

A
HISTORY
OF THE
Presbyterian Church in America,

FROM ITS ORIGIN UNTIL THE YEAR 1760.

WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ITS EARLY MINISTERS.

BY THE
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WITH
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AND
An Historical Introduction,
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Biographies.

FRANCIS MAKEMIE.

A NATIVE of the county Donegal, he had probably studied at one of the Scottish universities. In January, 1681, he was introduced to Laggan Presbytery by the Rev. Thomas Drummond, of Rathmelton,*—the brother, we presume, of William Drummond, the first governor of North Carolina, and who afterwards, in Bacon's War, suffered death as a rebel under Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia.†

The record of his ordination is lost. Two of his letters to Increase Mather, of Boston, are preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

ELIZABETH RIVER, VA., 22 July, 1684.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER:—

I wrote to you, though unacquainted, by Mr. Lamb, from North Carolina, of my designe for Ashley River, South Carolina, which I was forward in attempting that I engaged in a voyage, and went to sea in the month of May; but God in his providence saw fit I should not see it at the time, for we were tost upon the coast by contrary winds, and to the north as far as Delaware Bay, so that, falling short in our provisions, we were necessitated, after several essays to the south, to Virginia; and, in the mean while, Colonel Anthony Lawson, and other inhabitants of the parish of Lynnhaven, in Lower Norfolk county, (who had a Dissenting minister from Ireland, until the Lord was pleased to remove him by death in August last; among whom I preached before I went to the South, in coming from Maryland, against their earnest importunity,) coming so pertinently in the place of our landing for water, prevailed with me to stay this season; which the more easily overcame me, considering the season of the year and the little en-

* Reid's Irish Presb. Church.

† Bancroft's Hist. U. S.

couragement from Carolina, from the sure information I have had. But for the satisfaction of my friends in Ireland, whom I design to be very cautious in inviting to any place in America I have yet seen, I have sent one of our number to acquaint me further concerning the place. I am here assured of liberty and other encouragements, resolving to submit myself to the sovereign providence of God, who has been pleased so unexpectedly to drive me back to this poor, desolate people, among whom I designe to continue till God in his providence determine otherwise concerning me.

I have presumed a second before I can hear how acceptable my first has been. I hope this will prevent your writing to Ashley River, and determine your resolution to direct your letters to Colonel Anthony Lawson, att the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River. I expect, if you have an opportunity of writing to Mr. John Hart,* you will acquaint him concerning me; which, with your prayers, will oblige him who is your dear and affectionate brother in the gospel of our Lord Jesus,

FRANCIS MAKEMIE.

It is probable that Makemie came over to the people in "Maryland beside Virginia," who had applied to his presbytery for a minister by Colonel Stevens in December, 1680. In the fall of 1683, he travelled by land as far as Norfolk, and proceeded to Carolina.

ELIZABETH RIVER, 28 July, 1685.

HONOURED SIR:—

Yours I received by Mr. Hallet with three books, and am not a little concerned that those sent to Ashley River were miscarried, for which I hope it will give no offence to declare my willingness to satisfy; for there is no reason they should be lost to you, and far less that the gift should be . . . † for which I own myself your debtor. And assure yourself if you have any friend in Virginia, to find me ready to receive your commands. I have wrote to Mr. Wardrope,‡ and beg you would be pleased to order the safe conveyance thereof unto his hands. I have also wrote to Mr. Thomas Barret, a minister who lived in South Carolina, who, when he wrote to me from Ashley River, was to take shipping for New England. So that I conclude that he is with you. But, if there be no such man in the country, let *me* letter be returned.

I am yours in the Lord Jesus,

FRANCIS MAKEMIE.

* The minister of Londonderry.

† Illegible.

‡ Mentioned in Maedonald's History of Jamaica, as having been there as a minister and removed to Pennsylvania.

