnant of the convictions branded by the Calvinists into the people's hearts. * * * Calvinism was the spirit which rises in revolt against untruth; the spirit which, as I have shown you, has appeared and reappeared, and in due time will appear again, unless God be a delusion and man be as the beasts that perish. * * * They have been called intolerant, but there is no reason to suppose that the Calvinists at the beginning would have thought of meddling with the church if they had themselves been let alone."

I have dwelt thus long, perhaps too long, upon these general principles, as preliminary to the consideration of the part our Presbyterianism has played in the establishment of religious liberty as embracing civil liberty in Virginia.

There are three methods by which government deals with religious belief: 1st, Intolerance and an assumed infallibility of creed which enforces conformity to it on all others; 2d, Religious establishment and support of some creed and sect, and toleration to all who dissent; 3d, Absolute freedom to all, and support and establishment to none.

In Scotland the Presbyterian polity is established, but the Free Church of Scotland, which seceded from the establishment in 1843, is a revolt of the true against the untrue position of our church.

Let us come now to Virginia.

In the early emigration to Virginia, there can be no doubt that the majority was favorable to the Anglican Episcopal religion. The first government was instructed to provide that "the service of God and the Christian faith be preached, planted, and used according to the doctrine and rites of the Church of England." (1 Hen. Stat. L., 57-76.) But along with these chief men, who came to hold the lands of Virginia and give tone to its early society, there were others from Great Britain and Ireland, and some from France and Ger-

many, who settled eastern Virginia. The Huguenot settlement at Manikin town, above Richmond, has left its impress, civil and religious, upon the character of the State.

The great landholders on the tide-water were cavaliers and adherents of the Church of England. But a large number of the people in that section were not of that class or adherents of that church during the latter half of the last century.

In the Piedmont region, and especially in the Valley, it was different. Upon proposals of Governor Gooch, grants of land were taken by Joist Hite, who brought to Frederick County about sixteen families of Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania, whither a large emigration had come from their mother country many years before. Woods, from Ireland, made a settlement in Albemarle; Richard Morgan, near Shepherds-town; William Hoge and others, near Winchester; John Caldwell (ancestor of John C. Calhoun), on Cub Creek in Charlotte, Buffalo Creek in Prince Edward, Concord and Hat Creek in Campbell, and Rockfish in (what is now) Nelson. Then followed settlements in Augusta, Rockbridge, and other western counties. Before 1750 the churches in all these counties had been well established. The Synod of Philadelphia, from whose borders these emigrants came, in May, 1738, sent an overture to Governor Gooch, reciting that men "of the same persuasion as the Church of Scotland," contemplated settling "in the remote parts" of Virginia. They asked "liberty of conscience" and "to worship God in a way agreeable to their education." They claimed "the free enjoyment of the civil and religious liberties." Governor Gooch replied: "As I have been always inclined to favor the people who have lately removed from other provinces to settle on the western side of our great mountains, so you may be assured that no interruption shall be given to any minister of your profession who shall come among them, so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the Act of Toleration in England, by taking the oaths enjoined thereby, and registering the place of their meeting and behave themselves peaceably towards the government."

The importance of this settlement to Virginia was very great. It placed upon her western frontier a race and a creed which made a wall of defense against the savage foe; and they had industry and character to build up a society which has given glory and strength to the Old Dominion. The

cavalier of the Anglican church, and the Scotch-Irish of the Presbyterian faith were thus bound together by solemn compact in 1738 for civil and religious liberty in Virginia, and have had their splendid representatives in the Christian heroes of our own day—the noble cavalier, Lee, of the Episcopal church, and Jackson, the immortal soldier, of the Presbyterian faith.

But the Presbyterian faith had been preached and organized into churches upon the eastern shore of Maryland and Virginia as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century, in the reign of William of Orange.

Francis Makemie (of Scotch-Irish stock), on the 15th of October, 1699, took out a license, from the county court of Accomac, to preach at his own dwelling-house at Pocomoke, and in his own house at Accomac town. Here, upon the peninsula, between the ocean and the bay, the Presbyterian church laid its first foundations in the Old Dominion.

The history of this remarkable man, who with Christian heroism upheld the right freely to preach the gospel in Virginia, and on his memorable trial in 1707, in the city of New York, is worthy of being known to all lovers of civil and religious liberty, but cannot be given on this occasion. Suffice it to say, that the right of religious freedom was asserted by this minister of the Presbyterian church in the early part of the eighteenth century, and was upheld by a manly appeal to the rights of civil liberty before the courts of New York. No one can read the account of his arrest, of his demand of release under the writ of *habeas corpus*, and his noble and successful defense before the jury and court, without feeling a glow of enthusiasm for the Christian manhood of the Presbyterian clergy in that early period of our history.*

About the year 1740, after the Scotch-Irish settlements in the Valley, and on the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge, a great religious excitement was felt in the colonies from New England to Virginia. Whitefield preached in Williamsburg that year. Books casually fell into hands in the counties of Hanover and Louisa which aroused attention, and led to

* For these historic details, and for others hereafter referred to, I am largely indebted to the industry and labors of my friend, the late Rev. Wm. H. Foote, D. D., who, in his Sketches of Virginia, has entitled himself to be remembered as the "Old Mortality" of our Virginia church.

deep conviction. Several men in Hanover assumed the attitude of dissent from the established-church system, and absented themselves from church, for which they were accused and fined. These they paid, but continued non-attendance on Episcopal service. They met at each other's houses to read religious books suited to their creed.

In 1743 a book of Whitefield's sermons came to the hands of Samuel Morris. He invited his neighbors to come and hear them read. The crowds who attended were such as finally to induce the building of what was known as "Morris' Reading House." Other like houses were erected. The spirit of dissent spread, and was organizing itself, without a minister of the gospel to preach it. The dissenting laymen were summoned to Williamsburg before the Governor and Council. One of these, in his journey, at the house of a poor man on the roadside met a book containing the confession of faith of the Scotch church. It was never seen before by any of them. As they agreed with its doctrines, it was presented as their creed to the Governor (himself of Scotch lineage), who said the men were Presbyterians, whose faith was that of the Scotch establishment. The men were discharged.

Up to this time no Presbyterian preacher had appeared among them. A delegation from these people invited Rev. William Robinson, who had preached in Charlotte and other counties, to preach for them. He came. On the 6th of July, 1743, he began to preach, and preached four sermons to crowds assembled in the "Morris Reading House," and then departed. The people offered him money for his expenses and labors. He refused. They put the coin in his saddlebags. He told them he would take it, and educate a young man for the ministry, "whom I will send to you." He fulfilled his holy purpose, and in 1747, Samuel Davies, the great pulpit orator of Hanover, came to his noble mission for the church of God in Virginia, prepared for his work by the means supplied through Robinson by the dissenters of Hanover.

This extraordinary man was licensed to preach in April, 1747, by the Governor and Council, at three places in Hanover and one in Henrico County; and in November, 1748, at a place in each of the counties of Louisa, Caroline, and Goochland—seven places in all.

Much opposition arose to these licenses, and Davies encountered before the Governor and Council the persistent ability of the attorney-general as to the true meaning of the "Act of Toleration" passed in the first year of William and Mary, and adopted as part of the law of Virginia in 1699. The learning and ingenuity evinced by Davies in his memorial to the Bishop of London, and in debate before the Council, did much to enlarge the policy of toleration in behalf of the dissenting sects. The liberal policy pursued towards him was due largely, no doubt, to the war with the French and their savage allies during the decade 1750-'60. The Presbyterians stood as the guards of Virginia on the western frontier, and the eloquence of Davies roused the military spirit of his own congregations to organize to meet the foe to their country and to the Protestant religion; and it clearly could not be advisable for the government to persecute the religion of those whose patriotic courage was needed to defend the country.

One thing is palpable during all this period. In the Valley, in the counties remote from the seat of government, and in those under the influence of Davies, the spirit of religious freedom was aroused, and the right to preach and the right to hear were not restrained practically by the tolerance of the government. "The Word of God was not bound."

The Legislature of Virginia had so far created an established church as to require the support of its clergy by general taxation upon all, whether adherent or dissenter. (4 Hen. Stat. L. 204; 6 Id. 85.) Glebes were purchased for the clergy of the establishment with the funds supplied by all. However unjust this seems now, it was a part of the universal system growing out of the union of church and State, and was combined with the scanty toleration of dissent under the act of First William and Mary, already referred to. That act had been adopted by Virginia in 1699.

During the early ministry of Mr. Davies the true interpretation of this act was much debated before the Governor and Council by him and the attorney-general, the latter insisting on a restriction of the license to preach to a single place, or to a few places, and Davies upon the right to preach at any number of places. The lawyers said Davies was a match for his distinguished opponent. The matter was referred to the Bishop of London in 1751-'52, and Davies' plea for liberty

to preach was able and ingenious as well as earnest and candid. It is obvious that his plea for toleration was based on a conscious right to liberty, though he skilfully pressed the first under the terms of the Act of Toleration, without endangering success by too bold a claim for the latter.

It seems to me now, from reading the provisions of the Act of Toleration, that Davies was right in his contention, and the English lawyers seem to have taken the same view. But the Virginia authorities still insisted on their construction of it, and the trouble continued. While Davies was in England, from November, 1753, to January, 1755, he conferred with the dissenters on these questions, and came back with a purpose more fixed to maintain his position. Indeed, in February, 1755, it was among the dissenters agreed that if there was a refusal of licenses to preach, the preaching should be done, and upon prosecution and conviction therefor, there should be an appeal to the king in council, to test the right of dissenters under the Toleration Act.

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion, that in these solemn and earnest movements by Presbyterian dissent, led by men of intellect, education and piety, the bounds between toleration and liberty were overpassed, and the right of liberty was claimed in fact, while toleration under law only was insisted on before the judicial tribunals. And let it be remembered, that at this period dissent had no voice in this contest, but that of the Presbytery. Such had been the thought of Presbyterianism in Scotland a century before, and it was its thought in 1755. Presbyterianism stood alone at this period, for the Baptists were not until a later date in numbers to take position in defence of the rights of conscience.

When Davies returned from England to Virginia, in 1755, he found the colony in alarm for the public safety in the war with the French and Indians. On the 10th of July, 1755, Braddock's defeat occurred. On the 20th of that month Davies preached a fervidly eloquent sermon, urging his people to meet the enemy with courageous spirit. The Presbyterians of the Valley were subjected to the merciless invasion of the savages. On the 17th of August he preached to Overton's company of volunteers with religious ardor and genuine patriotism, and uttered these prophetic words, referring to the young Virginian who had saved Braddock's army from total destruction: "I may point out to the public that heroic youth,

Col. Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service." In the sermon on the 20th of July he referred to the restraints on dissenters as unkind and illegal, but he appealed to patriotism to exert itself despite these just grounds of complaint, and expressed the hope that in the existing danger "our rulers will not harass harmless dissenters, whose only crime it is to follow their conscience, and not the direction of their superiors, in matters of religion."

The war went on, and during its progress this heroic minister of the gospel filled the minds and hearts of the people with patriotic devotion to the cause of the country. In May, 1758, he preached with the inspiration of true eloquence, under the effect of which Meredith's company of volunteers was readily formed for the conflict.

It is not surprising that such a man put an end to all cavils from the authorities about his places of preaching. These objectors were stilled under the stormy eloquence of the Presbyterian patriot. The Valley people, standing as the wall of defense to the eastern part of the colony, could not be abridged in their religion by intolerance to the church under the government which they were defending with zealous patriotism.

In July, 1759, after a pastoral service of eleven years in Hanover, Davies was called to the presidency of Princeton College, and left Virginia, to die only two years afterward, at the age of fifty-seven years.

Davies had gathered a church in Hanover of three hundred members of the white race, represented by over one hundred heads of families, besides negro slaves. In a sparse population, this gave a large proportion of it to the Presbyterian creed. Among these members were some of the Henry family, of whom Patrick Henry was one.

It is probable, and tradition holds it to be true, that young Henry heard, admired, and was inspired by the eloquence of the Presbyterian divine. It is clear, too, that many men of the established church must have felt the power of this patriot preacher. The whole country, without regard to sectarian differences, must have felt the potential influence of a piety which gave tone and inspiration to patriotism in a period of danger to the infant commonwealth; and the peculiar characteristics of Davies' eloquence were those which electri-

fied the continent a few years later in the oratory of Patrick Henry.

My purpose in presenting the incidents in the career of Makemie and Davies, the pioneers of the Presbyterian faith in Virginia, has been to show the inevitable effect of their views upon the social and political opinions of the people of the State.

In a previous part of this address I stated the three stages of relationship of the State to religion—intolerance, which denied the right of dissent and enforced conformity; establishment of a church, with toleration to dissent; and disestablishment of every church, with freedom to all. In the mother country, intolerance had given way to establishment and toleration. Another step was yet to be taken—religious freedom to all. Intolerance was ended in England by the act of First William and Mary, and in Virginia by its adoption in the act of 1699. Toleration took its place.

But what is toleration? It is the assumption of infallibility for one sect to be supported by the taxes of all, and a denial of any *right* to dissenting thought, with a gracious permission to them merely to exist, but under the frown of political condemnation. Such an idea is an offense to liberty, and the essence of despotism in matters of conscience.

But I have shown that the Presbyterian church, under the leadership of Davies, had insisted on that liberal interpretation of the "Toleration Act" which gave unlimited right to preach and profess, to teach and learn, any religious creed by all men, subject only to the power, still assumed and usurped, to enforce support by all, through taxation, of a faith established by law. This usurped power alone remained in Virginia as the fence against absolute religious freedom. The bold and manly eloquence of Davies had won this great triumph for religious freedom, which was made more successful because of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians on the Valley frontier and in the counties in Piedmont, and the counties of Hanover, Henrico, New Kent, Caroline, Louisa, Goochland, Albemarle, Amherst, Cumberland, Prince Edward, and Charlotte, and in some counties in the Northern Neck, where Dr. Waddell, the famous "blind preacher," was dispensing the gospel. This large infusion of the Presbyterian population throughout the colony made dissent a power in the body politic. It had claimed and won freedom for its religion, but with an acquies-

cence in the law which exacted taxes for a religious faith it did not profess or believe.

Such was the status of the religious question when Davies left Virginia in 1759. He had sown the seed; let us now see the harvest.

The tax imposed upon the colonists for the support of the Episcopal clergy was to raise sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco for each of them. Glebes also were bought with taxes paid by all for the Episcopal clergy. In 1755, when a tobacco famine from failure of crop prevailed, during the French-Indian war, the General Assembly passed an act that, instead of paying in tobacco, a commuted tax of two pence per pound might be paid. This act expired by limitation within a year. It was enforced and acquiesced in, though without the king's assent. In 1758, just before Davies left the colony, this act of 1755 was re-enacted. The clergy objected that this act was ineffectual as law, because it did not receive the royal assent.

Rev. John Camm, commissary, denounced the "Two-Penny Act" as void and unjust. Richard Bland and London Carter published a pamphlet in its defense. Great excitement prevailed. The people sided with the act. The king in council denounced it as null and void. The clergy claimed the tobacco, then worth six-pence per pound; the people insisted upon the two-pence commutation as the current price of tobacco when the salary was first fixed, and as, therefore, just and right to the clergy and the people.

This first contest over the right to claim support by a taxation of all the people for the clergy of the established faith came to an issue in Hanover in 1763, in a suit brought by Rev. Mr. Maury for damages for withholding the payment in tobacco. Defendants pleaded the act of 1758. Plaintiff demurred, on the ground that the act had not received the royal assent, and that the king in council had declared it void. The court sustained the plaintiff's demurrer at November term, 1763, and there was an enquiry of damages directed. It came on for trial at December term, 1763, before a Hanover jury; Mr. Lyons for the plaintiff, Patrick Henry for defendants.

We may well imagine (for it could not be otherwise) that on that jury there were men who had been members of the church of Davies—men who had imbibed his spirit and who held his views. The crowd, doubtless under like influence,

filled the court room, and stood at the windows to hear the fate of the people in their contest with the church establishment. Henry, who had heard Davies, pleaded the cause of the people. The jury awarded only one penny damages. The court refused a new trial. No appeal was taken. No other case was ever tried, and the first victory for religious freedom in Virginia was won by the eloquence of a pupil of Davies, before a jury of Hanover, acting under the inspiration of his teachings and of Presbyterian devotion to religious liberty.

Let me analyze this legal proceeding. The law, as upheld by the court in deciding the demurrer, gave the clergy the sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco, but the representatives of the people had declared for its commutation in the "Two-Penny Act," which was not a law because it lacked the royal assent. The jury of Hanover, voicing the popular will, enforced the "Two-Penny Act," though not law, against the formal law of the colony. Taxation for the clergy was made *de facto* unlawful, though *de jure* lawful, by the voice of the people. It was the first act of revolution against kingly power and the established church, under the inspiration of the people, who had for eleven years been taught civil and religious liberty by Samuel Davies, the Presbyterian teacher of themselves and of their splendid champion, Patrick Henry, the orator of the Revolution!

