# CENTENNIAL
# HISTORICAL DISCOURSES

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

In the United States of America.

WITH THE

# MODERATOR'S SERMON

BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1876.

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THE PERIOD FROM THE

# FOUNDING OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE
# UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE
# COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY THE

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# CENTENNIAL HISTORICAL DISCOURSES.

## FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH TO THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

PRESBYTERIANS, unlike others of all the chief denominations in our favored nation, came to the heritage which they have by this time, with little or no incorporation at the first. Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Reformed Dutch, Swedes, Baptists, Methodists, Lutheran and Reformed Germans,—all came at the beginning in bands of some previous organization or compact in the Old World for the purpose of settlement here in the way of colonization or mission at least, in order to prepare the way for transplanting the old or new sodalities of other lands.* The most remarkable fact which distinguishes our beginning is that every attempt

* *History of the Presbyterian Church*, by Dr. Charles Hodge, Part I., p. 21.

of this kind was foiled by some baleful disaster. The earliest failure on record, probably, was that of the Eagle's Wing, a ship freighted for America in 1637 with ministers and people from Scotland and Ireland, to follow the example of the Puritans who had so recently embarked from England and successfully reached these shores. Everything seemed to be well appointed for conveying to a friendly haven here a compacted Presbyterian body, in full shape, as a model of elderships already made, and sure to begin a commonwealth of session, presbytery and synod. But the sea wrought and was tempestuous, and storms of heaven compelled them to return.* John Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh, who represented prelacy in Ireland, lashed the disappointed voyagers with ridicule in Latin verse. But Samuel Rutherford, of Scotland, with prophetic sympathy, saw deeper into the mystery of that result, and wrote, in one of those letters which have a saintly fragrance for all generations, "I would not have you think it strange that your journey to New England has got such a dash. It hath, indeed, made my heart heavy, but I know that it is no dumb Providence, but a speaking one, whereby the Lord speaks his mind to you, though for the present ye do not well understand what he saith."

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* Reed's *History of the Presbyterian Church, Ireland.*

The God of our fathers continued, however, to speak in this way. A plan for colonizing America with their own disciples was approved by some seventy members of the Westminster Assembly before their session ended, but the civil war hindered its execution.* Immediately after the battle of Dunbar, Oliver Cromwell sent shiploads of Scotchmen to be sold in these plantations for the expenses of their passage. And after the Restoration, Charles II. sent his prisoners from the risings of Pentland and Bothwell to be sold in like manner from Boston to Charleston, at any price that might pay for transporting them to exile. But all this, of course, was cruel dispersion, and not the pilgrimage of churches. Schemes in Scotland to fill emigrant ships with Covenanters taken from the mountain gorges and the filthy prisons, where only they could escape the dragoons of Claverhouse, though favored by wealthy patrons and prompted by the persecuting government itself, were always dashed by some adversity—perhaps a spiteful arrest of the embarkation at the very point of departure, crazy ships which could not make the passage, desolating fevers on shipboard, or a pestilential home awaiting them at the place of their destination, as it was at Port Royal in South Carolina. Something always turned up to baffle and disperse a transported Presbyterianism. The last enterprise of this kind was the saddest of all. A noble confessor, of whom the world was not worthy, son of a wealthy patriot who had done much service to the State—George Scot of Pitlochie—for the crime of harboring John Welsh in his house and following him in "the preaching of the fields," had been ruined in his patrimony by insatiate fines and broken in health by cruel imprisonment, and at length permitted to leave his country with his life, provided he would take with him, at his own expense, a cargo of similar offenders to a settlement somewhere in East Jersey. With wise and persevering aim he determined to gather a Presbyterian church for his company—Archibald Riddel for the minister, John Fraser, a candidate for the ministry, elders and deacons and people of the best condition, Bibles and psalm books and Confessions of Faith. More than double the number of pilgrims that had filled the Mayflower at Plymouth, as near the beginning of the century as this was the end, crowded the ship of Pitlochie, and superior, perhaps, to any shipload of men and women that ever weighed anchor in passing over to America, estimating their social position at home along with their intelligence and piety and devotion to the liberty of Christ. But the depth of ocean claimed that sainted colony for its own. The master of the ship was brutally inhuman. Their provisions were spoiled, a deadly fever seized the passengers and dropped them in the sea, the great majority, including that heroic George himself and his wife, and all of his except one married daughter.*

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* Webster's *History of the Presbyterian Church in America.*