In 1690, Makemie was residing in Accomac county, Virginia, and was engaged in the West India trade. The next year he visited London, and conversed, among others, with Mr. John Faldo, an aged Congregational minister.*

In 1692, four hundred and fifty acres of land were granted him by certificate of Accomac Court.

George Keith, having been expelled by the Society of Friends, denounced them as erroneous, and travelled in the Southern provinces to establish his peculiar views. He saw a catechism which Makemie had prepared and published, and sent him word he would make him a visit. He did so in July, 1692; and Makemie "scorned with sharp retorsion" the charges of error, and his misconstruction of "my compassion of the tender souls in an American desert." He declined a public dispute with him, knowing that Keith would parade his learning before the people, who were incompetent to judge of the genuineness, accuracy, or relevancy of his quotations from ancient authors. Keith then wrote an examination of the catechism, and left it with Mr. George Layfield,† to be placed in Makemie's hands. On his way north he made, to the Rev. Samuel Davis, in Delaware, a statement to Makemie's discredit, similar to one he made to Makemie concerning the London ministers. He charged him, in his paper, with denying or wholly overlooking our need of the influences of the Spirit, and with "running to the Pope and Church of Rome, by that dirty conduit to have his call to the ministry conveyed to him."

Makemie, in August, 1692, "satisfied his desire," and visited Pennsylvania, and witnessed the ferment growing out of the rupture with Keith. He soon after issued from the press, at Boston, "An answer to George Keith's libel on a catechism published by F. Makemie."‡ This bears, in black-letter,

IMPRIMATUR,

INCREASE MATHER;

and is recommended by Increase Mather, James Allen, S. Willard, J. Bailey, and Cotton Mather, as the work of a "reverend and judicious minister."

"I am constrained to justify my office from these uncharitable calumnies, and that grace might be magnified by giving this rela-

* Matthew Henry wrote to his father in February, 1686-7, that Mr. Faldo, on King James's dispensing with penal laws against Dissenters, was among the first to preach publicly, to many hundreds of people. He published several books against the Quakers.

† In a paper in the British State-Paper Office, the names of those inhabitants of Maryland known to be honest men (attached to the Government) are pricked; among them is George Layfield, of Somerset. His descendants still reside there. MSS. of Maryland Hist. Soc.

‡ In Library of Mass. Hist. Soc., and in Old South Church Library, Boston.

tion in the sight of an all-seeing and omnipresent God, that ere I received the imposition of hands in that scriptural and orderly way of separation unto my holy and ministerial calling, I gave requiring satisfaction to godly, learned, and judicious discerning men of a work of grace and conversion wrought in my heart by the Holy Spirit in my fourteenth year, by and from the pains of a godly schoolmaster, who used no small diligence in gaining tender souls to God's service and fear; since which time, to the glory of God's free grace be it spoke, I have had the sure experiences of God's various dealings with me, according to his infinite and unerring wisdom, for my unspeakable comfort."

Makemie complains that Keith had published "no form of sound words," to which reference might be made for his true sentiments; and that he had, "at the house of Thomas Fooks, in Onancock, and at Nuswuddux," and in London, taught that the Scriptures were like a letter from an absent husband to his wife, which is needful for her guidance and precious during his absence, but is superseded by the words of his lips when he returns. If Christ were not present with his people, they would need the Scriptures.

This pamphlet is remarkable for printing Calume and Calunists for the name of the Great Reformer of Geneva.

He had married* Naomi, the daughter of William Anderson, of Accomac. His father-in-law left him by will a thousand acres on Matchatank Creek, besides a release of the moneys lent him.