In 1714 a Baptist church had been formed in Isle of Wight County. In 1743 a Baptist church, formed in Berkeley County, began to spread up the Valley, and extended east of the Blue Ridge above Fredericksburg before 1770, and by 1780 down the Northern Neck to the bay shore. These zealous and pious men, without special learning or education, preached the Gospel according to their faith with great success. In Spottsylvania some of them, without sanction of law, were imprisoned for preaching, and were defended in 1768 by Patrick Henry, whose marvelous eloquence prevailed for their release in a scene which tradition has made memorable. The general question of taxation by Parliament in the colonies had already met with determined opposition in Virginia, and the spirit of all the colonies was rising to the high tide of the coming Revolution.

The persecuted Baptists had taken ground for liberty to preach and teach, which had already been assumed with victory by the Presbyterians under the leadership of Davies; and

the eloquence of Henry in the suit in Hanover in 1763 proved successful on like principles in Spottsylvania in 1768. In a word, it may safely be said that the beginning of an intelligent struggle in Virginia for freedom of religious profession was with the Presbyterian church, and notably under the influence and ability of Samuel Davies, of Hanover.

We come now to the movements for religious liberty prior to and during the Revolution.

In 1772 the General Assembly of Virginia, seeming to feel the need of more explicit legislation in respect of toleration to dissenters than under the adoption in 1699 of the "Act of Toleration," passed in First William and Mary, proposed a bill for extending the principles of the Act of Toleration by more liberal provisions to dissenters in Virginia. This bill had some odious features about it. It seemed to forbid preaching by dissenters, except at registered places; to forbid meetings at night; to forbid closing of doors during worship; to forbid baptizing or receiving slaves into communion.

In August, 1773, the Baptists at Katocten association sent a memorial to the General Assembly of Virginia, which met in May, 1774, praying that an act of toleration may be passed, giving the petitioners and other Protestant dissenting ministers liberty to preach in all proper places and at all seasons without restraint. (Journal, May 16, 1774.) This memorial asked for an act of toleration for Protestant dissenters to preach in all *proper* places. *Freedom* of religion for all was not asked, but only toleration to Protestants, and the limitation as to the place was recognized as lawful by the use of the word "proper."

May 12, 1774, another "petition of sundry persons of the community of Christians called Baptists and other Protestant dissenters" asserted "that the toleration proposed by the bill, ordered at the last session of the General Assembly to be printed and published, not admitting public worship except in the day-time, is inconsistent with the laws of England, as well as the practice and usage of the primitive churches, and even of the English church itself," etc. That is the only point made in the petition.

In October, 1773, Hanover Presbytery, at Rockfish, in Amherst (now Nelson) County, took the proposed act of toleration in the Legislature of 1772 into consideration, and prepared a paper with their views, given into the hands of the

commissioners, Rev. John Todd and Elder John Morton, to attend the General Assembly on behalf of the Presbytery. The paper then prepared has not come to light, but it was probably substantially the same as that of October, 1774, hereafter referred to.

The General Assembly met in May, 1774, and the Baptist memorial was presented, and the Presbyterian commissioners were in attendance. Nothing was done.

In October, 1774, Hanover Presbytery met at Cub Creek, Charlotte County, and adjourned to meet at Col. Wm. Cabell's, in Amherst County, in the following November, to *remonstrate* against the toleration act proposed in 1772. Mr. W. W. Henry has recently discovered the petition drawn up at Col. Cabell's, which bears date November 11, 1774. It is a paper so remarkable that historic truth requires it to be reproduced in substance, and critically examined. It refers to the Scotch-Irish settlement in the Valley under Governor Gooch's written pledge, "that they should enjoy the full and free exercise of their religion," and recites that under that pledge the settlers came, "nor have our ministers or people been restricted in their religious privileges by any law of the colony." It gratefully acknowledges the catholic design of the late General Assembly "to secure by law the religious liberties of all Protestant dissenters in the colony," but objects that "some things in the said bill will be very grievous and burdensome to us," and they pray for such alterations in it "as will render it more agreeable to the principles of *impartial liberty* and sound policy, which we presume were the valuable ends for which it was first intended." They declare they are willing to have "their *churches* and *stated places* for public worship registered;" but they say every minister is "under *indispensable obligations* to follow the example of our blessed Saviour, who went about doing good, and of his apostles, who not only taught in the temple, but in *every house* where they came they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ." As to night-preaching, they claim a right to do so, and pray "that no dissenting minister may be subjected to any penalty for preaching or teaching *at any time* or *in any place* in the colony." They protest against the requirement of "open doors" as an unjust suspicion and a stigma. They claim it as "*an indispensable duty*" to baptize and receive slaves into church communion, under the

divine command to go and teach and baptize; and they add with emphasis almost defiant, "And we are so confidently persuaded of the liberal sentiments of this house, *that in obeying the laws of Christ we shall never be reduced to the necessity of disobeying the laws of our country.*" (See Acts. iv. 19.) They pray "for liberty and protection in the discharge of all their duties as ministers of the Gospel," for penalties on disturbers of their worship, as on those who disturb the Church of England; and that they, as well as the clergy of the established church, "be excused from all burdensome offices."

The memorial then adds this grand plea for freedom in religion as in civil matters :

"And we pray for that freedom in *speaking and writing* upon *religious* subjects which is allowed by law to every member of the British empire in *civil* affairs, and which has long been so friendly to the *cause of liberty.*

"And also we pray for a right by law to hold estates, and enjoy donations and legacies for the support of our churches and schools for the instruction of our youth. Though this is not expressed in the English Act of Toleration, yet the greatest lawyers in England have pled, and the best judges have determined, that it is manifestly implied.

"Finally, we pray that nothing in the Act of Toleration may be so expressed as to render us suspicious or odious to our countrymen, with whom we desire to live in peace and friendship; but that all misdemeanors committed by dissenters may be punished by laws equally binding upon all our fellow-subjects, without any regard to their religious tenets. Or if any non-compliance with the conditions of the Act of Toleration shall be judged to deserve punishment, we pray that the crime may be accurately defined, and the penalty ascertained by the Legislature; and neither be left to the discretion of any magistrate or court whatsoever.

"May it please this honorable Assembly, There are some other things which we omit, because they are less essential to the rights of conscience and the interest of our church; we trust that we petition for nothing but what justice says ought to be ours, for as ample privileges as any of our fellow-subjects enjoy: '*To have and enjoy the full and free exercise of our religion, without molestation or danger of incurring any penalty whatsoever.*'"

The memorial concludes with a statement, at once dignified, simple, solemn, and impressive, and yet full of proper respect for the Legislature :

"The subject is of such solemn importance to us, that, comparatively speaking, our lives and our liberties are but of little value; and the population of the country, and the honor of the

Legislature, as well as the interest of American liberty,* are certainly most deeply concerned in the matter: Therefore we would willingly lay before this honorable house a more extensive view of our reasons in favor of an unlimited, impartial toleration; but fearing we should transgress upon the patience of the house, we conclude with praying that the all-wise, just, and merciful God would direct you in this, and all your other important determinations.

“Signed by order of Presbytery.

“DAVID RICE, *Moderator.*

“CALEB WALLACE, *Clerk.*

“At a session of the Presbytery in Amherst County, November 11, 1774.”

It is most probable that this paper was drawn by Rev. Caleb Wallace, the clerk of Presbytery, who was afterwards Judge of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky.

This is the most complete, as it is the original, plea for equal rights in matters of religion to all Protestant dissenters, and in the breadth of its doctrine to all of every form of religious faith. It is so comprehensive in its scope and so able in its presentation as to entitle it to the claim of precedence in the demand for more than mere toleration, and as a claim for absolute religious freedom for all.

In August, 1775, it appears that the Baptists presented to the Virginia Convention an address, in which, after expressing their patriotic devotion to the common cause of the colonies, “and that their brethren were left at discretion to enlist without incurring the censure of their religious community,” they prayed permission that some of their ministers might preach to the troops, which was granted. Semple says they did so only for a short time, but declined to do so longer, not meeting much encouragement. Semple, in his history, also states that in the same year (probably at the same time) the Baptists resolved to circulate petitions throughout the State, praying “that the church establishment should be abolished and religion left to stand on its own merits, and that all religious societies should be protected in the peaceable enjoyment of their own religious principles and modes of worship.” These petitions were circulated and signed by dissenters of all sects—it is said, by as many as ten thousand persons—and were

*This reference to American liberty will be understood, when it is remembered that the first Continental Congress had met September 5, 1774, and had taken the decisive steps which resulted in our final independence.

presented to the Legislative Convention in 1776. This Baptist movement is worthy of high praise for its clear opposition to the church establishment, and in advance of any other express declaration against it. Step by step religious freedom was marching on to its victory.

The constitution of Virginia was adopted on the 29th and the Bill of Rights on the 12th of June, 1776. In the last clause of the latter it is declared: "That religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other."

After this Bill of Rights was adopted, in the summer of 1776, Hanover Presbytery took advantage of its provisions in the preparation of a memorial presented to the Legislature in October, 1776, which for its masterly statement of the question merits the first place in the papers of that era in its clear assertion of the absolute liberty of conscience in all matters of religion. A summary of this paper is justified, even at the expense of protracting this address.

The Presbytery asserts its cordial co-operation in the common cause of the United States; that in order to peace they had "hitherto submitted to several ecclesiastical burdens and restrictions that are inconsistent with equal liberty," but that now, when the continent was "casting off the yoke of tyranny" they claim to be "freed from all the incumbrances which a spirit of domination, prejudice, and bigotry hath interwoven with most other political systems;" that they embrace the declaration of rights "as the Magna Charta of our commonwealth, that can never be violated," for the "free exercise of religion according to the dictates of our consciences;" and they proceed to lay before the Legislature their "religious grievances," "that they no longer may be continued in our present form of government."

They declare that in the Valley counties, "one-fifth part of the inhabitants of Virginia," the dissenters had borne the burdens of buying glebes, building churches, etc., and "besides the invidious and disadvantageous restrictions to which they have been subjected, *annually pay large taxes to support an establishment from which their consciences and principles oblige them*

to dissent, all of which are confessedly so many *violations of their natural rights*, and in their consequences a restraint upon *freedom of inquiry and private judgment.*" They claim, where all are struggling to be free, their representatives should remove "every species of religious as well as civil bondage;" that every argument for civil liberty is stronger for "liberty in the concerns of religion," and that no argument to establish the Christian religion is valid, but may be pleaded for establishing the Mohammedan. They assert that any religious establishment, by its arbitrary practices, and by the seditious spirit excited by this and every other kind of oppression, is evil; that it had retarded population and progress in Virginia; and that "the gospel *needs no civil aid,*" for when Christ declared his kingdom was not of this world "he renounced *all dependence on State power,* because his weapons are spiritual," and are "only designed to have influence on the *judgment and hearts of men.*" "We are persuaded that if mankind were left in the quiet possession of their *inalienable rights and privileges,* Christianity would prevail by its native excellence and under the all-disposing providence of God." They represent that "the only proper objects of civil government" are the happiness and protection of men in the present life, "the security of the life, liberty, and property of the citizens; * * * but that the duty which we owe our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can only be directed by reason and conviction, and is *nowhere cognizable but at the tribunal of the Universal Judge.*" In this last clause they add a majestic principle to those in the previous clause, cited from the Bill of Rights: "Therefore we *ask no ecclesiastical establishments for ourselves, neither can we approve of them when granted to others.*" They give "exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges"* to one sect, to the "common reproach and injury of every other denomination." They therefore pray "that all laws * * * which countenance religious domination may be speedily repealed;" that "*all of every religious sect*" be "protected in the *full exercise* of their several modes of worship, and *exempted from all taxes* for the support of any church whatsoever, except by *private choice or voluntary obligation.*"

*This is a claim based on the fourth article of the Bill of Rights of Virginia.

This admirable paper, with others,* came before the Legislature in October, 1776. They availed, through the zeal and genius of Jefferson, to the repeal of penal laws for religious opinions and acts, or for non-attendance on church. The exemption of dissenters from taxes to support the established church was enacted, and even the right to levy on its own members for its support was suspended. But it seems that the duty of regulating religious assemblies, continuing the succession, and superintending the conduct of the clergy, and some general assessments of religion, were insisted on in certain resolutions by the Legislature and in the law itself, and were left open for consideration and for the expression of public opinion. (See Journal, November 19, 1776.)

It is well here to advert to the part taken at this session by Rev. Caleb Wallace. He was the son-in-law of Samuel McDowell, the delegate from Augusta County. He states, in a letter to Rev. James Caldwell, of New Jersey, that he attended upon the Legislature for nearly two months as deputy for Hanover Presbytery. Caleb Wallace was in the senior class at Princeton College when James Madison was in the junior. Madison remained a year after graduation, and Wallace several years, under the direction of the Rev. John Witherspoon, president of the college, a Presbyterian divine, signer of the Declaration of Independence and of the Articles of Confederation. It is probable that under his training Madison acquired that taste for theological studies for which he was so remarkable. These two pupils of Dr. Witherspoon came together at the memorable crisis of the Legislature of Virginia in the October session of 1776. During that session there appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* a publication in answer to one from "a member of the established church," which was most probably written by Wallace, who was also most probably the author of the Hanover memorial, which, as deputy of the Presbytery, he presented to the Legislature. Both papers are similar in tone, and the argument for religious liberty very strong.

*Among these were memorials from Prince Edward, Albemarle, Amherst, Augusta, which were strong against taxation for the establishment; also from a German congregation in Culpeper, and one from the Methodists favoring the establishment; and one from the Episcopal clergy claiming the right to salaries, on the ground of those who were in, or professing to take orders in that church.

The influence of Witherspoon, and of association with his pupil Wallace at this period, upon the mind of Madison, gives to his great efforts in behalf of the freedom of conscience the character which the Presbyterian polity, in its nature as well as in its efficient action, impressed upon the movement ending in the triumph of liberty.

Hanover Presbytery, ever watchful, prepared a memorial, dated April 25, 1777, to the Legislature, in which, while expressing gratification for what had been done, they press for the obliteration from the statute-book of everything which looked to the interference of the civil power with the liberty of conscience. After saying that they have confidence in the legislative declaration "that equal liberty, as well religious as civil, shall be universally extended to the good people of this country," and that all oppressive acts respecting religion "shall henceforth be of no validity or force in this commonwealth," including the exemption of "dissenters from all levies, taxes, or imposition" to support the Church of England, they proceed to animadvert upon the idea of a "general assessment," and to assert that "every religious society shall be left to voluntary contributions" for the maintenance of its clergy, etc. They refer to what they had declared in a former memorial in favor of exemption from taxes to "support *any church whatsoever*," leaving every church to depend alone on the "voluntary obligation of every individual, while the civil magistrates no otherwise interfere than to protect them all in the full and free exercise of their several modes of worship." They quote in substance their former statement, that the power of civil government is to secure life, liberty, and property, but that religion is "nowhere *cognizable* but at the *tribunal* of the *Universal Judge*." They assert the right of conscience to be "*inalienable*," and "*can never be transferred to another*." They aver the church of Christ stands in no need of "general assent for its support;" that Christ has ordained complete laws for his kingdom, and by his providence he will support it. Believing that his kingdom and religion "are beyond the limits of civil control," they could not "*receive emoluments from human establishments*." They therefore remonstrate "against a general assessment for *any* religious purpose." The power to do this, they assert, involves the power to regulate preaching, to establish churches, etc.

These things, they conclude, "are so entirely subversive of religious liberty, that if they should take place in Virginia, *we should be reduced to the melancholy necessity of saying with the apostles in like cases, Judge ye whether it is best to obey God or man ; AND ALSO OF ACTING AS THEY ACTED.*"

This manifesto, with that which preceded it, covers the whole question, and places its decision upon the philosophy of all free institutions; that religion is an individual matter, having no relation to civil affairs, and therefore not subject to the civil power. These papers were pre-existent to, and entirely in accord with, Mr. Jefferson's act for religious freedom, drawn by him in 1777, never reported until 1779, and never enacted until 1785.

In June, 1777, Hanover Presbytery appointed a committee to appear before the next Legislature to act in behalf of the Presbytery.

The Legislature, after suspending from time to time the act for the support of the clergy of the established church, finally, at the session of October, 1779, repealed it absolutely. And at the same session Jefferson's act for religious freedom was reported.

In May, 1778, at the General Association of the Baptists, a memorial was ordered praying for equal privileges to all ordained ministers of every denomination in the celebration of marriages, as to which there had been great complaints.

In October, 1778, the same body reported that a "general assessment" would be "injurious to the dissenters in general," and that the "exclusive right" of the established clergy to celebrate marriages had "subjected dissenters to great inconveniences;" and a committee was appointed to lay these grievances before the Legislature.

In October, 1779, the same body, having read Jefferson's act for religious freedom, heartily approved it.

The Legislature, in October, 1780, passed a marriage act, which relieved in some degree the grievance complained of.

In April, 1780, Hanover Presbytery met at Tinkling Spring, Augusta County, and a memorial to the Legislature was prepared, praying that it would "abstain from interfering in the government of the church," and asking Col. McDowell and Capt. Johnson "to present it and second it by their influence."