These memorials of peculiar adversity are now, indeed, as Rutherford would say, "a speaking Providence" to us, and we may understand the meaning. It was that Presbyterianism, "whose seed is in itself after his kind," should be indigenous upon American soil, and show here as nowhere else its innate and incomparable force of organization; that no ready-made consolidation should be imported here, with transplanted shape or exotic tradition, to find its genesis in accidents of European history for all coming time. The seeds of Westminster, wafted hither, as their field is the world, must come like the thistledown, detached from one another and floating individually, as if borne to be dispersed, and growing ripe only to be scattered abroad by every wind that blows. Like Abraham, the man of this faith must receive in solitary exile the promise that a nation shall be born of him and all this wilderness shall be the possession of his principles. It was appointed of God that the polity of Presbyterians, like each man's own pocket-Bible, should be an individual conviction before it became a conventional arrangement, gathered with private judgment from inspired pages, and written on the table of the heart before it had occasion to bind itself about the neck and adorn the hands of a great denomination.

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* Wodrow and Webster.

So it had sprung forth at the first Reformation, when Protestantism, to the four-fifths of its whole extension, emerged, a Presbyterian organism in all the leading features of its visibility. So it had sprung forth at the second reformation, in Puritan mightiness, with the overthrow of Tudor and Stuart prelacy in England, when the fallow grounds of civil and religious liberty were ploughed so deeply at the springtide of the English commonwealth. Never before did truth so spring out of the earth and righteousness look down from heaven at the work of symbolism, without apology to be made any more, in a creed, and without a bias in the body, religious or political, as when the hundred and twenty-one divines, along with thirty statesmen illustrious for ability and learning, were summoned to construct our standards in the chapel of Henry the Seventh. And now the virgin soil of a new world was to have a like spontaneous growth of the same model, and that beyond the reach of any of that reactionary influence which has always been lurking in the dormitories of spiritual despotism, through the Old World.

Hence that obscurity which hides from us the precise date and particular place at which the first Presbyterian organization was made in our country. It is always hard to tell the first blade of corn that appears in a field over which the seed has been scattered in season or out of season. Long Island has claimed it for Jamaica. But more than twenty years before, McNish, the first Presbyterian minister there, moved for an eldership and a presbytery. Riddel, the minister whom Pitlochie selected, was laboring in 1685 at Woodbridge. New Jersey has therefore claimed it; but the ministry of Riddel was transient as a missionary tour; he returned in a little time to Scotland. So Maryland has claimed it, and historians generally concede this claim; because, in answer to an application from Col. Stevens in 1680 to the presbytery of Laggan, Ireland, Francis McKemie came to Maryland in the year 1682 and began to organize churches at once. And yet in 1684 he wrote to Increase Mather from Elizabeth River, in Virginia, that his lot had been providentially cast among "a poor and desolate people" there, who had lost their "dissenting minister" by death in August of 1683. It is evident, therefore, that soon after he came to this country he was laboring on the east branch of Elizabeth River, Norfolk county, Va., as the successor of a dissenting, and probably Presbyterian, minister, whose settlement there had been indefinitely earlier.

But beyond all question, Francis McKemie, the Irishman, born in Donegal and educated among the Scottish universities, began the organizing of our Church throughout this land, with abounding missionary toil to gather it and amazing skill of administration to settle it. Of course he brought his convictions of truth and order with him to work with and not to speculate about as an alterable Presbyterianism, which might be made something other than it had been in order to suit American people. His errand was to plant what he already knew and believed in. And whilst he wrote for help in all directions, to Boston and to London, where Congregational and Presbyterian unions existed, it was to Ireland he would go back, through all perils of the sea, to bring over men like himself in culture and conviction, to carry on his work and extend it, as he did in 1705, when he brought with him John Hampton and George McNish.

The first presbytery met in 1706 at Freehold, N. J., soon after his return with such recruits, and he was the moderator. It consisted of eight ministers, including the one ordained at that meeting, with as many ruling elders as might be present, and who were present on the rolls of that initial period (which are extant) in as large proportion as they have ever attended since. The members were all Scotch-Irish, excepting one, the pastor of Philadelphia, Jedediah Andrews, who was from Massachusetts; Francis McKemie, John Hampton, George McNish, Samuel Davis, John Wilson, Nathaniel Taylor and John Boyd were the other ministers; and the record shows that everything proceeded with the same order and the same transaction and the same parlance of the minute as if the presbytery of Laggan itself had been transported bodily to Freehold, as they had resolved that it should be if Usher had not mitigated at that very time the yoke of prelacy under which they were groaning in Ireland.* To say, therefore, that American Presbyterianism is "its own type," different from the system everywhere else, must be either untrue in the light of our authentic annals or a mere truism in historical averment, as much as to say that French and Genevan and Holland and English and Scotch and Irish Presbyterianism is each its own type. There is but one type of what is divinely true, since the Archetype ascended to "give" a pattern from "the mount." And if there be anything peculiar in calling this American, it must be the perfect freedom with which it works off here everything that shaped or constrained it elsewhere by "the commandments of men."