About this period, he qualified himself, under the Toleration Act in Barbadoes, as a Dissenting minister, and in 1699 published in Edinburgh "Truths in a new light; or, a Pastoral Letter to the Reformed Protestants in Barbadoes,† vindicating the Non-conformists and showing that they are the truest and soundest part of the Church of England." He rejects the Liturgy, because of its "stinted composed and imposed forms of prayer, its use of a corrupt version of the Psalms, and its rejection of their Scripture titles, prefixed by the Divine Author." After some objections to the burial-service, he asks, "Why it was denied to the living at the funeral of the Rev. H. Vaughan, Dec. 28, 1697?" He laments that the vitals of religion are wounded and the doctrine of election assailed by church ministers as contrary to the Bible and discouraging to piety; and pointedly asks, whether a sinner, without the special and entire grace of God, can repent, believe, regenerate, and save himself? He prays that the God of all grace would bless the world with a better spirit, and adds, that it is a paradox in Barbadoes to hear of a Presbyterian minister taking up the cudgels in defence of a fundamental Established Church doctrine against a son, member, and minister of the English Church.

* Spence's Early History of Presbyterianism.

† Library of Harvard University.

Before this publication, he returned to Accomac; and tradition says* that his preaching far and wide drew on him the anger of the Virginia clergy, and that he was seized and carried to the governor at Williamsburg; and that his noble vindication obtained for him the governor's license to preach throughout the Old Dominion. As a result, it is thought, of his argument, the Virginia Legislature entered, April 15, 1699, the Act of Toleration on their Statute-book. On the 15th of October,† "he did produce to Accomac court certificates from Barbadoes of his qualification there," and was licensed to preach in his own dwelling-house on Pocomoke, near the Maryland, and at Onancock, five miles from Drummondton, in the house next to Captain Jonathan Livesey's.

He sailed for England in the summer of 1704. He published in London, in handsome style,‡ "A Plain and Loving Persuasion to the inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland for promoting towns and co-habitation." It was dedicated to Edward Nott, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, who is characterized as "having so large a stock of temper and unbiassed interest." He notes as "an unaccountable humour, and singular to most rationals, that in those provinces no attempt was made to build up towns." As inducements to do so, he urges that it would increase the worth of the whole country, fill the land with people, make trade easier and less expensive, would prevent many frauds, give employment to the poor, and be of great advantage to religion, education, and general welfare. He reminds them that planting is overdone, the fields stripped and drained; while the other course would bring artists and tradesmen, and, instead of depending on one staple, they might carry on foreign and home trade. He mentions and refutes the objections: it would cause a falling off from the cultivation of tobacco, and that there could not be much trade in time of peace. The growth of large towns would lead, say some, to cast off dependence and allegiance to the mother-country; but why, he asks, should this thought be improved against us, and not against Boston, New York, and other rising places? The closing objection he supposes to be that the inhabitants are against towns; for, if there were towns, there would be ordinaries; and that would lead to drunkenness. He answers, the giving away of liquor makes drunkards; if there were ordinaries, liquor could only be obtained by purchase; if there were towns, there would be stocks, and sots would be placed in them.

In the summer of 1705, he sailed for America, bringing with

* Miller's Life of Rodgers.

† Spence.

‡ Libr. of Harv. Coll. This was probably prepared at the suggestion of friends of those colonies in Great Britain; for the British Government was at this time earnestly pressing on the Council in Maryland to "erect quays and towns."—MSS. of Maryland Historical Society.

him John Hampton and George McNish. In the next summer, they succeeded, through the interposition of Governor Seymour, in obtaining license of Somerset County Court to officiate as Dissenting ministers at four places on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. In December, 1706, he was Moderator of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, at a meeting held probably in Freehold to ordain Boyd as an evangelist.

In company with Hampton, he immediately set out for Boston, and, having paid his respects to his excellency the governor at New York, he was unexpectedly invited to preach. He left it to them to find a place for the meeting. Neither the Dutch minister nor the elders of the French Church dared to invite him to their pulpits without Lord Cornbury's consent. Anthony Young waited on him to obtain permission; but it was refused. William Jackson opened his house at the lower end of Pearl Street; and there Makemie preached on the Sabbath, January 19, 1707, and baptized a child; there being five present, and five above that, at the least. His text was Psalm l. 23:—"And to him that ordereth his conversation aright will I show the salvation of God." It was the substance of two sermons.