During several succeeding years I do not find that any further agitation of the religious question was made before the Legislature. The pressure of the war, and the proceedings leading to the final treaty of peace ratified in January, 1784, excluded all other questions; and when peace came under that treaty, the people were left free to return to the adjustment of domestic grievances under their recognized independence, which had been postponed when independence was still undetermined.

Hanover Presbytery, therefore, on May 19, 1784, at its first session after the war closed by the treaty of peace, sent up a memorial to the Legislature as the first manifesto for religious freedom in the now recognized commonwealth of Virginia.

The tone of this document is very elevated, and its demands clear and distinct for the freedom of conscience as a right secured by the Revolution.

“An entire and everlasting freedom from every species of ecclesiastical domination, a full and permanent security of the inalienable rights of conscience and private judgment, and an equal share of the protection and favor of government to all denominations of Christians were particular objects of our expectation and irrefragable claim.” They state that every religious society did expect that former invidious and exclusive preferences for one sect above others “would have been wholly removed;” that “any partiality” or “particular and illicit connection or commerce between the State” and any one sect was unworthy of “a people perfectly free,” and “an infringement of religious liberty.” They express themselves dissatisfied and uneasy that their expectations had not been realized.

The memorial declares, “The security of our religious rights upon equal and impartial grounds, *instead of being made a fundamental part of our constitution, as it ought to have been*, is left to the precarious fate of common law.” It avers that the Episcopal church was still left in an “unjust prominence,” “formerly acquired under the smiles of royal favor;” that it was still styled “the established church” as late as 1778, and that style had never been formally disclaimed. But the memorial complains, in severe terms, that, by a “partial and inequitable degree of government,” substantial advantages were confirmed and secured to that church, and emoluments which she enjoyed “by the abridgment of the equal privi-

leges of others and the aid of their property wrested from them by the hand of usurpation." "An estate, computed to be worth several hundred thousand pounds, in churches, glebes, etc., derived from the pockets of all religious societies, was exclusively and unjustly appropriated to *one*, without compensation or restitution to the rest, who, in many places, were a large majority of the inhabitants."

Besides, "the Episcopal church is actually incorporated and known in law as a body, capable to receive and hold property" securely, while other Christian communities have to rely on trustees, without the responsibility of legal obligation.

The memorial complains of the unjust provisions of the marriage act of 1780, and further, that the vestries of parishes have power to tax the people for certain purposes, and that every vestry must be composed of *members of the Episcopal church*. This preference is "glaringly unjust and dangerous."

The Presbytery declares it had refrained from complaint, because not willing to take advantage of the critical condition of the Government in times of confusion "to obtain what is our clear and incontestable right."

The memorial closes with an earnest and bold appeal for "the broad basis of perfect political equality," and for equal civil and religious liberty to all sects who had equally struggled for independence.

During the session of the Legislature in May, 1784, it had received many petitions for a general assessment for religion, and one from the Episcopal church, asking, among other things, to incorporate that church, and to secure churches, glebes, lands, etc., to that church forever. Favorable action by the Committee on Religion was taken as to the general assessment, and a bill was reported for the incorporation of the clergy of the Episcopal church as distinct from its laity.

During the recess, on the 9th of October, 1784, the Baptist church followed the action of the Hanover Presbytery in May, 1784, by praying a repeal of the vestry law and a change of the marriage act of 1780, and opposing the general assessment and the law for incorporating churches.

Hanover Presbytery met at Timber Ridge, October 27, 1784, the Legislature having met on the 18th of October. It approved of the memorial already referred to, which had

been presented to the Legislature. Another memorial was ordered, prepared, and sent to the Legislature. As this memorial has been the subject of misapprehension and censure by the eminent statesman* who wrote the life of James Madison, I will ask to be excused from examining it somewhat critically.

From what has been already said, it appears that a concerted movement for a general assessment had, by petitions, brought that question before the Legislature, and they had been reported upon as "reasonable and expedient." It had the sanction of the highest names and the champion of civil liberty, Mr. Henry. Very early in the session, upon a petition referred to the Committee on Religion, a resolution for general assessment was reported and passed by a vote of 47 to 32, and an order was made for a committee, of which Mr. Henry was chairman, to bring in a bill for a general assessment, which was done early in December. The outlook was favorable for the passage of some such measure when Presbytery prepared its memorial of October 27, 1784.

The journal of the House of Delegates recited that the memorial expressed the opinion that "a general assessment for the support of religion *ought to be* extended to those who profess the public worship of the Deity." And on this Mr. Rives remarks that this church "had hitherto distinguished itself by its zeal in favor of the principle of unlimited religious freedom; thus uniting a just tribute to the Presbyterian church with a censure upon this deliverance of October 27, 1784."

The entry on the journal is an erroneous summary of the memorial by the officer who made it. The memorial does not justify it. The memorial refers to those previously presented as containing the sentiments of Presbytery; and then condemns and repudiates for itself all benefit from the proposed act of church incorporation, animadverting specially on the idea of incorporating the clergy, independent of the laity. It in the strongest terms denounces all union or connection of the church with the State. "Human legislation ought to have human affairs alone for its concern." "The *thoughts*, the *intentions*, the *faith*, and the *conscienc*es of men, with the modes of worship, lie beyond its reach, and are ever to be referred to a higher and more penetrating tribunal." "Religion, there-

*Hon. William C. Rives.

fore, as a spiritual system, and its ministers in a professional capacity, ought not to be under the direction of the State."

The memorial proceeds: "Neither is it *necessary* to their existence that *they* should be publicly *supported* by a legal provision for that purpose," although it is necessary to the existence and welfare of *society* "to have the *support of religion* and its solemn institutions." *Legislators* should have *its* aid in a *civil* view, because of its moral influence and "its tendency to preserve the veneration of an oath, or an appeal to Heaven, which is the cement of the social union. It is upon this *principle alone*, in our opinion, that a legislative body has a right to interfere in religion at all, and of consequence, we suppose, that this interference ought *only* to extend to the preserving of the public worship of the Deity, and the supporting of institutions for inculcating the *great fundamental principles of all religion*, without which society could not easily exist. *Should it be thought necessary* at present for the Assembly to exert this right of *supporting religion in general* by an assessment on all the people, we would wish it to be done on the *most liberal plan*. A general assessment of the kind we heard proposed is an object of such consequence that it excites much anxious speculation among your constituents." The memorial then protests against anything being done "inconsistent with the proper objects of human legislation or the declaration of rights;" also, that no assessment shall be proposed to support "religion as a spiritual system," relating to the soul or its destiny; that no effort be made to point out articles of faith not essential to the preservation of society, or as to modes of worship, or to interfere in the government of a church, or to make the clergy independent of the people.

In April, 1777, as we have seen, this Presbytery had protested against any general assessment, and declared they would accept nothing under any such assessment. This was done with great emphasis of expression. The Presbytery, in October, 1784, found itself confronted with a public opinion in the legislative body strongly in favor of general assessment, and supported by great names. The Presbytery was obviously breasting this adverse current by suggestions as to the form such a scheme should take if finally adopted. The memorial does not say, as the journal of the Legislature declared, "that the general assessment ought to be extended to those who profess the public worship of the Deity," (though

that would in a broad spirit embrace all who were not Atheists, whether Christians or merely Deists,) but it was *only* on the principle of the *civil power* seeking the moral influence of religion, and the sanction of an appeal to God in civil matters, that it could interfere at all in religion—and then *only* to the “preserving of the public worship of the Deity and the supporting of institutions for inculcating the *fundamental principles of all religion*” —as *essential to social existence*. Presbytery did not say this ought to be done, but if anything ought to be done, this was the *only* thing that should be done; not to assess for any particular religion, Christian or other, or for any sect of religious people, but *only* to preserve the worship of God and the inculcation of fundamental principles *common to all religions* and peculiar to none; and this only because *civil* duties could only be properly performed under the sanction of some belief in God, and our responsible relations to him. No suggestion was made which looked to the State as a support to religion, but only to religion as a support to the State. And the religion which was to be called on, as a support to society, was no particular system of religion, or sect of any system, but that religion which embraced all systems and all sects, to whom there was the common faith in Deity and in man’s responsibility to him. This was, indeed, assessment on a most liberal plan. But so far from favoring even this most catholic plan, the memorial says, “*Should it be thought necessary*” to provide for such assessment, “we wish it to be done on the most *liberal* plan;” for that which we have heard proposed (which was provision for the *teachers of the Christian religion*) excited “much anxious speculation.”

The memorial had declared that provision for the *support of religion* was not necessary, and then discussed the only mode of assessment which could rightfully be adopted, if anything was done, as had been proposed, which was to secure in some way the support of religion for the civil power. It seems to me, therefore, to do injustice to this deliverance of October 27, 1784, to attribute to the Presbytery any favor at all to the general assessment, or anything but a suggestion of the most liberal plan (if any was adopted), embracing all religions holding to the worship of God within its scope, and that not as a civil support to religion, but *only* as a method to insure to society in all *civil* relations the sanction of the

man's belief in a God. And this has been done almost everywhere in the matter of the oath of a witness, to which the memorial distinctly refers.

The memorial, therefore, may be thus analyzed: *1st*, It does not advocate or sanction any general assessment, and disapproved of the special bill before the Legislature; *2d*, It repudiates all support of religion as a spiritual system by the State; *3d*, It repudiates all need by religion of aid from the State; *4th*, It asserts the need by the State of the support of religion; and *5th*, It suggests that if assessment be needed to support religion, as essential to the existence of society, it should be by support to all religions which recognize the Supreme Being, and not to any form of religion, much less to any sect of any religious faith, and this only to give religious sanction to civil action.

But I do not mean to say that the concession made by the Presbytery was right, or was not in some degree a seeming departure from the uniform and consistent position it had held, thus subjecting its action to the criticism made upon it by Mr. Madison at the time, and by his biographer afterwards. But I do insist that Presbytery, while it did not condemn as it had done, did not sanction the general assessment, and conceded its possible propriety only on a scheme of liberal and catholic recognition of equal rights under it to all forms of belief in a Supreme Being.

It is due to the Baptists to say that, at their meeting, October 9, 1784, they opposed the law for general assessments; that is, the proposed measure, which was equally opposed by Hanover Presbytery in its memorial of October 27, 1784; but they do not seem to have discussed the general subject in the aspects considered by the latter body. They confined their objection to the special bill proposed, but not extending it to every form of assessment.

The Legislature which met October 18, 1784, modified the marriage act of 1780, incorporated every Episcopal minister and his vestry, not the clergy alone, as had been proposed, and considered a bill for general assessment for teachers of the Christian religion. As to the first, the Legislature yielded to the claims of dissent, and as to the second, to the argument of Hanover Presbytery in part, and as to the last, placed the scheme on a footing contrary to the catholic proposition of that body.

Upon discussion, on 17th of November, 1784, this assessment bill was postponed until November, 1785, by a vote of 45 to 38, which was done in order that public opinion might be expressed upon it, and thus the people were called on to operate upon the Legislature by their declared sentiments.

Hanover Presbytery, at its meeting in May, 1785, was called on by the Augusta Church to explain its memorial of October 27, 1784, and the purpose of sending it to the Legislature. The opinion of Presbytery was then taken by a unanimous vote, that they do not "approve of *any* kind of an assessment by the General Assembly for the support of *religion*." This was the explicit judgment of all Presbyterians on this great question against *any* assessment for religion generally, or for any particular religion.

A Presbyterian convention was called which met at Bethel, Augusta County, and issued the unanimous memorial of the church in Virginia upon these grave subjects of religious liberty on the 13th of August, 1785.

The Baptist's general committee, on the 18th. of August, 1785, declared strongly against the proposed general assessment bill. It did not, however, express its judgment against *any* assessment for religion in *any* form, which Hanover Presbytery had previously done unanimously in May, 1785. Meantime James Madison, whose zealous advocacy of religious liberty hardly makes him second to Thomas Jefferson, the immortal author of the bill to establish it, and who had persistently opposed the general assessment bill, drew a memorial to be signed by people throughout the State, which, for masterly exposition of the principles governing these questions, is worthy of his fame as a statesman and political writer. Alongside of it, and in entire accord with it, may be placed those Presbyterian memorials to which I have referred, and the last one of the convention in August, 1785. The views presented by Hanover Presbytery from 1774 to 1785 were only reiterated and re-enforced by the logical power of Madison in his memorial. The identity of spirit and principles of these papers from the Presbytery and from Madison give occasion again for the suggestion that the mind and sentiments of the Presbyterian and patriotic President of Princeton had moulded the opinions and views of Wallace and his associates in the church, and of Madison and others in the Legislature.

In the memorial of August 13, 1785, just referred to, the Presbytery remonstrated in strong terms and with powerful logic against the proposed assessment bill. It denied the power of the Legislature to pass it, and urged many considerations of principle and public policy against it. It protested against the incorporation of the Episcopal church, and with especial emphasis objected that glebes and other property were secured to it exclusively, which had been bought with money derived from the taxation of all the people, and insisted that these should have been left to the common use, because bought with the money of all. It insists, as Presbytery had often done, that religious liberty should be protected by the constitution, and not merely by ordinary legislation.

The Legislature met in October, 1785, and found its table loaded with petitions, evidencing the people's will that no assessment should be made, and that religion should be absolutely free. Rev. John Blair Smith appeared before the Legislature for Hanover Presbytery, and argued these questions for three days with great ability. The assessment bill failed, and the act of religious liberty, drawn by Jefferson in 1777, was passed in the House by a vote of 67 to 20, and became a law in December, 1785. Its language is that of Jefferson; its spirit that of the dissenters of Virginia, allied with many broad-minded men of the Episcopal church.

In 1786 the Legislature repealed the act incorporating the Episcopal church, "saving to all religious societies the property to them respectively belonging," with power to each to select trustees to hold the same for their use.

But this was not all. The act of January 24, 1799, after reciting that all laws which had been passed for incorporating churches, giving them property, etc., were inconsistent with religious freedom and the principles of the constitution, repealed all such by their titles, and thus obliterated from the statute-book of Virginia every vestige of religious establishment by civil power, consolidated the principle of perfect religious freedom, and divorced church and State finally and forever.

Nor was this all. By the act of 1802 the Legislature, taking the views of Hanover Presbytery in its several memorials heretofore cited, took all the glebes and other property which had been held by the Episcopal church and been bought with the taxes paid by all the people, and dedicated them to the

poor in each county, saving churches, graveyards, etc., to the several congregations worshipping in the churches.

In 1830, when the first constitution since that of 1776 was adopted, the thought of Hanover Presbytery, that religious freedom should not rest on the will of the Legislature, but be fixed unalterably in the constitution, was carried into effect; and the substance of the act for religious liberty of 1785 was embodied in the constitution of 1830, and has been so embodied in the constitution of Virginia to this day.

It was not until 1841-'42 that provision was made by law for trustees to hold property, though a very limited amount, for each congregation for religious worship, but the limit was such as to show the spirit of the Revolution; that religion should not seek alliance with the civil power nor with worldly wealth to promote the cause of its Divine Author.

In 1845-'46, two eminent lawyers, Mr. James Lyons and Mr. William H. Macfarland, advocated before a committee of the Legislature the claims of petitioners for the incorporation of the churches in Virginia. The Rev. William S. Plumer, D. D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Richmond, opposed it in an argument which was permeated with the spirit and thought of the Presbytery of Hanover, and was remarkable for its power of logic and eloquence, as well as for its wit and humor. He had previously vindicated the right of every church against taxation by the civil power in the case of Commonwealth *vs.* Plumer in the General Court. The proposition to incorporate churches failed signally and finally, and to seal its doom forever the constitution of Virginia, adopted in 1850-'51, contained the following provision, which is still retained in the present constitution: "The General Assembly shall not grant a charter of incorporation to any church or religious denomination, but may secure the title to church property to an extent to be limited by law."

The history of religious freedom in Virginia is unique. She took the most advanced position upon it in 1776, and her act for religious freedom was the beacon light to all other commonwealths. Her policy for divorce of religion from civil and corporate power and from wealth, places her in majestic solitude in the States of the Union. The philosophy of her position is that religion needs alliance with neither—is corrupted by it—and that the civil power has no right to step within the sacred precincts of conscience, to help or to hinder it.

The Presbyterian convention of August 13, 1785, declared: "Religion is altogether *personal*, and the right of exercising it *inalienable*; and it is not, cannot, and ought not to be, resigned to the will of society at large, and much less to the Legislature." * * * "It would be an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative in the Legislature to *make laws concerning it*, except for *protection*. And it would be a fatal symptom of abject slavery in us were we to submit to the usurpation." This manly and emphatic declaration of holy men in the Presbyterian convention, including ministry and laity, is the keynote to religious liberty, now finally secured to the people of Virginia by her fundamental law. It led the way to the inhibition on Congress to pass any law "respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and to all the provisions of constitutions and laws in other States for the absolute freedom of conscience in matters of religion.

In the popular movement which resulted in these noble provisions for the freedom of conscience from the civil power, I have been chiefly mindful of the action of our church, and to do justice to the important part she took in promoting this consummation. I do not claim for her any exclusive credit, and would do injustice to no rival assertion of claim.