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* See *Records*, edited by Dr. Wm. M. Engles, Board of Publication.

Francis McKemie himself was a type of the American minister, more complete, probably, than any other man ever born and educated on our own soil through all our generations. Intensely individual and yet many-sided, firm yet versatile, thoughtful and practical, devoted to one thing and occupied with many things, he was indeed the father of that "peculiar" body, the presbyterate of this denomination, and the only "priesthood" we have except our people. Beginning with a good education, soundness in the faith and soberness of mind, to try the religion of his fathers in the experiment of life, making all circumstances yield to its importance, taming the wilderness with its culture, and founding customs, laws and constitutions of social and civil advancement according to its paramount and original norm, he came as a missionary and lived like an apostle; aggressive, obeying God rather than man; loyal to Cæsar, but never abashed before his tribunals; working with his own hands, though at the business of a merchant, and giving to the Church of his own substance more than he received from her all the days of his life.

Having preached some time at Barbadoes on his way to this country, it was at "the Barbadoes store" in this city that he preached the first Presbyterian sermon at Philadelphia in the year 1692, some six years before the settlement of the first pastor, Mr. Andrews.

The care of all the churches was upon him; and no itinerant ever journeyed so much on the coast of our country in seeking "a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people," and yet no man was ever so much intent on establishing permanent and pastoral relations and precise presbyterial connections. He wrote well, with a vigorous pen, and began well in using the press for instruction to the young and the ignorant. His first production was a catechism, and his second a defence of that catechism against George Keith, a man of vast notoriety as an apostate Quaker and renegade Episcopalian. This made McKemie famous at Boston as an author, and won for him the admiration of Increase and Cotton Mather. He was a Christian gentleman, withal, of the most cultivated manners, and an orator of graceful power and fascinating address. He always captivated the rulers of Maryland and Virginia in his applications to them for the liberty of preaching, and he never failed to win his way with these accomplishments until he came to New York and dined with Edward Hyde, the viscount Cornbury, a full cousin of Queen Anne, and grandson of Clarendon, the historian of calumny.

Cornbury had come as governor of the colony in 1702. Nine years before this unfortunate event a statute had passed through the assembly and council by "an artifice," according to the boast of its author subsequently made, the whole assembly being dissenters except the speaker himself. By this act the territory was to be divided into parishes for "one good and sufficient minister" in each, to be supported by taxes levied on all the people. Most of the people being Dutch, and honestly believing that one "good and sufficient minister" might be Reformed or Independent just as well as Episcopalian, and the people in every parish being authorized to assess their own taxes and choose their own pastors, no ruler, governor or judge dared to unveil the trick, and it remained a dead letter until Cornbury came with "instructions," as he alleged, from the court or council of the queen. These instructions were, in substance, that the "Act of Toleration," William and Mary, 1689, should not be extended to the province of New York without the express permission of the governor. High-church partisans, we know, carried everything in the court of Queen Anne. "The Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was instituted in 1701 under such auspices, with ample funds and powerful patrons, political as well as religious. George Keith, Colonel Morris and Lord Cornbury were now factors on this side of the Atlantic to nullify the act of toleration, establish the hierarchy of England in America, and restore the intolerance which had been overthrown by the revolution at home. Simultaneous with Cornbury's arrival was the effort of Morris to persuade the colonial assembly of New Jersey to give up their government to the Crown and enact the same "artifice" for the Church as in New York—a measure defeated by only two votes, one of a Quaker and the other of a Baptist, and yet virtually accomplished for thirty-six years by the proprietaries themselves when they surrendered to the Crown their possessions in New Jersey as a burden more than a profit. Even William Penn was startled at this turn of spiritual despotism when he found Lord Cornbury looking after Philadelphia, and the vestrymen of the city actually intriguing for an extension of the viscount's authority over them. A storm from the pen of that mild philanthropist effectually stopped the business in Pennsylvania, when he wrote to the lords of trade and plantations demanding that they should either buy him out or let him buy out "the hot Church party," as he called it.