After unfolding the text, he announced this doctrine:—A well-ordered conversation is the only way to the kingdom of heaven. It is not *causa regnandi, sed via regni*. It is not the meritorious cause of salvation, but the way in which we must go, to enter into life.

I. What is presupposed in a conversation ordered aright?

II. What is a well-ordered conversation?

III. Why is it necessary as the way?

IV. What is necessary to advance it?

V. What usually hinders it?

It closed with a practical application.

There was at this time a small Presbyterian congregation in the city, which assembled in a private house to read the Scriptures, and to unite in prayer and praise. At what period they commenced these meetings is unknown. Some of their number had long been residents of New York. The names preserved by Dr. Miller, are David Jamison, Esq., Capt. John Theobalds, Mr. John Vanhorn, Mr. William Jackson, and Mr. Anthony Young.

Jamison,* having been classically educated, had been taken up as a "sweet singer" in company with Gib, in 1681, and imprisoned. He was, by leave of the Council, carried off by Captain Lockhart, "voluntarily," and, being offered for sale in New York, was bought by Mr. Clark, the minister in the fort, and permitted to teach school. Entering the office of Mr. Clarkson, Secretary of the Province, he acquired a knowledge of law and was admitted to practice; he was an attorney in Lord Bellamont's time, and

* Wodrow.—Albany Documents.

afterwards Clerk of the Council. Governor Fletcher was his benefactor. By his zeal in religion, art, and management, he rose to eminence. To him the Church of England owed its legal establishment in the province. Governor Hunter describes him as the greatest man he ever knew, and on the death of Mr. Mompesson made him Chief-Justice of New Jersey. John and Garret Vanhorn were merchants in the city in 1705.*

On Tuesday, Makemie went to Newton, L.I., having appointed to preach there the next day. He was arrested by Cornbury's order, and with Hampton was carried to Jamaica by the sheriff and lodged in the meeting-house. In the evening of Thursday, being brought before Cornbury, he demanded "How dare you take it upon you to preach in my government without my license? None shall preach in my government without it. The Act of Toleration does not extend to the American Plantations, but only to England. I know it is local and limited, for I was at the making of it. It extends to New York only by her Majesty's instructions signified unto me, and is from her prerogative and clemency."

Makemie was satisfied that "the law for liberty" had no limiting clause; but he said, "If extended to the plantations by the Queen's clemency, our certificates are demonstration that we have complied therewith."

Cornbury said, "The certificates are only for Virginia and Maryland. The law was made against strolling preachers, and you are such. You shall not spread your pernicious doctrines here."

Noble was the reply:—"As to our doctrines, we have our Confession of Faith, which is known to the Christian world; and I challenge all the clergy of York to show us any false or pernicious doctrines therein; yea, with those exceptions specified in the law, (the articles not doctrinal,) we are able to make it appear that they are, in all doctrinal articles of faith, agreeable to the established doctrines of the Church of England."

The attorney-general said, the certificates were written under a hedge. Cornbury caught at the clerk's omission in their certificates to state that they had signed the Articles of Religion, and at his having preached in a private house. "You must give bond and security for your good behaviour, and also bond and security to preach no more in my government."

"If your lordship requires it, we will give security for our behaviour; but to give bond and security to preach no more in your excellency's government, if invited and desired by any people, we neither can nor dare do."

* William Jackson and John Young were also shipped to the Plantations by the Council from Scotland.

"Then," said Cornbury, "you must go to gaol."

While he was writing an order for their commitment, Makemie offered to pay the attorney-general, who was present, for a copy of that paragraph which contained the limiting clause of the Toleration Act.

Cornbury said, "You, sir, know law?"

Makemie replied, "I do not pretend to know law; but I do pretend to know this law, having had divers disputes thereon."