It is just to advert in general terms to the movements of the Presbyterian church in the Carolinas and elsewhere in conjunction with their brethren in Virginia. The Scotch-Irish and Huguenot Presbyterians were contending vehemently for religious liberty in the Southern and Northern colonies; and the memorable declaration at Mecklenburg, N. C., in May, 1775, which sounded the clear and distinct note of independence and civil and religious liberty, was the work of a Presbyterian people.

It was natural that all dissenters would be more zealous against the exclusive privileges of the established church than the members of that venerable body; and it was not unnatural that many of the latter opposed the movement, which was to divest them of special privileges they had long claimed as prescriptive, and of the glebes, the title to which they had long possessed, though derived from the unjust taxation of those who dissented from the doctrines and worship the law compelled them, against conscience, to support. But it is a tribute justly due to many noble men of the Episcopal church, that they gave their cordial support, which was essential to

the final victory, under the lead of Madison, the matchless champion of religious freedom, and an adherent of the Episcopal faith, to the measures which established liberty of conscience for all the people of Virginia. Nor is it less than just to say that the then comparatively obscure men who adhered to the Baptist faith, without the learning and ability which now so distinguishes the ministry of that church, by their consistent opinions and persistent zeal, played a splendid part in the achievement of the final victory. Other dissenting sects nobly did their duty in the crisis. But I cannot be said to claim too much when I say that the learning and ability of her clergy and her laymen, with logic of argument and clear analytic insight into the fundamental principles which limit the functions of civil power, and enlarge without limit the rights of conscience, made the Presbyterian church *facile princeps* in the long war which ended in the ultimate triumph of truth. This pre-eminence was due to the thorough education of its ministry, to the doctrines and peculiarities of its Pauline faith, to its deep sentiment of the personality of individual responsibility for all action in civil and religious life, and to the traditions of its history in like struggles in the Old World.

Among the ideas which the Presbyterian memorials seem primarily to have pressed upon the public legislation may be mentioned the following :

1. The Presbyterians settled in Virginia, under express compact, "for liberty of conscience and for the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties." This was the first trumpet-note for civil and religious liberty in Virginia.
2. The Presbyterians, single-handed, under the lead of Davies, maintained the most liberal principles of construction of the Toleration Act for all dissenters before 1759. This was the first step, and in the principles insisted on was the assertion of religious liberty.
3. Under the same Presbyterian influence the first attack upon the support of the established clergy was made in the "Parson's case," before a Hanover jury, in 1763, which was the appeal of the people from a judicial sentence in favor of an unjust law, and the primal revolution against royal misrule and the exactions of an established church.
4. The solemn demand in November, 1774, of *equal rights to all religions* with the established church. This was a clear

claim to equality of right in all respects prior to any other document that has been found.

5. In the memorial of 1776 is found the first assault upon the taxation of dissenters for the established church as a violation of the rights of conscience; a denial of the right to establish a church in any way, and the assertion of the freedom of conscience from all human control. This was the text for Jefferson's act for religious liberty.

6. In April, 1777, was the first emphatic remonstrance against a general assessment for the support of religion in the memorial of Presbytery, so logical in statement of its violation of fundamental rights, and so noble in its assertion of rightful resistance to the invasion of the freedom of conscience.

7. The memorial of May, 1784, first suggested that religious liberty be under *constitutional* guarantees.

8. In the memorial of August, 1785, the assertion of religious liberty is followed up by a claim that property acquired by one sect by taxing all sects should be restored, as by a "resulting trust," to the people whose taxes bought it.

9. In all these memorials the Presbyterian church took front rank in opposing religious incorporation, until it, too, has become a constitutional inhibition.

10. And I claim that in the discussion of these questions the Presbyterian church took rank in ability and learning, and in the clear apprehension of the true functions of civil power and the rights of human conscience, with the best minds of the period in the State or elsewhere.

But it would be improper for me not to allude definitely to the tendency of Presbyterian tenets to *civil* liberty and to the part taken by the Presbyterian people in establishing it. As has been already insisted on, the historic heroes who have struggled for liberty have made no distinction between civil and religious freedom. The despotism which strikes one will strike the other, and liberty sought for one is not complete unless secured for the other. The enlightened conscience sees no distinction. All liberty is religious, for all life is worship.

In the memorials of Hanover Presbytery these views were clearly in the minds of their authors. In them is not only the assertion of civil as well as religious liberty, but the vindication "*of free enquiry and private judgment.*" And in that of October 27, 1784, Presbytery asserts for the *thoughts* and

intentions of man the same freedom from civil power as for his *faith* and his *conscience*.

The champions of civil and religious liberty at Mecklenburg, its advocates in Virginia and the North, and the celebrated speech of John Witherspoon in Congress in support of the Declaration of Independence, with the zealous patriotism of the laity of our church in the Revolution and in all war for civil liberty, demonstrate that the theoretic union of civil and religious liberty in the mind of a professor of the Pauline creed of our church has found its verification in the uniform courage and patriotism of its members.

The Presbyterian, by the nature of his creed, believes in God as his Supreme King and Teacher. His reason halts when confronted by the Divine Word, and his faith believes what his reason would not lead him to accept. With him the doubt of the Agnostic and the cavil of the Rationalist give place to knowledge, based upon an unshaken faith in the revealed will of God. Intellectual paradox this may well be called, for it sees the invisible, hears the unutterable, reaches after and clings to the intangible. It removes mountains it cannot scale, and bridges chasms it cannot overleap. It apprehends what it cannot comprehend, perceives what it could not conceive, receives as rational what reason could not discover or evolve and staggers to accept, and believes what is almost incredible.

But the Pauline faith produces a moral paradox. The Pauline Christian is timid and humble in self, but courageous and confident in God. Weak and impotent in his own soul, he is yet strong through the aid of Omnipotence. Self-conscious of sin, he has no personal pride, yet dependent on God as his Father, Friend, and King, he is exalted and exultant in the glory of his relation to the Divine Being. And in his civil relations he is the subject of a political paradox. His pre-eminent loyalty to his Divine King makes him demand from government freedom to serve God in his life, which is under Divine law, and must be a religious worship and a personal consecration. A subject of the absolute and unlimited government of God, he must claim freedom under human government. To be true to this celestial monarch, he must if need be, resist the tyranny of the civil power. In complete obedience to the Divine law, it is the glorious liberty of the sons of God to resist human control over the soul as

duty to their Master and Lord. A bond-servant of God, the Christian must claim to be the freest citizen of the freest commonwealths of the world. A loyal and unquestioning subject of the kingdom of Heaven, a living self-sacrifice to the Christ, he is yet to be one day a king and priest unto God and his Father. In the Divine kingdom he is a subject ; among men he is a free and equal sovereign ; and in his own soul a priest. The Christian man, in the Pauline apprehension of his chief end here, and of his destiny hereafter, must realize his true position in the State, and vindicate his right to civil liberty and to the freedom of conscience, as an uncrowned king and unmitred priest unto God among the enthroned monarchs and hierarchs of the world.

Report of the Historical Committee to the Synod of Virginia, at Win- chester, October 22, 1889.

This committee having been commended for its past labors by the Synod at New Providence Church, October, 1888, was continued by that body with instructions for the further prosecution of its work. A very brief statement will suffice to exhibit the small extent to which they have been able to accomplish the task assigned them. It will be remembered that a number of the Presbyteries had failed to carry out the original design of the Synod by preparing reports containing sketches of the several churches under their care. It was hoped that the renewed call would elicit prompt action where delays had occurred, and that all the expected materials would be received in time to construct a compilation of the whole into a connected and uniform narrative. In this we have been disappointed. Several reports have been received, but not in a shape to be conveniently reduced to order, and after considerable delays, whilst one of the Presbyteries—that of Lexington—has furnished so far no congregational histories. This committee embodied in its report of last year, not only an introduction to their work, but a summary of the Presbyteries. They were compelled, however, to await the completion of the returns from all of them, furnishing as full details as possible concerning the local churches.

We deeply regret that these necessary materials have been delayed so long, and that in some cases they are so inadequate. The difficulties encountered in the Presbyteries have doubtless been very great, and every allowance must be made for failures to secure memorials which time and disaster may have put beyond the reach of the most faithful research. But it is obvious that, until such efforts are exhausted, a consistent and uniform representation of the entire field cannot be obtained.

The following Presbyteries have complied with the expectations of the committee formally, and, to a gratifying extent, with judgment and fidelity: Abingdon, East Hanover, Greenbrier, Maryland, Montgomery, Roanoke, and Winchester. The Presbyteries of Chesapeake and West Hanover have forwarded detached papers from most of the churches under their

care, and these are in a few instances very full and of great value. The papers, however, require to be carefully digested before they can be utilized in a general work.

The committee cannot comply, as it would like to do, with the instruction of the Synod for the citations of authorities, inasmuch as these authorities are the papers furnished by the Presbyteries, and just referred to. What disposition shall be made of the great mass of these documents other than that which has been recommended by the Centennial Synod of 1888, it is not for us to say. Should it please the Synod of this year to continue the programme then adopted, we must ask for a renewal of the appropriation of funds adequate to the object, since no expenditure has been made so far. We also submit to this body a brief chapter containing a general view of the active operations of the Synod and its public influence during the earlier period of its history. Also, by a different hand, a succinct statement of the origin and subsequent conduct of Union Theological Seminary. The more recent annals of the body must remain for a future day. It should be stated that the Presbytery of Redstone, in connection with the Northern Assembly, and the two Presbyteries of Transylvania, North and South, have made extensive reports similar to our own. That of Redstone particularly is elaborate and of great historical importance. If we may be permitted to make a suggestion, we would recommend a determination by the Synod of the question, What shall be done with these heterogeneous papers, whether they shall be made the basis of a connected history, or simply strung together in their present form, and printed as carefully as their structure will admit?

We have gone too far to recede. The papers are too valuable and interesting to be suppressed. If it be possible with a moderate outlay to put them in a readable and enduring form for future generations, with a descriptive catalogue of all our rural churches, and such a map as Maj. Hotchkiss has projected, the Synod may thereby secure a title to the gratitude of the entire church.

Very respectfully submitted,

JAS. A. WADDELL,
WM. WIRT HENRY,
P. B. PRICE.

Committee.

This report was referred to a special committee: R. P. Kerr, D. D., W. A. Campbell, D. D., H. Swineford.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE TO EXAMINE AND REPORT ON
SYNODICAL HISTORICAL MATERIALS.

The committee to whom were referred the MSS. of an additional chapter of the Centennial History of the Synod, prepared by the Historical Committee, Rev. J. A. Waddell, D. D., chairman, and of an historical sketch of Union Theological Seminary, report that they have read the documents with pleasure and profit, and cordially recommend that they be published together with the historical sketch presented last year, and the address of Hon. J. Randolph Tucker, delivered at the centennial meeting of Synod, and also the historical materials prepared by Rev. Moses D. Hoge, D. D., in response to a request of this body, to be laid on the table during the present sessions.

We recommend that all these documents be entrusted to the hands of an Editing Committee who shall be instructed, if the way be clear, to publish an edition of one thousand copies of a book, consisting of these valuable materials, for general circulation.

We also recommend that the committee, if they deem it expedient, shall include in this work a map of the Synod after the one prepared by Maj. Jed Hotchkiss.

We further recommend that the Editing Committee be authorized, if necessary, to draw upon the treasurer of the Synod for a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars, as it is believed that this amount, together with the proceeds of sales, will be sufficient to defray the expense of publication. All moneys received by the committee in excess shall be paid over to the treasurer of the Synod of Virginia.

We nominate as Editing and Publishing Committee, Rev. Wm. Dinwiddie, D. D., Rev. G. L. Petrie, D. D., and Howard Swineford, Esq.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT P. KERR,
Chairman.

A GENERAL SURVEY.

The task assigned by the Synod of 1886 to its Historical Committee was, for reasons elsewhere given, performed to a very limited extent by the time appointed for their report, in October, 1888. At its meeting of that date, at New Providence Church, the Synod resolved to continue its historical work through the same committee, and provided additional facilities for its accomplishment. In the prosecution of this duty the committee have encountered the most serious obstacles from deficient and discordant materials. They have, moreover, been embarrassed by the inequality of the *data* placed in their hands, making some points on the subject to be treated geographically and chronologically luminous, whilst others of equal importance are left in impenetrable obscurity.

Instead of a well-digested narrative, drawn from all reliable sources, they have felt themselves constrained, by inseparable limitation of time and space, to confine their labors to such a delineation of the growth of Presbyterianism in our bounds as may be gathered from the papers furnished them by the several Presbyteries.

Before entering upon the work of construction, it may be well to prepare ourselves for the alternate emotions of regret and thanksgiving which are to be expected from its details. Our actual growth has been sufficiently marked to call forth a lively gratitude to Him who planted the Presbyterian church as a vine in the wilderness, and has conspicuously owned and blessed it to the present hour. But the fact is notorious that, compared with several other Protestant bodies in Virginia, our numerical progress has been slow. If we seek for causes we fail to find them in our faith or our polity. These have been for centuries our permanent characteristics. Changes

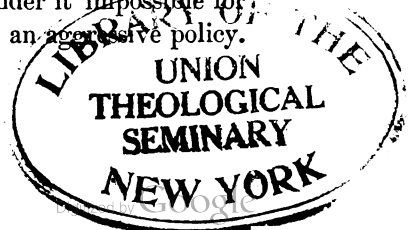
of results imply a change of habits and not necessarily of principles. The causes which have secured to Presbyterianism its brightest pages of success and triumph are, of course, not responsible for its losses and failures. At the date of the organization of the Synod of Virginia, in 1788, the prospect was full of promise for the advancement of our branch of the church. Human calculation gave assurance that it would lead the vanguard in the glorious march of Christian civilization. The close of the century, however, finds us in some respects excelled by others in the fraternal contest. The reasons must necessarily be sought chiefly in a lack of men and means for the diffusion of the truth, and not in our inherited principles, which in other parts of the world have proved eminently acceptable to an enlightened public.

In the earlier part of the century under review, the organizations of this church in Virginia were large and encouraging. The area it occupied had, however, been considerably diminished in portions of the State exposed to the devastation of war. The success of the Revolution had been somewhat depressing to religion, and in some counties of the tide-water region, such as Lancaster, New Kent, Charles City, and others south of the James, it had destroyed or suspended several promising organizations. Many of the more intelligent and substantial citizens had removed to the upper parts of the State, and the remaining population were left with spiritual provision altogether inadequate. Indigenous preachers, pious but poorly educated, were the leaders of religious enterprise, and introduced innovations more captivating than scriptural among an unenlightened people. The result is visible in a general occupation of the region referred to by societies popular in structure, anabaptist and immersionist in practice, and in respect to creed, Calvinistic, without formal adoption of a system. The Christian heart cannot deny the hand of God in providing thus for thousands of the poor in their desolation. But we must be pardoned for an expression of regret that so few were the

resources of the Presbyterian church in men and money in the early experience of this Synod, that these eastern counties were left to depend upon the evangelistic labors of a ministry whose qualifications were so far inferior to their devotion.

The unavoidable loss of territory is, however, less humiliating than the defection of many of our youth in other communities, and under other conditions. After the adoption of complete religious freedom and equality by the commonwealth the Presbyterians of Virginia manifested some loss of zeal. The civil equality of the churches made an impression which still prevails among those whose interest in spiritual things is deficient, that all evangelical churches are equally worthy of extension, and that it is a matter of convenience in which of them a Christian may be enrolled. It should excite no surprise, therefore, that in a period of spiritual apathy such as followed in all denominations, the Revolution and Independence, very slight causes sufficed to disperse many of the adherents of a denomination so catholic as the Presbyterian among other churches. The fact is open to observation that a considerable portion of the membership in other communions consists of persons who, for various reasons, have renounced the specific faith which their parents had held. Our own church also contains many who were brought up under other systems. But the percentage of such homes on her part is larger than that of others, in proportion, as she surpasses them in liberality on the one hand, and in lack of zeal for distinctive principles on the other.

This process began in the early period of our history. The number of educated young men who sought the work of the ministry was deplorably small in the beginning of the present century. The growth of population created a demand for domestic missionaries far in excess of the supply. Existing congregations began to monopolize the services of the few ministers of our faith in Virginia, and to render it impossible for the Presbyteries or the Synod to sustain an aggressive policy.



The consequence was that ground abandoned in some eastern counties could not be recovered. The explorations of Rev. Archibald Alexander and Rev. Benjamin Grigsby brought painfully to light the extent of our desolations, and the distressing inadequacy of our itinerant force to sow again the seeds of our doctrine and polity in communities deeply prejudiced against them.

It is no unusual thing in the most orthodox churches for the tone of spirituality to decline. And such was confessedly the case with the Presbyterians who lived in our bounds in the period of transition from the colonial to the republican era. The world had invaded the church to a large extent with its secular spirit, and the French Revolution had propagated, even throughout Protestant America, a mischievous suggestion of unbelief. Under such influences our fathers, who had manifested a heroic firmness in defense of their own religious principles, and contended so gloriously in behalf of the rights of conscience, sank gradually into a state of cold indifference, by which was impaired not only their devotion to Christ, but their zeal for Presbyterian principles. Unlike the contemporary moderation of Scotland and Ireland, the apathy of our American churches was excessively liberal and too ready to yield advantages once secured for their own institutions. There is no alternative for us. We must either confess that our scriptural system is adapted only to certain races and classes, or candidly admit that a period of religious decline occurred in our early history, relatively reducing the staff of our ministry and transferring to other denominations the numerical ascendancy which might have been won by ourselves. All this is acknowledged with a profound conviction that Presbyterianism, vitalized and spiritualized by the indwelling grace of God, is the most potent factor in the world for the diffusion and defense of the truth.