At this time it was that McKemie and Hampton came along on their way to Boston in quest of more ministers. Their fame had preceded them at New York. The governor himself sought their acquaintance. But with all his politeness and pretension, they would not ask him for leave to preach, and he was enraged. The Dutch and French churches both refused the pulpit to McKemie through fear of the tyrant, who had openly declared that the "one good and sufficient minister," in the act of 1693, must be construed as one episcopally ordained according to the Church of England, so that no other English preaching at least should be had in New York without his consent; and even Dutch and French preaching was made to feel that it was free by sufferance and shielded by its foreign tongues, rather than by prescription or treaty or law. But still the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian would preach in New York, and that without the governor's leave; and accordingly, in a private house on Pearl street, that of William Jackson, a shoemaker, the first Presbyterian sermon was preached to as many as would hear him, with doors and windows open, on the text Psalm l. 23: "To him that ordereth his conversation aright will I show the salvation of God." An infant child also was baptized in that service. The same day Hampton preached at Newtown, Long Island.

Early in the week they were both arrested and brought before the angry and bigoted official. With the utmost dignity and manliness McKemie demanded to know by what law the arrest was made. Cornbury said his "instructions" were the law, and they would not suffer him to allow "strolling preachers to spread their pernicious doctrines." McKemie replied that his Confession of Faith was known to the world, that his doctrines were sound, the same as the articles of the Church that denied him the right to preach them, and challenged examination, saying that they had been already approved by the authorities of Virginia and Maryland, and at Barbadoes also, where he had been qualified according to the act of toleration. At this the persecutor exclaimed that no law of the kind belonged to the colonies, and no permission, at any rate from another province, would avail under his government, and he would know nothing but his own instructions from Her Majesty's council. McKemie denied that his instructions were law, and again demanded a sight of the statute under which he was arrested. "You, sir, know law!" said Cornbury, with a sneer, and ordered him to prison.

Everything technical in the form of commitment was violated. Repeated experiments to correct the blundering were made, and each blunder of the writ had to be paid for by the prisoners, whilst they were kept all the while in jail. It seemed impossible to obtain either liberty or trial. After two month's imprisonment he was released on bail, and immediately went back to attend a meeting of presbytery in Philadelphia, thence resuming his missionary work, without forgetting his recognizance at New York.

At length a true bill was found against McKemie, Hampton being released. When the trial came on, the accused was defended by counsel and by himself. Tradition lauds the eloquence and power of his argument. The prosecution was overwhelmed with defeat and shame before judge and jury, and he was unanimously acquitted. Yet the cost to him of that persecuting false imprisonment and the trial was enormous, designed to make him still a prisoner for the debt. And he narrowly escaped a second arrest and the jail because he refused to promise that he would not preach again in New York, and actually did preach in the French church.

Within a year after this outrage on the Presbyterians, Lord Cornbury was superseded in office —not for his bigoted intolerance, however, but for his profligacy and corruption, a dishonored bankrupt and a disgrace alike to Church and State. And yet even in his downfall he raved against McKemie, and attempted to justify the atrocious wrong of that persecution before the lords of trade and plantations with the following description of our venerated founder, which, in softer phrase, might be considered apostolic fitness for his work in America: "He is jack-of-all-trades: he is a preacher, a doctor of physic, a merchant, an attorney, a counselor-at-law, and, which is worst of all, a disturber of governments." The same year, 1708, McKemie died.

The agitation of this affair and other iniquitous proceedings, like the wrong done to Jamaica in robbing her by fraud and violence of both church and glebe—the most valuable church property on Long Island—and compelling her people to wait through almost thirty years of expensive litigation to recover it from the Episcopalians, at length disgusted governors and judges even belonging to that sect.* A feud also had been occasioned between clergy and laity by the greed and ambition of Vesey, the first rector of Trinity church. He had been born and bred a Puritan, and had been sent by Increase Mather to look after the Congregationalists about New York. But Governor Fletcher, another of the most corrupt men of his age, offered him the rectorship and sent him to England for "orders," although he was ultimately installed by two ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church. He was entirely bought over, and at once became even more than "conformed." His eye was taken with a small farm called the "King's Bowerie," and he determined to grasp the fee simple for Trinity. The Episcopalian people desired only a lease, being opposed to mortmain not only, but to the schemes of Vesey in general, having little confidence in his integrity or sanctity. But he triumphed over the best and ablest laymen of his church, and secured in temporalty for the support and propagation of prelacy the largest inheritance of any particular church in America.