The mistake made in his name—Mackennan—in the first order was rectified, and they were carried by the high-sheriff of the city and county to his dwelling, "to be safely kept till further orders."

Cornbury disregarded their petition to state for what they were imprisoned; no habeas corpus could issue till Chief-Justice Mompesson came from New Jersey. At the meeting of the Quarter Sessions, they applied for his lordship's leave to take the oaths and be qualified; "for we are resolved to reside in your lordship's government." He refused; and when, by their attorney, they applied to the justices, the attorney-general put their application in his pocket, not suffering it to be read. The justices declined to license Jackson's house as a place of worship for Dissenters.

The habeas was issued the 8th day of March, and my lord issued a new order of commitment in due form, admitting the illegality of the other. The sheriff refused to execute the writ of habeas corpus till they had paid "twelve pieces-of-eight" for their commitment, and as many more for the execution of the writ. They now gave security, Dr. John Johnstone, of the Jerseys, and William Jackson, being their bail.

The Supreme Court met on Tuesday, March 11, and they were present; but the attorney moved, and it was ordered, that they appear on the last day of term. While the grand jury were considering the case, Cornbury ordered Major Sandford, of Newark, to examine Jasper Crane, of Newark, and the Rev. Samuel Melyen, of Elizabethtown, concerning the discourse Makemie had with them. The grand jury examined four witnesses, who testified that Makemie preached no false doctrine. They brought in on the last day a bill charging him with preaching without being qualified or permitted, and using other rites and ceremonies than those of the Common Prayer. The trial was set down for the June term; and Makemie, on his own bonds and those previously given, was allowed to depart.

The Presbytery met on Saturday, March 22, and adjourned till Tuesday at 4 P. M. At that time Makemie and Hampton appeared; and Makemie, "by way of exercise," and Wilson, "by way of addition," preached on Hebrews i. 1, 2. The discourses were approved.

In June, he returned to New York with his man, and, pleading

not guilty, the petit jury was called on the 6th. Not having the right of peremptory challenge, he objected against Elias Neau, who had justified Cornbury's course. Makemie expressed surprise at such language from a Huguenot, so lately dragooned out of France. He was employed as a catechist by the Venerable Society: "a good man,* but not in favour with the rector, Vesey." He was strongly attached to the Church; "he would not condemn the Dissenters, leaving that judgment to God;" which, considering how much the Church had invaded the divine prerogatives, was remarkably moderate. Neau was set aside.

The jury being impanelled, Makemie admitted having preached at the time and place signified. The attorney-general, Mr. Bickley, † read the Queen's instructions to the governor:—"You are not to permit any minister, without certificate from the Bishop of London, to preach without obtaining your leave." The attorney-general asserted the Queen's supremacy as head of the Church; cited the Act of Uniformity, and the Queen's instructions. "I doubt not the jury will find for the Queen."

Mr. Regniere ‡ replied, showing that the preaching was not private nor unlawful, for the law of the province was, that all persons professing faith in God by Jesus Christ his only Son, may freely meet at convenient places and worship according to their respective persuasions. The Act of Uniformity does not extend to New England, nor to this province; we have no more need of the Toleration Act than they.

Mr. William Nicoll made merry with the attorney-general's argument; he asserted the constitutions of the Plantations to have been settled, as by national consent, for those whose thoughts in religious matters could not square with the national establishment.

Mr. David Jamison said, "We have no Established Church here; we have liberty of conscience by act of Assembly made in the beginning of William and Mary's reign. This province is made up chiefly of Dissenters and persons not of English birth."

Makemie, having leave, said, "He agreed with what the attorney-general had asserted before Lord Cornbury,—that the penal statutes and the Act of Toleration were local, not reaching to the Plantations. He showed that the Queen's instructions related solely to ministers of the Establishment. Why are we denied what is freely given to Lutherans, Quakers, and Jews?"

The attorney-general moved that the jury be directed to bring in a special verdict, and the chief-justice directed them to do so.