The remedy then needed for unfaithfulness to inherited principles was not to be found in a spirit of bigotry, but in

another baptism of the Holy Ghost. A period of revival was entered upon, which at first was enjoyed by a few congregations, but gradually extended its influence from its point of origin to many of the churches in the Valley, and on the western border. It was then that Presbyterianism intrenched itself in its strongholds where it still prevails, and from which its activities have been extended in more recent times. The names of Mitchell, Smith, Graham, Lacy, Turner, Le Grand, Waddell, Hoge, Lyle, and others of the same spirit are forever associated with this awakening, and the evangelistic labors that marked its progress.

When in 1788 the Synod of Virginia was organized, the state of the church within its bounds was such as we have here indicated. In the east, there was depression, and in some localities an actual decline. In the west, immigration and natural causes maintained a growth in numerical strength, but for some years the spirit of the times had obstructed the Gospel. But now a period of revival had dawned upon the church, and not only was the tendency to desertion arrested, but many earnest converts were gathered in, and a number of new laborers were added to the staff of the ministry. David Rice, John D. Blair, Archibald Alexander, Benjamin Grigsby, Conrad Speece, Casy Allen, William Calhoun, Scott, Marshall, McIlhenny, and others, had been added to the working force; but still the whole number in the field, was utterly insufficient to man the churches and perform aggressive service. And here we observe another cause for the retarded growth of this branch of the church in Virginia. Ministers educated up to the required standard were not secured in adequate numbers at any period of its history. The relative increase of some other denominations, surpassing our own in numbers, has been due in part to their employment of laborers on less exacting terms. We are not prepared, however, to admit that the cause of truth has positively gained by an ignorant class of evangelists. But it should be confessed

that our church has in its bosom a large reserved force among the eldership and private members that has not been sufficiently utilized. How far we may have erred and become responsible for consequences, is not a matter for present inquiry. But we may be permitted to question the right of any denomination, claiming a scriptural confession and system of government, to be satisfied with such an experience. Were the successes of other sects wholly due to their departures from the truth, we might be contented with the name and reproach of an orthodox remnant. But candor requires us to admit that the precious Gospel, in its fundamental articles, has been in a measure faithfully proclaimed by others, as well as by ourselves, and that the present generation of Virginians, if not equal to some Presbyterian communities, is at least bearing the fruits by which true prophets are to be distinguished. Several Christian bodies not bearing our name surpass us now in numbers, and are our rivals in influence. That they have supplanted us in various quarters we must in consistency regret, but cannot blame them for their efforts in the common cause, especially where our own supineness has yielded to them the ground.

Surveying the field, as it appeared for some years after the Synod was formed, we find the congregations widely scattered through several groups of counties, chiefly south of the James, or west of the Blue Ridge, and served on an average less than once a month with stated preaching and worship. Prayer-meetings and Sunday-schools were unknown, and their equivalents rarely observed except in family circles or under special evangelistic influences. The unoccupied Sabbaths were appreciated as days of rest, but to a large extent consumed in idleness and self-indulgence. The drift of worldly society was towards laxity of faith and morals, and even nominal Christians decried the strict theology and manners of the older Presbyterians.

The tide of worldliness was for a time happily arrested in several counties of Virginia, east of the Blue Ridge and south of the James, during the great revival of 1789-90, the benefits of which were long afterwards felt throughout the State. But the secular spirit of a new-born nation just entering upon the enjoyment of independence and liberty, with a great unoccupied continent inviting its youthful energies, was not quenched by the efforts of a handful of evangelists, calling sinners to a holier life. A vast majority of our people continued to be absorbed in temporal enterprises, to the exclusion of all salutary consideration of the world to come.

In all those portions of our territory within tide-water, we discover little indications of spiritual vitality. All was not lost, however, as Mr. Grigsby found in 1801, when appointed by the General Assembly "to itinerate in the lower parts of Virginia," the germ of the present First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, due under God to the unknown pioneer of 1683, and afterwards cultivated by Francis Makemie and Josius Mackie, was still living under the care of John McPhael and William McKinder, ruling elders. But from the Eastern Shore and the Northern Neck we hear nothing, or so little as to afford only a painful retrospect.

Before the close of the period referred to, the Rev. John D. Blair, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Hanover, had been ordained and settled over Pole Green Church, the former charge and home of the lamented Samuel Davies. Mr. Blair was of a well-known lineage, ecclesiastical and literary, in the old country, and brought to his work in Virginia both culture and fidelity. In 1792 he removed to Richmond, and there served, on alternate Sundays, a mixed congregation meeting in the capitol, by a fraternal arrangement with the Rev. Mr. Buchanan of the Episcopal church, with whom he continued to co-operate for many years on terms of the closest friendship and confidence. There was then no organized body of Presbyterians in Richmond, and Mr. Blair appears to

have nobly occupied a lonely outpost of his church, far removed from his brethren.

The darkness of the prospect in all that section of the State is illustrated by the missionary tours of Rev. Archibald Alexander and others through counties and towns where our church is now not only "tolerated" but respected. It seems almost incredible that in many communities Messrs. Alexander and Grigsby encountered as great difficulties as our missionaries do now in China or Turkey. In Petersburg a bigoted opposition to their holding religious services was manifested, not only by "Churchmen," but by others, and they heard themselves openly denounced from the pulpit by the rector and the circuit-rider. Thus in 1792, with the single exception of a small, vacant church in Norfolk, Presbyterianism was extinct or unknown and despised in all that part of Virginia lying east of Richmond and west of the Bay.

We have alluded to a great work of grace among the settlements of Scotch-Irish origin centering in Prince Edward and Charlotte Counties. It had already manifested its power before the Synod was organized. Among its fruits were Nash Le Grand and James Turner. When, in 1789, Mr. Alexander accompanied the Rev. Wm. Graham from Rockbridge to Prince Edward, the revival was still progressing with wonderful results, and seems to have had much to do in determining the future of that eminent man, who had not then become sufficiently satisfied with his experience to make a public profession of religion.

The narrative given by him, and preserved to some extent in his biography, sheds a welcome light upon the religious condition of the churches in that region and affords us a convenient starting point in our review of the papers put into our hands. The Presbyteries of West Hanover and Roanoke divide the ground between them, and from their reports we must chiefly draw the leading facts of the narrative. So far as relates to the history before 1800 we must promise that the

records are very few and tradition very faint; and in order to preserve some uniformity in the report, many interesting details concerning a few localities must be sacrificed for want of corresponding information concerning others.

In that group of churches to which we now refer, as the outgrowth of the Scotch-Irish emigration under John Caldwell and others, we find an intellectual and spiritual life altogether different from that observed in tide-water Virginia. A young literary institution, under the presidency of an eminent Presbyterian divine, had commenced a brilliant career, which it still continues to pursue. Petersburg may not have learned anything favorable of a church whose character commanded the van of American civilization, but this only left a dark reproach upon that ancient borough which she has long since removed from her annals. Around each of the pioneer churches was gathered a considerable population of the same faith and blood, who, in their turn, enjoyed the ministrations of men of fervent piety and the highest culture of the times. The ministers were few, and itinerated among the churches; and sacramental occasions occupying several days were apt to draw many attendants from a distance. This was especially true during the revival, and to one such meeting, at Briery Church, a considerable party of young people came on horseback from the borders of North Carolina.

The kindred settlements of Augusta and Rockbridge also experienced the effects of this spiritual quickening, and many additions were made to the churches accessible to it. Mr. Alexander became more decided in his convictions of duty, took upon him the obligations of a Christian profession, and entered more fully upon preparation for the ministry under Mr. Graham. The impetus given to religious activity continued for years to manifest its power in his youthful labors, and those of others like Le Grand, Hill, Lyle, Grigsby, and Turner, who were "diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." Mr. Alexander, on the one hand, after his

licensure, and some months spent in missionary work in the lower Valley, was appointed with Mr. Grigsby, under the direction of the committee of the Synod, to labor in eastern Virginia on the evangelistic tour already referred to. The same committee had also sent out at different times several other of the younger brethren on similar errands. These appointees traveled very extensively in Virginia and Kentucky, and the commission continued to send out one after another until after 1800. The result was a great increase of demand for pastoral labor and the settlement of nearly all these missionaries in that relation over groups of local congregations. About the beginning of the nineteenth century this form of itineracy, under the direction of Synod, became well-nigh obsolete, and the noble band of evangelists were engaged in the work of construction among the materials gathered to a large extent by their own hands. Mr. Grigsby at Norfolk, Mr. Alexander at Cub Creek, Mr. Le Grand in Frederick, and Mr. Lyle and Mr. Allen in Kentucky were no less useful in their now-limited spheres than they had been on their arduous travels as missionary heralds. But the Presbyterian system contemplates a full supply of laborers in both the evangelistic and pastoral offices, and in its application to American society it has proved inadequate to its own exalted requirements. As a separate denomination this church could not consistently propose anything less than to impress its doctrine and character upon all men who should come under its influence. But in its actual history, especially at the beginning, for reasons not now to be examined, this body of Christians failed to follow the apostolic methods, in employing ordained elders in every church to feed the flock of God as its spiritual "overseers," and at the same time to maintain a sufficient corps of itinerants in the field to serve, like Paul and Silas, Barnabas and Mark, Timothy, Titus, and Apollos, the external purposes of the kingdom of Christ. Looking back upon the condition of society in the earlier days of independence, we find no lack of

apostolic consecration and energy in that small band of ministers who chiefly engaged in the work in either capacity. But the insufficiency of the force was ever a matter of lamentation, and the people had not yet learned the great idea of the Gospel, that the church itself is both a receptacle of grace and a center of spiritual activity. The piety of the times was personal and experimental, but deficient in the sense of corporate obligation. The spirit of missions, domestic and foreign, was still dormant among the lay members of the church, and they had not yet realized the requirement of Christ, that *all* must either go or send others to preach to a dying world the glad tidings of salvation.

The condition of society in Virginia was, at the time referred to, favorable alike to the aggressiveness of Methodism, and the local independence and popular sovereignty of the Baptists. The one met the difficulty experienced in supplying a regular series of religious services with the heroic remedy of circuit-riding throughout the country. The other satisfied the demand by the opposite extreme of voluntary development from the bosom of each community. Both denominations admitted candidates for the sacred office with a brief and limited preparation. Illiteracy in the pulpit was indeed repulsive to the educated few, but the masses of that day easily tolerated men like themselves, in whom the knowledge of books was not expected, but whose sincerity and zeal were unquestionable.

The Presbyterians of Scotland, under the leadership of Knox, associated primary education with religion in a necessary and permanent union. From that day the same policy has been characteristic of the system, whenever it has been possible to preserve it. But in Virginia, after the Revolution, the obstacles to its successful application were of the most formidable character. The population was sparse, competent teachers were rarely to be found, and, above all, the attention of the people was diverted, by their novel circum-

stances, to the acquisition of property rather than knowledge. For the education of the masses the Presbyterian ministers could do nothing but encourage learning in higher institutions, from which, by absorption downwards, the lower strata might be indirectly benefited. But the process was slow, and it is obvious that such a church was greatly impeded by conditions for which it has no remedy. It is probably true, however hard to demonstrate, that the generation arriving on the stage of active life about the beginning of this century was, on the whole, less enlightened than that which colonized the borders of the commonwealth. The scholarship of a few was advancing with the literature of Europe, but the laboring multitude was far from sharing in its advantages.

Ignorance is not, and never has been favorable to Christianity, and it is certain that Presbyterianism does not flourish where the people are indifferent to the educational interests of their children. Even among the more intelligent classes the objections usually urged against our system are almost universally due to a childish want of information concerning the scriptural and historical grounds upon which it rests.

The province of history is to instruct future generations. The lessons afforded by the earlier annals of our church in this country seem to point to a policy in which both conservative and aggressive forces shall be combined. And we should not borrow from other sects the means of efficiency which we need. They are to be found already in those sacred sources from which our system is derived. The apostolical churches were not vacant because apostles and evangelists were absent on duty. A body of pastors still remained to feed the flock of God. Neither do we find the evangelistic work superseded by the pastoral relation. Our principles clearly require both institutions in permanent action. It would be unjust to deny the credit due to our fathers of the past century for their zeal in behalf of a higher education. They could do little to extend a wholesome culture among the masses. In spite of all

their efforts to the contrary, new generations were doomed to a mental darkness exceeding that of the the pioneers of the Scotch-Irish race. But the Presbyterian church took the lead of all other denominations in founding and cherishing institutions of learning for the sons of families having a sufficiency of means to fit them for the ministry. The Presbytery of Hanover, about the beginning of the Revolution, took steps for the establishment of two academies for this purpose, the one in Prince Edward County, and the other in what afterwards became the county of Rockbridge. The latter was originally a private school, under the Rev. John Brown, of New Providence, and the Presbytery adopted it, under the rectorship or superintendence of Mr. Brown, and the local management and instruction of Rev. William Graham, who, like the former, was a graduate of the College of Princeton. Several years elapsed before the location of the school became permanent. Circumstances finally led to the selection of a site in the neighborhood of the present town of Lexington, which it long occupied under the name of Liberty Hall Academy, and finally gave up for a more convenient one within the limits of the town. A body of trustees nominated by the Presbytery was organized in 1776, and included some of the foremost citizens of the infant State. They were the Rev. Messrs. John Brown, James Waddell, Charles Cummins, William Irvin, and the rector, William Graham, *ex officio*, in conjunction with Mr. Thomas Lewis, Gen. Andrew Lewis, Col. William Christian, Col. William Fleming, Mr. Thomas Stewart, Mr. Samuel Lyle, Mr. John Grattan, Col. William Preston, Mr. Sampson Matthews, Col. John Bowyer, Major Samuel McDowell, Mr. William McPheeters, Capt. Alexander Stewart, Capt. William McKee, Mr. John Houston, Mr. Charles Campbell, Capt. George Moffit, Mr. William Ward, and Capt. John Lewis, of the Warm Springs.

This body of trustees, named by the Presbytery of Hanover, received the charter in 1782, under which they and their law-

ful successors have continued to control and direct the institution ever since. An unwarranted attempt of the Legislature to reconstruct the board was met with indignant protest from its members, and was subsequently repealed. The charter converted the academy into a college with the usual powers and privileges, and then began the brilliant career of Washington College, after receiving a liberal donation from George Washington in 1793.

The Rev. William Graham retired from the Presidency in 1796, and was succeeded by Samuel L. Campbell, M. D., who was followed, in 1799, by Rev. George A. Baxter in a term of thirty years. Among the eminent ministers of the Presbyterian church who attended Washington College between 1782 and 1800, we notice the names of Archibald Alexander, George A. Baxter, William McPheeters, John H. Rice, and Conrad Speece. The board of trustees was during the same period, as subsequently, composed chiefly of Presbyterian ministers and laymen, or others in whom the confidence of our people was well known. The Presbytery of Hanover, after explicitly placing the institution on a catholic basis, ceased to exercise any direct control, and left the board to conduct it in accordance with the dictates of an enlightened and liberal policy. It has never been of a narrow, sectarian character, and never can be so perverted so long as the board shall continue faithful to their obvious trust.

• Simultaneously with these early measures to found a first-class institution of learning in the Valley of Virginia, the same noble race of men were moving by the same channels to establish a similar school on the east of the Blue Ridge. Hanover Presbytery initiated the scheme in 1774, and in February, 1775, appointed as trustees of Prince Edward Academy the Rev. Messrs. Sankey, John Todd, Samuel Leake, and Caleb Wallace, with Mr. Peter Johnston, Col. Paul Carrington, Col. John Nash, Jr., Capt. John Morton, Capt. Nathaniel Venable, Col. Thomas Read, Mr. James Venable, Mr. Francis Wat-

kins, and the future superintendent, *ex officio*. Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith was then chosen as rector of the academy. On November 8th succeeding, the Presbytery added to the board, Rev. David Rice, Col. Patrick Henry, Col. John Todd, Col. William Cabell, and Col. James Madison, Jr. Mr. Smith was, on November 9th, installed pastor of Cumberland and Prince Edward Churches, and took charge of the academy with Mr. J. B. Smith and Mr. Springer as assistants. The Presbytery had previously adopted a catholic basis for the institution under Presbyterian forms, and it continued to struggle with countless difficulties during the trying period of the Revolution. At the close of that period, President Smith resigned to accept a chair in the college of Princeton, and his brother and assistant, Rev. John Blair Smith, was chosen by the Presbytery to succeed him. In 1783 a charter was secured, naming as trustees all those surviving who at different times had been nominated by the Presbytery, with three others. The Presbyterian interest was well preserved by such a body, as the subsequent history of the institution clearly shows; and by the new organization, under the significant name of Hampden-Sidney College, it had steadily grown in public confidence, and in appreciation by the denomination by and for which it was planted. No literary institution in the State ever had a finer board of trustees, and none in proportion to numbers has ever sent forth a more distinguished body of graduates to shine in every professional sphere.