* Albany Documents; Hawkins; Weiss's French Refugees.

† May Bickley, Esq., died in April, 1724. "He was not a barrister-at-law."
—New York Documents.

‡ A son-in-law of Colonel Markham, Deputy-Governor of Pennsylvania.

The jury in a short time returned, bringing in a verdict of not guilty. This was the more remarkable, for the governors were careful, when appointing sheriffs, to select such that the Church* "might be safe as to the juries;" even Governor Hunter claimed credit for having displaced gentlemen from the Commission of the Peace, on Staten Island, because they were not as friendly to the church as the missionary at that post desired. Four of the jury were Huguenots,—Bartholemew Laroux, Andrew Lauron, Thomas Bayeux, and Charles Cromline. One, William Horsewell, was probably a Presbyterian, named Horsefield, whose descendant was afterwards an elder.

Mr. Regniere moved that the defendant be discharged, but the chief-justice† declined; the next day his discharge was ordered, he paying the fees. These amounted to eighty-three pounds. The legislature soon after denounced the iniquity of requiring a man, proved innocent, to pay the costs of an unjust prosecution.

Makemie preached in the French Church, and proceeded to New Jersey. Cornbury issued new processes to arrest him there, as concerned in the authorship of the Jersey paper entitled "Forget and Forgive." A whole Sabbath was spent in vain search for him, and he was put to a fresh expense of twelve pounds to escape into Connecticut. He wrote from Boston to Cornbury, July 28, 1707, that the authors of the paper smiled at his lordship's mistake, and that he waited a time to confront his sworn accusers in court and convict them of perjury:—

"My universal known reputation makes me easy under the invidious imputation of being a Jesuit. I have been represented to your lordship as being factious both in Virginia and Maryland. I have lived peaceably in Virginia; I have brought from Maryland a certificate of my past reputation, signed by some of the best men in Somerset county."

He printed, at Boston, the sermon‡ which occasioned his imprisonment, with the motto, (Matthew v. 11; Acts v. 29:)—"Preces et lachrymæ sunt arma ecclesiæ." It is dedicated to the small congregation which heard it. "Had I been thoroughly acquainted with New York, and the irregularities thereof, which afterwards I was an eye and ear witness of, I could not have selected a more suitable doctrine." This he ascribes to Divine Providence, and hopes it may be an inducement to awaken sinners. The dedication is dated March 3, 1706-7.

* Governor Hunter: in Albany Documents.

† "Mompessom was sent over as chief-justice to Pennsylvania, by William Penn, with high commendations, but, receiving no encouragement, went to New York."—Janney's Life of Penn. Governor Hunter says, "His poverty exposed him to temptations."—New York Documents.

‡ In the Library of Colonel Force, at Washington.

Cornbury, "that noble patron of the Church here,"* was rebuked by the Rev. Thorogood Moor, a Church minister, for debauchery and swearing. He refused to administer the Lord's Supper to a man of so evil a life as Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldsby. Cornbury threw him into prison: he escaped on ship-board, and was lost on his voyage to England.

Cornbury was displaced soon after. Colonel Quarry† wrote, June 28, 1707,—“Colonel Morris and Jennings, with two or three others, had been very hard at work in hatching the most scandalous paper I ever saw in my life. It was false, malicious, unjust, and most barbarously rude; they treated his excellency most inhumanly; they got printed a scandalous libel and dispersed a vast number. They had got an Assembly in the Jerseys to their mind.” This libel was probably the Jersey paper, which came out in February, while Makemie was in durance, and which so exasperated Cornbury.

Dr. John Johnstone, of the Jerseys, a druggist in Edinburgh, married Eupham, daughter of George Scot, of Pitlochie, and accompanied his father-in-law in his ill-fated voyage to New Jersey. His sister, with her husband, Mr. Hume, dying at sea, he showed all kindness to his niece, who became the wife of William Hoge. Dr. Johnstone resided at Amboy, and died there, September 6, 1732, aged seventy-three. His son Lewis married a daughter of Colonel Heatheote, of Scarsdale Manor; and his son Andrew married Catharine Van Cortland.

Makemie published “A Narrative of a New and Unusual American Imprisonment of two Presbyterian Ministers, and Prosecution of Mr. Francis Makemie, one of them for preaching one sermon in the city of New York. By a learner of Law and a lover of Liberty.”

This tract was reprinted, in 1755, by Hugh Gaine in New York, under the direction of Livingston, Smith, and other gentlemen, concerned in conducting the “Watch Tower.” In August, 1769, Dr. Zubly, of Savannah, sent a fragment of it to President Stiles, as likely to be of great service in the cause of liberty, if brought before the public.

The representations made to the British Government drew from Cornbury the following letter‡ to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trades and Plantations:—

“MY LORDS:—

“I trouble your lordships with these lines, to acquaint you that, on the 17th of January, 1705-6, a man of this town, one Jack-

* Rev. Dr. Carmichael, formerly of Hempstead, Long Island.

† Albany Documents.

‡ Transcribed for me from the Albany Documents by Mr. Joel Munsell, and printed, with my consent, in Dr. Foote's Sketches of Virginia.

son, came to acquaint me that two ministers were come to town,—one from Virginia and one from Maryland,—and that they desired to know when they might speak with me. I, being willing to show what civility I could to men of that character, ordered my man to tell Jackson, they should be welcome to come and dine with me. They came; and then I found, by the answers they gave to the questions I asked them, that one, whose name is Francis Mackensie, is a Presbyterian preacher settled in Virginia; the other, whose name is John Hampton, a young Presbyterian minister, lately come to settle in Maryland. They dined with me, and talked of indifferent matters. They pretended they were going towards Boston. They did not say one syllable to me of preaching here, nor did not ask leave to do it. They applied themselves to the Dutch minister for leave to preach in the Dutch Church in this town; who told them he was very willing, provided they could get my consent. They never came to me for it. They went likewise to the elders of the French Church: they gave them the same answer the Dutch had. All this while they never applied themselves to me for leave, nor did they offer to qualify themselves as the law directs. But on the Monday following I was informed that Mackensie had preached on the day before at the house of one Jackson, a shoemaker in this town; and that Hampton had preached on Long Island; and that Mackensie was gone over thither, with intent to preach in all the towns in that island, having spread a report thereto that they had a commission from the Queen to preach all along this continent. I was informed on the same day from New Jersey, that the same men had preached in several places in that province, and had ordained, after their manner, some young men, who had preached without it among the Dissenters; and that, when asked if they had leave from the Government, they said they had no need of leave from any governor; that they had the Queen's authority for what they did. These reports, and the information I had from Long Island of their behaviour there, induced me to send an order to the sheriff of Queen's county to bring them to this place; which he did on the 23d day of January, in the evening. The attorney-general was with me. I asked Mackensie how he came to preach in this government without acquainting me with it, and without qualifying himself as the law requires? He told me he had qualified himself according to law in Virginia; and that, having done so, he would preach in any part of the Queen's dominions where he pleased; that this province is part of the Queen's dominions as well as Virginia, and that the license he had obtained there was as good as any he could obtain here.

“I told him, that Virginia was part of the Queen's dominions as well as this province, but that they are two different governments, and that no law or order of that province can take place