It thus appears that while the times were exceedingly unfavorable to a general education, the Presbyterians of Virginia were the recognized leaders in founding two great seats of learning at the very dawn of independence, and exhibited a characteristic zeal for this noble cause which other sects never emulated or imitated until several generations had passed away. From these facts we discover that to them was due in a large measure not only the preservation of the colony, and the independence of the State, but the rescue of society within its

bounds from the advancing tide of skepticism and false philosophy. The crisis was momentous. The influence of the French Revolution, then approaching its development, was not confined to forms of government but extended to the principles that underly all government, and started the most radical inquiries that were ever presented to the human mind. It questioned not only the *jus divinum* of kings but the sovereignty and even the being of the "King of kings." Faith and speculative reason had already engaged, both in Europe and America, in deadly conflict for the control of future generations and all depended, in Virginia at least, upon the agencies employed under Providence in guiding the thought and moulding the character of her educated youth. In this race for a strategic position Christianity was successful, through the Presbyterian church, in establishing the two colleges of Washington and Hampden-Sidney on a religious foundation so early in our history, and acquiring an influence among educated men which rendered an institution of antagonistic character impossible on our soil. But for this, humanly speaking, the education of our youth would probably have fallen, early in the present century, into the hands of men of great secular learning, but destitute of all reverent regard for Christian institutions and the sacred oracles.

The dominant ideas of the American people at the epoch of independence was not rationalistic, but respectful towards the dictates of faith and conscience. A hundred years have to a great extent subverted those ideas in certain parts of the Union. In these communities we find reason generally assumed to be a safer guide than either revelation or experience. The ecclesiastical bodies of New England, especially those in which a Puritan theology prevailed, suffered greatly from the inroads of this spirit several generations ago, and the contagion has ever since poisoned the air of current religious thought over a considerable extent of country around the intellectual centers of Yale and Harvard. The Presbyterians of Virginia owe a

heavy debt to their earlier guides in the ministry, for a more wholesome form of culture, and a theology less imbued with the spirit of speculation—a standard of spiritual thought which has not been forsaken by any party or theological school in our midst.

These teachers followed by the teachers of other religious bodies impressed upon the infant commonwealth certain permanent tendencies that were incompatible with the theorizing habit of the French political philosophers, the inclinations of a few American statesmen, and the religious rationalism of some Protestant churches. The Scriptures, as a revelation from God, were reverently received if not spiritually embraced by the great body of our population. We are still happily exempt from the tendency manifested elsewhere to handle the word of God with unwarranted freedom. Our systems differ according to certain old lines of distinction, but Calvinists and Arminians, Churchmen and Independents, are alike opposed to those dangerous innovations which have so much marred the harmony of the New England churches. The consequence of these conservative habits, which are so largely due to our Presbyterian fathers, has been a conspicuous freedom from various forms of fanaticism whose blight has fallen upon church and State in communities differently constituted. Even in times of great temptation these churches have carefully avoided complication, and confined their counsels with great strictness within the spiritual sphere. In the midst of war and revolution our Presbyterian church courts have visited upon their members no ecclesiastical censures and penalties for political differences, and generally abstained from all bitter denunciation of persons and parties at whose hands our people were called to suffer. In all these trials the original character of self-control was admirably preserved.

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, wherever found, is always inclined to meditate upon practical results. He may be dogmatic, but his dogmatism is literal rather than speculative. He

is orthodox, because he accepts the plain teachings of the word of God without weighing it in the scales of reason. He knows it must be wholly true or altogether false. In his eyes an eclectic creed is the fruit of human presumption, and a mutilated Bible the product of a daring sacrilege. His robust common sense cannot listen with patience to the suggestive insinuating refinements of a transcendental speculation, which seeks to resolve the full orb of divine truth into a shapeless, nebulous mass of drifting vapor. Very rarely has the race produced a poet or a writer of fiction ; but it has given to the world the themes and characters by which genius is inspired. Great statesmen and orators, great generals and heroic soldiers, the most stalwart defenders of the truth, and the most ardent missionaries of the cross, poets in action, and originals that justify the noblest ideals,—all these have sprung abundantly from the iron race whose traits are so conspicuous in American history.

The commingling of races and varieties of mankind, like composite forces, always result in a modification of character in succeeding generations. Such has been the case in Virginia where, before the close of the last century, four races, or national varieties, met and coalesced into a common mass. English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, and in a small degree the Huguenot French, all combined to produce the assimilated population of the present day. These were equally advanced, or nearly so, in a cotemporaneous civilization, and in such cases we find little lost or gained by the amalgamation. But, obviously, if two varieties very unequal in their inherited tendencies had been brought into the same relation the result would have been a great gain to the one and a corresponding loss to the other. Among the English settlers in eastern Virginia a considerable number of negro savages from Africa had been introduced as slaves by the iniquitous slave-trade. The piety of the times manifested itself conspicuously in efforts to civilize and Christianize this unfortunate element, and many

of them had been gathered into the churches as hopeful subjects of the grace of God. It had not, however, been conceived by the Christian people of Virginia that the religion of Jesus required of the superior races an absolute equality with the inferior by removing every barrier to amalgamation. The doctrine of equality in the Virginia Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence was cordially subscribed but not in a sense subversive of their existing civilization or of that social subordination everywhere taught in the Gospel. Much less did they dream that Christianity required of individuals and races an instantaneous division of every providential advantage with their fellow-men less gifted and endowed. All men, even now, admit that this literal interpretation of political or biblical principles is fanatical and impossible. But the honest and conscientious Christianity of Virginia Protestants nevertheless failed to anticipate the possibility that their descendants might be forced into a condition of sore embarrassment in their dealings with their lately-emancipated slaves. Such is the present posture of the races towards each other that our access to the negro people for their religious improvement is rendered extremely difficult by the presence of agents of another Presbyterian body professing a warmer zeal for their welfare. In such a position another occasion is presented for the exercise of that wise conservatism which we have inherited, and guided by facts rather than theories, we may in faith and patience await the interposition of Him who is the author and preserver of a well-ordered liberty, the enemy of all confusion and licentiousness.

We close this general survey with a brief history of Union Theological Seminary, Prince Edward County, Virginia, with some references to early theological education in the United States.

Prior to the movement in behalf of distinct institutions for theological instruction, which began several years before 1812,

there were certain methods for the training of ministers.

These were such as are necessary expedients in the early history of the church in any country where the population is yet too sparse and the people too poor for the establishment of larger seminaries.

As Presbyterians came over during the eighteenth century from Great Britain and the north of Ireland and France, they brought with them that intelligent desire for an educated ministry, and that degree of religious knowledge which demanded that their teachers should be well furnished intellectually as well as spiritually. But they found themselves in the wilderness. The preachers who came with them, or followed them, in response to the Macedonian cry which was often wafted across the Atlantic, were not sufficient for the demand.

There were feeble congregations that needed pastoral care, and scattered members of the fold that called for the services of the evangelist.

A few candidates for the ministry went abroad and received their theological training at the schools of the old country. Academies arose in places out of the way, where clerical learning flourished to an excellence that presented a singular contrast with the rude habitations of early settlers in the forest. After receiving a literary education at such institutions, young men pursued their theological studies under the instruction of "approved divines," to whom they became not unworthy successors to perpetuate the influence of sound knowledge and religion. The "Log College" of the Tennents, the first school of the prophets, was the nursery of able and consecrated expounders of the truth, whose luminous discourses furnish strong meat for ministers of a day far more favored with all the means of instruction.

The regular colleges, of which there were several, founded during the last half of the century, were, to a limited extent, theological schools. Their presidents were generally ministers of the Gospel and teachers of moral philosophy. To

them it was a labor of love to impart of their stores to such young men as desired to enter the sacred office. These institutions were Washington, Jefferson, and Dickinson Colleges, in Pennsylvania; Transylvania, in Kentucky, and Hampden-Sidney and Washington in Virginia. "Connected with the last named," says Dr. B. M. Smith, "while it was known as 'Liberty Hall' and then as 'Washington Academy,' there was formed by the rector, Rev. William Graham, in 1796, the first 'theological class' ever known south of the Potomac, and perhaps the first, under Presbyterian auspices, in the United States." Among his pupils were Moses Hoge, Archibald Alexander, and Matthew Lyle.

The early presidents of Hampden-Sidney extended seasonable and valuable instruction to students under their care who were candidates for the ministry. Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, the first president, was the theological teacher of his brother, Rev. John Blair Smith, the second president, and the latter, in turn, gave instruction to Rev. Drury Lacy, who after the resignation of his preceptor, was for some time acting-president of the college. And it is interesting to record that John H. Rice, the founder of Union Theological Seminary, was, in 1801, while a tutor at Hampden-Sidney, pursuing his theological studies under the direction of Archibald Alexander, then president of that institution, and afterwards the founder of Princeton Theological Seminary and its professor of theology for forty years.

At a session of Hanover Presbytery, April, 1806, certain action was taken which may be regarded as the germ of Union Theological Seminary. Its immediate object was to give form, and substance, and greater efficiency to the study of theology at Hampden-Sidney College. Its ulterior effect was to inaugurate measures that finally led to the establishment of the Seminary, and the moving spirit in this initiatory step, as in the later and more conspicuous work, was John H. Rice; while to Archibald Alexander, still president of the college at this

time, and to Conrad Speece, who had been intimately associated with Mr. Rice as a tutor there, is likewise due some of the honor which belongs to this movement. Doubtless, too, the name of Matthew Lyle deserves to be mentioned with these three as a warm and useful co-worker, whose zeal in this behalf was crowned with joy when, eighteen years afterwards, he administered the oath at the induction of John H. Rice into office as first professor of theology in the Seminary.

The action of Hanover Presbytery was as follows :

“Taking into consideration the deplorable state of our country as to religious instruction, the very small number of ministers possessing the qualifications required by the Scriptures, and the prevalence of ignorance and error,

“*Resolved 1st.* That an attempt should be made to establish at Hampden-Sidney College, a complete theological library, for the benefit of those who have already engaged in the work of the ministry, or may hereafter devote themselves to that sacred employment.

“2. That an attempt should be made to establish a fund for the purpose of educating poor and pious youth for the ministry of the Gospel.”

The following were appointed a standing committee to carry these resolutions into effect.

Ministers: Archibald Alexander, Matthew Lyle, Conrad Speece, and John H. Rice. Ruling Elders: James Morton, Robert Quarles, and James Daniel.

Mr. Rice was appointed a special agent to solicit donations, in books and money, for the objects contemplated in this paper. Mr. Alexander removed, in 1807, to Philadelphia; Mr. Speece was no longer at Hampden-Sidney. But Mr. Rice had the sympathy and encouragement of these brethren, and Mr. Lyle was nearer than they to render that support which he never ceased to give to this cause. Mr. Rice was at this time burdened with the care of a large pastoral field in Charlotte County, Virginia, but he entered upon the agency

with his usual energy, and was successful in accumulating a considerable fund.

In 1807, Dr. Moses Hoge succeeded to the presidency of Hampden-Sidney College.

In 1812 this estimable minister was appointed by the Synod of Virginia as professor of Divinity, and though he still continued to be president of the college, the new appointment was regarded as the establishment of a Synodical Theological Seminary. The proposal had been duly sent down to the Presbyteries and approved by them; and though the General Assembly, this same year, established Princeton Seminary, with Dr. Alexander as leading professor, that court gave its approval to the Synodical Theological School at Hampden-Sidney.

Dr. Alexander bore with him to Princeton the interest in theological education at Hampden-Sidney, which, with his affection for everything that pertained to his beloved Virginia, never ceased during his long and useful life in a distant field of labor. This year, 1812, was also the year of Mr. Rice's removal to Richmond, where he organized the First Presbyterian Church, erected two houses of worship, and for more than eleven years, besides the burden of his pastoral charge, which constantly increased in importance, bore the weight of public cares in the service of the church, the aggregate of which was amazing. During all this time his interest in theological education at Hampden-Sidney, and his efforts in this behalf, continued. The pages of the "Literary and Evangelical Magazine," which, in these years, he began and continued to publish under so many difficulties, while devoted to every cause that could promote the true welfare of the Presbyterian church and the purity of the Christian religion, exerted an important influence in stimulating the growing sentiment in favor of some special institution for the training of the ministers. He rejoiced in the success of Dr. Hoge, by whom thirty students were trained for the ministry, but did not then per-

ceive, as afterward so plainly appeared, that the Synod's professor of divinity was preparing the way for himself and the crowning work of his life.

The death of Dr. Hoge in 1820 cast a shadow over the church in Virginia, and was lamented as far as the Godly character and sanctified life and learning of this most Christian gentleman were known; and none of his brethren more keenly felt the loss that the church had sustained than the Rev. John H. Rice.

In estimating the influence of Dr. Hoge as a preacher, president, and theological teacher, which is known in the Presbyterian church, we have a well-authenticated fact, recently furnished by an honored minister of another denomination, which suggests an under-range of view; and that the fruits of his labors will be found far beyond the boundary of that fold which he loved as a part of the church of God, to all the branches of which his catholic spirit extended his Christian affections.

It seems appropriate that men of liberal minds should now and then find their monuments in the wider field that surrounds their own enclosure. Rev. Dr. Sydnor, of Nottaway County, Virginia, in some reminiscences published in the "Religious Herald," furnishes substantially the following narrative:

"Edward Baptist, a candidate for the ministry in the Baptist church, was a student at Hampden-Sidney College, and received his theological instruction from Dr. Hoge. This young man, himself a gifted orator, as well as a zealous Christian, inspired by the beautiful life of his teacher and charmed with his eloquence, entered with great energy upon the work of securing for his own people the advantages of an educated ministry. He visited associations, he spoke, and prayed, and labored for this end. Finally, with such assistance as he could obtain, he established, in Powhatan County, Virginia, an academy for literary and theological education, which should be open to the poorest students; with arrangements by which

manual labor might be combined with study, for economical reasons. This humble institution, was, like the 'Log College' of the Presbyterians to Princeton, the first step towards a larger and more commanding school. In the course of years it passed under the control of the Baptist Education Board of Virginia, by whom, about the 1832, it was removed to Richmond, and became 'Richmond College.' The present proportions of this institution sufficiently illustrate the labors of Edward Baptist, and the influence of Moses Hoge."

We now return to the theme immediately before us, the gradual rise of Union Theological Seminary.

Mr. Rice's correspondence at this period—immediately after the death of Dr. Hoge in 1820—shows his deep concern as to what was now to be done.

His mind was turned to Dr. Alexander as Dr. Hoge's successor, and not a few too sanguine friends, probably for a while, indulged the hope that he might be recalled to Virginia. But the indications of Providence too plainly directed his course. During the eight years spent at Princeton Seminary the success and growing importance of his work had already so forecast its ultimate magnitude, that, with reflecting minds, the interest of the ministry and the church at large must soon have appeared too powerful to permit the control of personal partiality and local advantage.

Two years elapsed before the decisive step was taken. The Synod of Virginia then restored the theological department at Hampden-Sidney to the care of Hanover Presbytery, to be conducted thenceforward, not as an adjunct of the college, but as a separate and distinct "Theological Seminary."

The Presbytery committed the control of the institution to a board of trustees, whose names deserve a record in this sketch. They were—*Ministers*, William S. Reed, of Lynchburg; Clement Read, of Charlotte; John B. Hoge, of Richmond; Benjamin H. Rice, of Petersburg; John Kirkpatrick, of Cumberland; John D. Paxton, of Goochland; and Matthew Lyle, of Prince Edward: *Laymen*, Col. James Madison,

Capt. Nathaniel Price, Maj. James Morton, Mr. Moses Treadway, and Dr. William S. Morton, of Prince Edward.

Rev. Dr. John H. Rice was elected professor of theology, and Professor James Marsh, of Hampden-Sidney College, was employed to teach the Hebrew language.

About the same time that Dr. Rice was elected to the chair of theology in the new seminary yet almost without "a local habitation or a name," he was chosen to the presidency of Princeton College.

The zeal with which, by some of the most distinguished friends of that institution, he was urged to accept this office shows the high estimation in which he was held, and that, by his exalted aims, his Christian character, his energy and ability and devotion to duty, he had acquired a national reputation. Eminent men in the middle States, in their eloquent appeals, went so far as to say that his acceptance of the position was necessary to the existence of the college. Prominent among these were Rev. Dr. Miller, Rev. Dr. McDowell, and Chief Justice Kirkpatrick, who, as a committee to inform him of his election and secure his acceptance, most zealously performed their duty.

From the advantages which belonged to the presidency of an established institution, honors and emoluments cordially tendered, and the warm hearts of many friends ready to receive him with open arms, he turned to the difficult work in Prince Edward, and set his face, in faith, to the wilderness.

The congregation of the First Church at Richmond, with deep and tender feeling, surrendered their pastor for the public good.