in this, any more than any order or law of this province can take place in that; which no reasonable man would imagine could be allowed. He told me he understood the law as well as any man, and was satisfied he had not offended against the law; that the penal laws did not extend to, and were not enforced in, America. To which the attorney-general replied, that if the penal laws did not take place in America, neither did the Act of Toleration; 'nor is it proper,' said he, 'that it should, since the latter is no more than a suspension of the former.' Mackensie said, that the Queen granted liberty of conscience to all her subjects without reserve. I told him he was so far in the right; that the Queen was graciously pleased to grant liberty of conscience to all her subjects except Papists; that he might be a Papist for all I knew, under pretence of being of another persuasion; and that, therefore, it was necessary that he should have satisfied the Government what he was, before he ventured to preach. He said he would qualify himself in any manner and would settle in this province. I told him that, whenever any of the people in either of the provinces under my government had desired leave to call a minister of their own persuasion, they had never been denied; but that I should be very cautious how I allowed a man so prone to bid defiance to Government as I found he was. He said, he had done nothing he could not answer. So I ordered the high-sheriff of this city to take them into custody, and I directed the attorney-general to proceed against them as the law directs; which he has done, by preferring an indictment against Mackensie for preaching in this city without qualifying himself as the Act of Toleration directs. The grand jury found the bill; but the petty jury acquitted him. So he has gone towards New England, uttering many severe threats against me. As I hope I have done nothing in this matter but what I was obliged in duty to do, especially since I think it is very plain by the Act of Toleration it was not intended to tolerate or allow strolling preachers; but only those persons who dissent from the Church of England should be at liberty to serve God after their own way in the several places of their abode, without being liable to the penalties of certain laws. So I entreat your lordships' protection against this malicious man, who is well known in Virginia and Maryland to be a disturber of the peace and quiet of all the places he comes into. He is Jack-of-all-trades; he is a preacher, a doctor of physic, a merchant, an attorney, a counsellor-at-law, and, which is worst of all, a disturber of governments. I should have sent your lordships this account sooner, but I was willing to see the issue of the trial.

"I am, my lords,

"Your lordships' most faithful, humble servant,

"CORNBURY.

"NEW YORK, October 14, 1706."

The result of his visit to Boston is not known. He died in the summer of 1708, leaving a widow and two daughters. Elizabeth survived him less than a year; and his widow soon followed her to the grave. Anne married Mr. Holden, of Accomac, and died in 1787, childless, leaving a large property.*

Makemie left one hundred and twenty English books to his family; his law-books to Andrew Hamilton, Esq.,† and the rest of his library to Andrews and his successors in Philadelphia. He left four lots, with the buildings, to the Presbyterian congregation of Rehoboth, on Pocomoke, and to their successors; but "to none else but to such as are of the same persuasion in matters of religion."

His portrait was destroyed in the burning of Dr. Balch's house; but his course of life portrays a man of learning, energy, talent, and public spirit. Dr. Miller, on the authority of Dr. Rodgers and of Dr. Read, of Wilmington, speaks of him as a man of eminent piety and strong intellectual powers, adding to force of talents a fascinating address, conspicuous for his natural endowments and his dignity and faithfulness as a minister of the gospel. His Catechism has escaped the researches of American collectors.

He had two brothers in county Donegal (Ireland) alive at his decease. Andrews baptized Elizabeth, a child of Francis Makemie, February 2, 1730. It was he, probably, who appeared as a commissioner from Warrington before Philadelphia Presbytery in May, 1739.

In the Bishop of London's palace, at Lambeth, are letters from the Episcopal clergy in Maryland, stating that many fell away from them, by reason of the Dissenters in Makemie's day.

SAMUEL DAVIS.

HE was next to Makemie in point of years, and, like him, engaged in trade. He was residing in Delaware in July, 1692,

* "She gave by her will £100, to be disposed of yearly, for the support of a minister by the Session of Pitt's Creek, Maryland; and £50, for the poor of that neighbourhood."—*Spence*.

† Was this Andrew Hamilton the father of James Hamilton, Governor of Pennsylvania? Andrew was a distinguished lawyer of Philadelphia, whose argument in behalf of Zenger the printer, prosecuted by Governor Cosby, of New York, was published in England as a most valuable assertion of the rights of persons charged with libel. He died at his seat at Bush Hill, Philadelphia, August 4, 1741, at an advanced age.