The beginning of the seminary at Hampden-Sidney in the fall of 1823 was most humble. The professor of theology and his wife had not a house for their dwelling-place. The lodgings of President Cushing, of the college, were narrow and crowded, but his heart was large and generous. He received Mr. and Mrs. Rice under his roof, and by ingenious

devices and contrivances among the several members of the household, they were enabled there to abide.

The question of a recitation room for the first theological class was equally difficult. There was on the premises of the hospitable president a rude outhouse, and in this obscure edifice, with three students, Union Theological Seminary began.

These students were Jesse S. Armistead, Robert Burwell, and Thomas P. Hunt, all of whom obtained in subsequent years distinction by their useful labors in the church. Mr. Hunt acquired a national reputation by his speeches and writings in the great temperance reformation fifty years ago. Dr. Burwell (in 1889) still survives, and in the ministerial roll of the year, is set down as stated supply of Oakland Church, in Orange Presbytery, North Carolina. His place of residence is Raleigh; his age, eighty-seven on the 12th of June, 1889. He is also principal of Peare Institute, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Dr. Rice, while slowly recovering from a severe illness, had visited the northern States, in the summer of 1823, and at various places presented the claims of Union Theological Seminary, and received substantial encouragement from brethren who honored and loved him—some of whom were ready to acknowledge their indebtedness to their southern brethren for valuable pecuniary assistance received in previous years.

The growth of the seminary to its present high state of usefulness demands the grateful acknowledgement of the church to the gracious Head from whom all good counsels and all good men proceed.

There have been critical periods in its history; it has passed through fiery trials in its later as well as in its earlier years, the remembrance of which, and of the deliverances which followed, demand that its friends should say, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." Time would fail to tell of all who have borne the burden and heat of the day.

To Dr. Rice, in the early labors that laid the foundation on which so many others have helped to build, may be applied, in some measure, the apostle's description of his own toilsome mission: "In journeyings often, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often."

During the session of 1830-'31, the last of his life, there were forty-seven students. He died September 3, 1831. At this time seventy-six students had entered the seminary from the beginning.

The following extracts from the historical introduction to the general catalogue, prepared by Rev. Dr. B. M. Smith, give the history of the several buildings now owned by the seminary.

"A house for a professor, with rooms in the third story for ten students, was erected while the seminary was under the control of Hanover Presbytery;" i. e., prior to 1827. "In 1830 two professors' houses were built."

"In 1831-'32 the first building was extended, a center building and another corresponding to the first, as extended in size, were erected, altogether providing a chapel and library in its gallery, three lecture rooms, and accommodations for about fifty students."

This is this the main building of the seminary as it now stands. And it thus appears that as the fruit of the labor bestowed by Dr. Rice and his cotemporaries, and nearly within his lifetime, the main building, with the residence within it, occupied by Dr. Alexander, the professor's house on the east, occupied by Dr. Smith, and the house on the west, occupied by Dr. Peck, were furnished and prepared as they now stand, enduring monuments of a consecrated energy and devotion, which shall yet find a more lasting memorial in the moral and spiritual results that outlive the most permanent foundations of the material world, and survive the world itself and all that it inherits.

In the professor's house on the west, Dr. Rice, after a long and tedious illness, attended with remarkable bodily sufferings, laid down the heavy burden which he had borne in the accomplishment of this work. His days were shortened by the cares and the journeys which for several years he had imposed upon a body often weakened by severe attacks of sickness. He had not quite reached the end of his fifty-fourth year, and died in that period between fifty and sixty, which, because it combines the vigor of manhood and the experience of age, may be considered, in some respects, as the most profitable part of human life.

The books that record the names of subscribers in the north and south are preserved in the library of the seminary. They are written by Dr. Rice and afford an interesting record of liberality and public spirit among the early friends of the seminary, many of whom gave of their poverty.

There are in the record chief as well as holy men, and of honorable women not a few.

"In 1854," continues Dr. Smith, "another professor's house was built." (Occupied now by Dr. Latimer.)

"About 1860 a building was purchased providing for a mess dining-room, eight students' rooms, and two rooms for the family attending to the mess."

"In 1880-'81 an elegant and commodious library building with room for 20,000 volumes, besides 12,000 now held in it, was erected at a cost of about \$17,000, the principal and accumulated interest on the donation for the purpose above mentioned made by a generous lady of Baltimore, Maryland."

To which it may now be added that, since Dr. Smith's sketch was written, a very handsome and convenient residence has been built—now occupied by Rev. Walter W. Moore, D. D., the professor of oriental literature—making the fifth professor's house.

It may not be improper in closing these quotations from Dr. B. M. Smith to refer to the labors of his life in behalf of

the seminary, of which the general catalogue is one of the latest. This catalogue, containing a brief history of every student at the seminary from 1823 to 1884, inclusive, exhibits internal evidence of persevering and painstaking toil. Its author, besides his long term of service as a teacher in the institution, extending over more than thirty-five years, and many collateral duties well and faithfully performed, has, by his financial ability and diligence, done much, at critical periods, to avert serious disaster.

The seminary was in the year 1827 transferred by Hanover Presbytery to the Synods of Virginia and North Carolina.

In the year 1867 the Legislature of Virginia granted to it an act of incorporation.

The number of students to the end of the session of 1883-'84, as recorded in the general catalogue, was 744.

The new students since that session probably increased the number to 800—perhaps more.

The influence of so many ministers as pastors and teachers, and evangelists at home and on the foreign fields cannot be estimated.

In tracing the beneficent course of such a stream we must consider the rise and usefulness of other institutions for the promotion of learning and religion springing from the hearts of those that were educated at this seminary, and trace from generation to generation the works of faith and labors of love that multiply in our own and other lands, all the blessings that religion "scatters by the way, in its sublime march to immortality," and then extend our view beyond them all to immortality itself—the eternal joy of a great multitude of ransomed souls.

HISTORICAL STATEMENT.

This seminary was formally opened January 1, 1824, with one professor, John Holt Rice, D. D., and three students. Nearly fifty years before, in 1775, Hampden-Sidney College

had been founded by the Presbyterians of Virginia, mainly for the purpose of rearing an educated ministry. The president of the college was also teacher of the students of divinity. In 1812, when the seminary at Princeton was founded, the Synod of Virginia reorganized its theological school as a department of the college, with the Rev. Moses Hoge, president of the college, as its professor. Between that date and 1820, when Dr. Hoge died, about thirty licentiates went from his classes into the ministry. The next president of the college was a layman. The wants of the church were rapidly increasing; hence Hanover Presbytery resolved to create a seminary distinct from the college. Accordingly, without buildings or endowments, Dr. Rice began his instructions, as stated above, in January, 1824. Funds were rapidly raised for endowment; and in 1826 the General Assembly took the seminary under its care, and its trustees took charge of the funds. In the autumn of the same year the Synods of Virginia and North Carolina took the place of Hanover Presbytery in governing the seminary, and to commemorate this copartnership its name was changed to Union Seminary. By 1831, the year in which Dr. Rice died, that is, within seven years from its separate organization, the institution had acquired ample buildings for residences, dormitories, lecture-rooms, refectory, and chapel, had gathered a library, and had secured three instructors and about fifty students.

The death of the founder, and the troubles and controversies of the church at large, together with the industrial depression of the country, gave a serious check to this prosperity. After an interval of twenty years, however, there was a revival of interest in the institution on the part of the Synods, and in 1854 the endowment of a fourth chair was completed. In 1860 there were forty students in the seminary, but the civil war depleted the number, till, in 1864, but one was left. Moreover, the treasury had no income. The funds vested in bank-stocks were lost, and the State of Virginia was unable to pay interest on its bonds held by the seminary. In this emergency friends from Baltimore and New York came to the aid of the institution with contributions sufficient to support it for one year. In a short time the State resumed payment of interest on its bonds, and successful efforts were made to repair the loss of other investments, so that by 1869 the seminary was relieved from embarrassment, and the number

of students had greatly increased. Since that time the annual attendance has steadily grown larger, the total enrollment for the current year being seventy. More than nine hundred students in all have received instruction in this seminary since its establishment, sixty-six years ago.

The property of the institution now consists of about eighty acres of land, five residences for professors, a main building, which contains a handsome chapel, lecture-rooms, and dormitories, a spacious annex, including a steward's hall, a superior library building, a gymnasium, and endowments which yield an economical support.

The appended lists give the names of the professors and assistant professors in the seminary from the date of its origin to the present time :

ASSISTANT PROFESSORS:—Hiram P. Goodrich, November, 1828, to April, 1830 ; Elisha Ballantine, February, 1831, to April, 1834 ; Benjamin M. Smith, April, 1834, to April 1838 ; Elisha Ballantine, (*iterum*) April, 1836, to April, 1838 ; Francis S. Sampson, November, 1838, to June, 1848 ; William B. Browne, August, 1848, to June, 1849 ; Dabney C. Harrison, September, 1854, to April, 1856 ; Thomas Wharey, September, 1859, to April, 1860 ; Rutherford R. Houston, September, 1860, to April, 1861 ; Walter W. Moore, September, 1883, to May, 1884.

PROFESSORS. *I. Systematic and Polemic Theology*:—John H. Rice, D. D., January 1824, to September 3, 1831 ; * George A. Baxter, D. D., November, 1831, to April 24, 1841 ; * Samuel B. Wilson, D. D., November, 1841, to August, 1869 ; * Robert L. Dabney, D. D., *adjunct*, September, 1860, to September, 1869 ; Robert L. Dabney, D. D., *principal*, September, 1869, to June, 1883 ; Thomas E. Peck, D. D., September, 1883, to ———. *II. Ecclesiastical History and Polity*:—Stephen Taylor, D. D., November, 1835, to 1838 ; Samuel L. Graham, D. D., September, 1838, to 1839 ; Samuel L. Graham, D. D., (*iterum*), September, 1849, to 1851 ; Robert L. Dabney, D. D., September, 1853, to 1859 ; Thomas E. Peck, D. D., September, 1860, to September, 1883 ; James F. Latimer, D. D., May, 1884, to ———. *III. Oriental Literature*:—Hiram P. Goodrich, D. D., September, 1830, to 1839 ; Samuel L. Graham, D. D., November, 1839, to 1849 ; Francis S. Sampson, D. D., September, 1849, to April 9, 1854 ; * Benjamin M. Smith, D. D., September, 1854, to

May, 1889; Benjamin M. Smith, D. D., (*emeritus*), May, 1889, to———; Walter W. Moore, *adjunct*, May, 1884, to May, 1886; Walter W. Moore, D. D., *associate*, May, 1886, to May, 1889; Walter W. Moore, D. D., *principal*, May, 1889, to———. *IV. Biblical Introduction and New Testament Literature*:—William J. Hoge, D. D., September, 1856, to April, 1859; Henry C. Alexander, D. D., September 1869, to———. *V. Pastoral Theology and Biblical Introduction*:—Samuel B. Wilson, D. D., September, 1860, to August, 1, 1869.*

Since that time Pastoral Theology has been attached again to the chair of Systematic Theology.

*NOTE.—Death in office is denoted by an asterisk following last date, which is that of death.

**Centennial History of the Presbyter-
ian Church, within the bounds
of the Synod of Virginia,
from 1788 to 1888.**

**FIRST PART.—A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PARTICULAR
PRESBYTERIES.**

The year 1788 was critical and memorable in the annals of civilized nations. A great revolution was just completed in America. Another great revolution was approaching on the continent of Europe. The Constitution of the United States had just been constructed, through compromise, by statesmen and patriots of opposite views and aims, and as the resultant of many conflicting interests. The dissevered portions of the Presbyterian church had been brought together many years before, and now the memory of unhappy dissensions was healed and obliterated. The Synod of New York and Philadelphia, having the care of all the churches, had already taken steps which resulted in the adoption of common standards of faith, order, and discipline, as derived from kindred churches abroad, and adapted by modification to the conditions of the new world. Finally a new arrangement of Synods and Presbyteries was made, and a General Assembly was erected in 1788, and appointed to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1789. Under the new arrangement the Synod of Virginia was formed of four Presbyteries, Hanover, Lexington, Redstone, and Transylvania, and this body convened for the first time, on the 22d of October, 1788, at New Providence Church, Rockbridge County, Virginia. Two years previously the Presbytery of Hanover had been divided, and the ministers and churches west of the Blue Ridge had been set apart to form the Presbytery of Lexington. The territory of the latter extended some-

what indefinitely beyond the Alleghanies, but left a portion of southwestern Virginia occupied by the Presbytery of Abingdon, which was by the same arrangement attached to the Synod of the Carolinas. The Presbytery of Redstone covered a large area in western Pennsylvania. That of Transylvania was located in Kentucky. These four Presbyteries, meeting together as a Synod for the first time a hundred years ago, formed an interesting and important council of the church at a significant juncture in its history. They represented not only their charges and the earnest evangelism of their denomination, but certain great ideas which had guided the late Revolution, and given form to the institutions of our country. The members were almost universally the friends of a sober liberty and the enemies of all idle experiments. They were enthusiasts for practical aims in the spiritual and intellectual spheres, and found no time, amid the exacting demands of duty, to waste upon theory or innovation. To them, and to the inheritors of their principles and habits, is justly due, in a large degree, the safety of our civilization. The Presbyterian body then embraced four Synods, seventeen Presbyteries, 419 churches, and 180 ministers. Its present strength is two independent Assemblies, forty-one Synods, 270 Presbyteries, 8,672 churches, 6,670 ministers, and 747,165 communicants. It is not possible to ascertain with certainty the number of communicants in 1788, but assuming some reasonable average for the membership of the churches we may arrive at a proximate estimate. The comparison of statistics for the two dates mentioned furnishes abundant ground for congratulation and praise on this happy occasion.

The four constituent Presbyteries of the Synod of Virginia had been established in the following order: The Presbytery of Hanover was formed in December, 1755, by authority of the Synod of New York, and was composed of six ministers, viz., Revs. Samuel Davies, John Todd, Alexander Craighead, Rob-

ert Henry, John Wright, and John Brown, with the churches under their care. Mr. Davies was the first moderator.

The Presbytery of Redstone was organized by authority of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, at Pigeon Creek, Pennsylvania, on the third Wednesday of December, 1781, and was composed of four ministers, viz., Revs. John McMillan, James Power, Thaddeus Dodd, and Joseph Smith, with their respective charges. All the ministers except Rev. Joseph Smith were present at the first meeting, and also ruling elders John Neil, Demas Lindley, and Patrick Scott.

By the same authority the first meeting of the Presbytery of Lexington was held at Timber Ridge, September 26, 1786. Rev. John Brown was elected moderator and Rev. Samuel Carriek clerk. The ministers assigned to this Presbytery were Revs. John Brown, William Graham, William Wilson, John McCese, Samuel Carriek, James McConnel, Archibald Scott, Edward Crawford, John Montgomery, Benjamin Erwin, Moses Hoge, and Samuel Shannon—twelve in number. The first five named were present at the first meeting, together with ruling elders Houston and Dicke.

In the same year of 1786, the Presbytery of Transylvania was established by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and met at Danville, Kentucky, October 17th. The ministers composing it were Revs. David Rice, Thomas Craighead, Andrew McClure, James Crawford, Israh Temple, and Adam Rankin—six in number—and the churches were represented in part by ruling elders Richard Steel, David Gray, John Bovel, Joseph Reed, and Jeremiah Frame. Mr. Rice was elected moderator and Mr. McClure clerk.

The Presbytery of Redstone was connected with this Synod until 1802. From that year until 1881 it was a part of the Synod of Pittsburg, but was then merged into the Synod of Pennsylvania. Although reduced to a very small part of its original territory, this Presbytery has been greatly prospered.

It reported in 1888 twenty-five ministers, thirty-four churches, and 4,383 communicants.

In 1799 the Synod of Virginia gave its consent to a division of the Presbytery of Transylvania into three, ten ministers to remain connected with the mother Presbytery, nine to be included in the Presbytery of West Lexington, and seven in that of Washington. Territorially, the last embraced the Kentucky churches lying between the main Licking River and the Ohio above their junction. The Presbytery of West Lexington occupied the space between the Licking, the Ohio, and the Kentucky Rivers. The number of churches included in the three Presbyteries was more than 100, and their area extended into Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. In 1802 the Synod of Kentucky was erected by the separation of these Presbyteries from the Synod of Virginia, at which time the number of ministers in them had increased to thirty-seven.

The Presbytery of Transylvania was further reduced in territory after the formation of the Synod of Kentucky by the erection of other Presbyteries, and finally in 1866 it was divided into two bodies of the same name and covering nearly the same ground, the one attached to the Southern and the other to the Northern General Assembly. Notwithstanding these changes the Presbytery of Transylvania (South) has been greatly blessed in the multiplication of churches and the salvation of souls. It reports in 1888 fifteen ministers, twenty-seven churches, and 2,593 communicants. That of the northern connection also reports eighteen ministers, twenty-seven churches, and 1,365 communicants.

Turning our attention now to the two Presbyteries of Hanover and Lexington, we find that in 1794 the latter was divided by an act assigning all the ministers and churches northeast of a designated line across the Valley to the new Presbytery of Winchester. The ministers actually included in the organization were Revs. Moses Hoge, Nash Le Grand, William Hill, John Lyle, and William Williamson. The first

meeting was held at Winchester, December 4th; present Moses Hoge, Nash Le Grand, and William Williamson, ministers, and William Bucklee, Alexander Freely, and James Perry, ruling elders. Dr. Hoge preached, presided, and was elected moderator and Mr. Le Grand was chosen clerk. The territory of the Presbytery was, in general terms, that which is now comprised in the Counties of Shenandoah, Frederick, Page, Warren, and Clark, in Virginia, and Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, and Hardy Counties, in West Virginia. Its area has not been greatly changed since its origin. At times a few churches in the northeast of Virginia and east of the Blue Ridge were under its care, but they are now in other Presbyteries. Notwithstanding the calamities of war, which fell with special severity upon the region it occupies, its churches have been wonderfully preserved or recuperated, and the present strength is twenty-five ministers, — licentiates, forty churches, and 3,122 communicants.

The next reduction of Lexington Presbytery was in 1837, when the Presbytery of Greenbrier was organized. The line of separation began at the intersection of the Alleghany Mountain with the southern boundary of Hardy County, Virginia, and followed the crest of the ridge southwest to the boundary of Giles County, thence along the line between Giles and Monroe to New River. The ministers and churches located west of this line were assigned to the new Presbytery. The ministers included were Revs. John McElhenny, Francis Thornton, James M. Brown, William G. Campbell, Andrew S. Morrison, David R. Preston, Joseph Brown, John S. Blain, Francis Dutton, Festus Hanks—ten in number. At the first meeting, which was held in Lewisburg, April 12th, 1838, all were present, (except Messrs. Morrison and Dutton) together with ruling elders George Rapp, Moses M. Fugna, Samuel Brown, William Shanklin, Thomas Beard, and T. O'Harrah. Dr. McElhenny preached and presided at the organization. Twelve churches were enrolled, viz., Lewis-

burg, Spring Creek, Union, Oak Grove, Head of Greenbrier, (now Liberty) Tygart's Valley, Anthony's Creek, Parkersburg, Point Pleasant, Hughes' River, Carmel, and Huntersville. Some changes of boundary were subsequently effected as circumstances arose, and the present location of the line may be stated as follows: Beginning where the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike road crosses the line between Highland County, in Virginia, and Pochahontas County, in West Virginia; thence south, on the eastern boundaries of Pochahontas, Greenbrier, and Monroe Counties; thence with the southern boundaries of Monroe, Summers, Raleigh, and Wyoming Counties, all in West Virginia, to the Big Sandy River; thence down that river to the Ohio, and up the latter to the northern boundary of Wood County; thence with the northern boundaries of Wood, Wirt, and Calhoun to a line crossing Gilman and Lewis Counties, so as to place the churches of Bethel and French Creek in Greenbrier Presbytery; thence south and around the counties of Upshur and Randolph to the beginning. The history of this Presbytery is a history of domestic missions. Its usefulness has been great in the mountains of Virginia. Its present strength is a proof of its labors. The report for 1888 is twenty ministers, two licentiates, forty-five churches, and 2,851 communicants.

The Presbytery of Lexington was again divided in 1843, by the organization of the Presbytery of Montgomery. As originally constituted the latter embraced the part of Rockbridge south of Buffalo Creek and Botetourt, Roanoke, Montgomery, Floyd, Giles, Alleghany, and Craig Counties, in Virginia, with Mercer, now in West Virginia. It consisted of twelve ministers and ten churches. The ministers were Revs. John D. Ewing, Urias Powers, Stephen F. Cocke, Henry H. Paine, Samuel D. Campbell, Alexander M. Ewin, John H. Wallace, George W. Leyburn, Nicholas Chevalier, Robert C. Graham, William P. Hickman, and Dion C. Pharn. The five first named, with ruling elders Matthew Wilson, Thos.

Lecky, and Frederick Johnston were present at the first meeting, held at Newcastle, November 10, 1843, when Dr. Ewing preached and presided at the organization. At that time the number of communicants was 774.

In October, 1864, when the union was effected between the Synod of Virginia (Old School) and certain parts of the United Synod, (New School) the territory which had been covered by the New School Presbytery of Abingdon and the Old School Presbytery of Montgomery was included in the consolidated Presbytery of Abingdon. In 1865 the name was changed to Montgomery. Again, in 1866, the ministers and churches on the west of New River were set off from Montgomery to form the Presbytery of Abingdon. At the same time, the churches and ministers of the Presbytery of Roanoke in the counties of Bedford, Franklin, and Campbell, including the city of Lynchburg, were annexed to the Presbytery of Montgomery, which now covers the counties of Bedford, Franklin, Campbell, Floyd, Giles, Mercer (in West Virginia); Alleghany, part of Rockbridge, Botetourt, Craig, Roanoke, Montgomery, and the city of Lynchburg. This Presbytery now reports twenty-six ministers,———licentiates, forty-two churches, and 3,246 communicants.

The Presbytery of Lexington now covers the counties of Rockbridge (excepting the part mentioned above), Augusta, Rockingham, Bath, and Highland, in Virginia, and Randolph, Barbour, Pendleton, Harrison, and Gilmer, in West Virginia. In every respect, it is still a large and influential body, numbering forty-two ministers, one licentiate, fifty-three churches, and 6,684 communicants.

The Presbytery of Abingdon, as already stated, was originally attached to the Synod of the Carolinas. It was, after a few years, greatly reduced by the formation of other Presbyteries, and in 1802 was transferred to the Synod of Virginia. From 1785 to 1788 it had been connected with the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. For fourteen years it was a

part of the Synod of the Carolinas, and from 1802 until 1837, a period of thirty-five years, it remained with the Synod of Virginia. From the latter date to 1866 this Presbytery had no recorded existence in our connection, except for a single year, the ground being occupied by the Old School Presbytery of Montgomery and the New School Presbytery of New River. In 1866 the Presbytery of Abingdon was again erected by the order of the Synod, with New River as its eastern boundary, for the most part, and the State lines of Tennessee, Kentucky, and West Virginia, on the south, the west, and the north respectively. Fourteen counties are covered by its jurisdiction. Notwithstanding the gap in its history the records of the original Presbytery exist and are carefully preserved. The present reported strength is nineteen ministers, one licentiate, forty-one churches, and 2,377 communicants.

The old Presbytery of Hanover, after the separation of that of Lexington in 1786, occupied nearly the whole of Virginia east of the Blue Ridge until 1829, when it was divided into East and West Hanover. For information concerning it down to that date reference must be had to its records now in the hands of the stated clerks of the Synod. In 1829 the line of boundary between the two new Presbyteries into which the old was divided was drawn on the western sides of the counties of Brunswick, Dinwiddie, Chesterfield, Henrico, Hanover, and Spottsylvania. The Presbytery of East Hanover, lying on the east of this line, was ordered to meet in December at Portsmouth, and be organized after a sermon by Rev. Jesse H. Turner. The next year this Presbytery reported to the Synod a roll of twelve ministers, viz., Rev. Jesse H. Turner, William J. Armstrong, Stephen Taylor, Shepard H. Kollock, Amasa Converse, Edward McLaughlin, Joseph Nimmo, James S. Hamner, John C. Smith, Jonathan Siliman, Joseph E. Curtis, Eben H. Snowden, and three candidates, Theodorick Pryor, John C. Holt, and Aristides Smith. There were eight churches with 1,042 communicants.

In consequence of subsequent changes this Presbytery now covers a larger area than at the beginning. It embraces thirty-nine counties east and south of a line commencing at the northern limit of North Carolina, and passing in a northern direction on the western boundaries of Brunswick, Notaway, Amelia, Powhatan, Goochland, Hanover, Caroline, Spottsylvania, and King George, thence eastward by the State line to the Atlantic, and of course embracing the cities of Richmond, Manchester, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Williamsburg, Petersburg, and Fredericksburg. This large Presbytery now numbers thirty ministers, four licentiates, forty-four churches, and 5,144 communicants.*

The western boundary of the Presbytery of East Hanover was by the same act designated as the eastern boundary of West Hanover. The roll of ministers assigned to the latter consisted of the twelve names following, viz., Revs. A. D. Metcalfe, James Wharey, Isaac Paul, Clement Reid, John Kirkpatrick, Samuel Armistead, William S. Reid, Jesse S. Armistead, William S. White, Isaac Cochran, James Mitchell, and Francis Bowman. In 1858 the Presbytery of Roanoke was set off from West Hanover by a line to be indicated in our notice of the former. The roll, after this division, consisted of the following ministers remaining with the mother Presbytery, viz., Revs. Michael Osborn, Jesse S. Armistead, William H. McGerffey, S. S. Murckland, Peyton Harrison, B. M. Smith, R. L. Dabney, S. W. Blain, W. S. Thompson, J. H. Fitzgerald, S. W. Watkins, D. B. Ewing, J. M. P. Atkinson, Benj. M. Wailes, J. D. Dudley, Edward L. Cochran, D. C. Harrison, Charles Beach, A. D. Pollock, and J. Henry Smith.

*At reunion in 1864 the following churches, formerly belonging to the Presbytery of Hanover, (N. S.) were added to the roll of East Hanover Presbytery, viz., The United Presbyterian Church, Richmond; Pole Green and Salem, Hanover; Third Church, Richmond; Duval Street Church, Richmond; Olivet Church, New Kent; Makemie, Accomac; Holmes, North Hampton; Douglas, Prince Edward; and Portsmouth of the city of Portsmouth.

The churches were Farmville, Cumberland, Charlottesville, Walker's, Union, College, Trinity, Scottsville, Maysville, Lebanon, Orange, New Store, Rockfish, Cove, Byrd, Hebron, Amherst, Providence, South Plains, and Madison. Thus in 1858 there were twenty ministers and twenty churches. In 1865 Rev. James H. C. Leach, a member of this body prior to 1840, but then withdrawn to join the New School organization, again became connected with this Presbytery, and at the same time the three churches of Cumberland, Appomattox, and Prince Edward C. H. were received under the terms of union from the former New School Presbytery of Hanover. The northern boundary of the West Hanover Presbytery now begins at the head of Robinson's River in the Blue Ridge, and including Madison County, follows the Robinson and Rapidan to the northeast corner of Orange County. Other portions of the line are given elsewhere. The present strength is twenty-three ministers, — licentiates, thirty-one churches, and 1,960 communicants.

By order of the Synod in 1858, the southern part of West Hanover Presbytery was set off to form the Presbytery of Roanoke, embracing parts of the counties of Halifax, Mecklenberg, and Pittsylvania, north of the Dan, and parts of Appomattox and Prince Edward, south of a designated line, with the entire area of Charlotte, Lunenburg, Henry, Patrick, Franklin, Bedford, and Campbell. The organization was appointed at Lynchburg, April 14, 1859. As directed, Rev. Dr. S. B. Wilson preached and presided. The enrollment included eighteen ministers, viz., Revs. Samuel B. Wilson, Henderson Lee, Matthew W. Jackson, Issac Cochran, William Hamersley, Robert N. Anderson, Samuel J. Price, James B. Ramsay, Samuel D. Rice, Hugh A. Brown, John A. Scott, C. R. Vaughan, William J. Hoge, Henry Snyder, Alexander Martin, William B. Tidball, John G. Shepperson, and Thomas Wharey, and one licentiate, Bennet W. Mosely. There were also enrolled twenty-seven churches. In 1864,

Revs. Jacob D. Mitchell, George W. Leyburn, Robert Gray, Robert C. Anderson, Thomas W. Hooper, Horace P. Smith, and Matthew L. Lacy, seven ministers, with twelve churches and two licentiates, Baldwin W. Farnham and George W. Leyburn, jr., were added to Roanoke Presbytery from the New School Presbytery of Piedmont, according to the terms of union. In 1866, the ministers and churches of the Presbytery of Orange, Synod of North Carolina, located within the Virginia line, south of the Dan, were transferred to this Presbytery. By this act, Revs. John M. Kirkpatrick, John B. Shearer, and F. N. Whaley, were added to the roll, with four additional churches. In the same year, however, several ministers and churches were transferred to Montgomery Presbytery, and again in 1872 further changes were made in the same direction, and now the whole counties of Bedford and Franklin, with a part of Campbell, including Lynchburg and its suburbs, lie outside of its bounds. This Presbytery at present reports seventeen ministers, one licentiate, thirty-six churches, and 2,317 communicants.

In 1868 the Presbytery of Chesapeake was constructed by consolidating into one the two Presbyteries of Rappahannock and Patapsco, neither of which now appears in our records. These were temporary organizations, requiring notice now only as links in the chain of historical narrative. Patapsco was the name given in 1866 to a small body of ministers and churches in Maryland, which formed new Presbyterian relations in consequence of the proceedings of the Northern General Assembly, and in due time became connected with the Synod of Virginia and the Southern Assembly. The ministers uniting in the movement were Revs. J. J. Bullock, J. A. Lefevre, Samuel Beach Jones, and John B. Ross. The Franklin Street and Franklin Square Churches, Baltimore, were represented respectively by ruling elders J. Harman Brown and William Hogg. Elder A. C. Gibbs, from West River Church, was also present, and licentiate James Wilson

Brown. Dr. Jones was the first mediator and Dr. Lefevre clerk.

Rappahannock Presbytery was the temporary successor of Potomac Presbytery, which latter, before the the division in 1861, lay geographically between the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay, with a northern boundary running eastward from the Potomac along the northern sides of Montgomery and Anne Arundel Counties, Maryland, to the Severn River, and down that river to the bay. Previously to the late war, a number of counties in the northeastern portion of Virginia had been added, and its western limit was extended to the Blue Ridge. By its own appointment this Presbytery met at Greenwich, Virginia, April 12th, 1861. Two of its members, however, with two elders, attempted to hold a separate meeting simultaneously in the city of Washington, and adjourned for want of a quorum. Subsequently, in 1862, this northern body was organized, and in its proceedings admitted that the meeting held at Greenwich was the legal session of the Presbytery. Unfortunately, the records of that meeting at Greenwich have disappeared. But it is known independently that the Presbytery there appointed commissioners to the Southern General Assembly at Augusta, and these reported twelve ministers, two licentiates, two candidates, and fourteen churches.

This Presbytery was subjected to a change in 1864, when the United Synod (New School) was consolidated with our Assembly. By the terms agreed upon, the ministers and churches of the New School occupying the territory in Virginia east of the Blue Ridge and north of the recognized limits of East and West Hanover were assigned to the Presbytery of Potomac. In 1866, at the instance of this Presbytery, the Synod changed its name to Rappahannock. It then numbered ten ministers and thirteen churches. In 1868 the Presbyteries of Rappahannock and Patapsco were

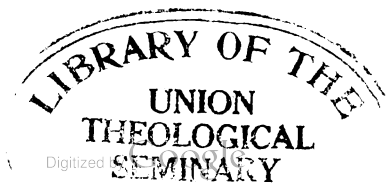
united under the name of Chesapeake, and thus the former designations have vanished from our records.

The Presbytery of Chesapeake in 1868 embraced all the ministers and churches of our connection in Maryland, the District of Columbia and the counties of Alexandria, Fairfax, Loudoun, Fauquier, Prince William, Rappahannock, and Culpeper in Virginia. The ministers on the roll were Revs. J. J. Bullock, J. A. Lefevre, John B. Ross, John Squier, S. Beach Jones, Peyton Harrison, James F. Leftwitch, A. D. Pollock, John W. Pugh, Robert B. White, E. H. Crampston, R. L. McMurrin, I. W. Lupton, C. N. Campbell, Thomas B. Balch, C. N. Nourse, R. S. Belt, T. S. Witherow. The first meeting was at Harrisonburg during the sessions of the Synod, and after the enrollment of these eighteen ministers and twenty-one churches the Presbytery was organized, with Dr. Bullock as moderator and Mr. Pugh was elected clerk. This Presbytery suffered reduction in 1877 by the erection of the Presbytery of Maryland, and it is now limited to Virginia and the District of Columbia. It reports sixteen ministers, two licentiates, seventeen churches, and 1,345 communicants.

The Presbytery of Maryland was set apart from that of Chesapeake, to embrace all the ministers and churches in that State adhering to the Southern General Assembly. The separation was effected in 1877. At the organization Rev. Dr. J. G. Hamner was elected moderator and Rev. R. L. McMurrin stated clerk. Thirteen ministers were enrolled, viz., Revs. Charles Beach, John W. Brown, C. N. Campbell, P. R. Flemmoy, J. G. Hamner, Peyton Harrison, S. B. Jones, J. A. Lefevre, John Leyburn, R. L. McMurrin, William U. Murkland, James Nicols, and H. E. Singleton. The Presbytery now numbers sixteen ministers,——licentiates, eleven churches, and 1,503 communicants.

This brief survey of the Presbyteries at any time belonging to the Synod of Virginia is necessarily incomplete and un-

equal, for the reason that the historical reports on the subject received by the Synod's committee from the Presbyteries have been very meagre and different in their contents. In order to effect even an approximate uniformity we have been compelled in some instances to curtail them, and in others to add materials drawn from other sources. We are conscious that this part of our work is such as to fall far short of the plan proposed, and can only hope that in the future the Synod may be able to secure more satisfactory materials and a more complete execution of its laudable design.



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