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* Dr. Macdonald's *History Jamaica Church.*

In the confusion of this quarrel the handful of pious men who had continued their distinct meetings for prayer on the Lord's day, after the visit of McKemie, were encouraged to attempt the formation of a Presbyterian church in the city of New York. Some of the most prominent citizens belonged to this band, and were soon associated with numbers increasing from year to year. They determined to have a pastor in 1716, and called James Anderson from Delaware, a Scotchman ordained nine years before by the presbytery of Irvine for American missions—"a graceful orator, a popular preacher and a worthy man." In three years a church was built, and even the legislature of Connecticut ordered a collection throughout that colony to aid the enterprise. In 1720 the congregation petitioned the governor and council for a charter of incorporation. But the opposition of Trinity church, actually appearing by counsel, defeated them, and the title to their property had to be vested in Anderson himself and three members of the church and by them transferred to ministers of Edinburgh in 1730. For more than half a century the First Presbyterian church of New York city could not obtain the right of a citizen to sue and be sued in the courts of the country, owing to the hostile power and overshadowing wealth of Trinity church. And this injustice greatly damaged there the feeble inception of our cause. It compelled the pastor to meddle too much with the temporal concerns of the church and brought dissension into the bosom of his flock. A division ensued and a second congregation was made, and Jonathan Edwards, at the age of nineteen, was called to the new organization. But Anderson resigned his charge, and Edwards left with much regret for want of competent support. Both congregations were soon happily reunited in the ministry of Ebenezer Pemberton, son of a Boston pastor, and a graduate of Harvard, who prospered for thirty years in that conspicuous charge, and left it a flock of nearly fourteen hundred souls.

Thus the peculiar and extreme dispersion to which Presbyterians were doomed at the early colonization of this country was followed with legal and illegal intolerance precisely at the period of the first formation. No wonder it was so in the cradle of that day, when the old convening propensity toward presbyteries and synods, which had troubled the prelacy of England so much for a century and a half, began to show itself on this continent, like a handwriting on the wall, to signify that spiritual despotism was finished, that the union of Church and State would be impossible, that between the bondage of hierarchical tyranny on one side and the anarchy of advisory councils on the other a strong republic not of this world would arise, well compacted, like a stone cut out without hands, to become a great mountain, filling the land and remaining "an eternal excellency, the joy of many generations."

It was in "the Augustan age of England" that our infant Church was hindered and oppressed from New York to Charleston, with disabilities thrown upon her even in Maryland, where Episcopalians revoked what Roman Catholics had given of religious liberty.

East of New York, and over almost the whole extent of Puritan independency, there was a civil establishment which made parishes identical with townships, and taxed the inhabitants by statute for the support of the Church as well as the road, the prison and the poorhouse. When Presbyterian emigrants came, therefore, to attempt the distinct organization of their churches in New England, it was found that a constraint and burden beset them but little different from the oppression of the old countries, where dissent was liable to the tithing of installed religion as well as the voluntary offering of stipend for its own ministry and ordinances. They were not only too poor but too conscientious to support with their substance a discipline of the Church that was radically different from their own representative system. And there was jealousy, harsh and bitter at times, on the part of ministers and people among those theocratic townships. When a few Presbyterians attempted to settle at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1718, with their pastor Fitzgerald, they were violently hindered by a mob from building a house of worship, and that mob, it is said, was headed by some "considerable persons" of the town; and this intolerance continued for twenty years in the way of taxing Presbyterians for the support of the first Congregational church of that town, until most of them removed to the western frontier of New York.

A whole presbytery, called by tradition the Irish Presbytery, and calling themselves the Presbytery of Boston, consisting of ten ministers at least besides Lemercier of the French church in that city, became so quietly and completely pressed down and out by the policy of New England in the first part of the last century that history can hardly find the date either of its origin or its extinction.* Exceptional places like Londonderry and Rutland, where some division of the township by courts of law or acts of the colonial assembly afforded relief, were very few during the whole period of Presbyterian settlement.

Indeed, there was but one strip of country in all our broad land where presbytery could stretch itself without molestation from the jealousy of spiritual powers, and that was the border of a savage wilderness. It happened, in the goodness of God, that most of this border was the Jezreel of America, rich and beautiful through its whole extent of Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania and Shenandoah in Virginia, and yet the bloodiest battle-ground we have ever had since the beginning of our American civilization. There the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were suffered to pour the streams of immigration and set up their tabernacle without a challenge, because there they had to stand guardsmen for the nation through nearly the whole of a century. The cabins there might worship as they pleased.

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* Colman's MSS., Massachusetts Historical Society's collection.

A cordon of blood and fire might build its own altars and have the war-whoop of the Indian for a diapason through its own cathedrals. The apathetic peace of Quaker authorities in Pennsylvania and the chevalier pride of Episcopal authorities in Virginia united in giving countenance to Presbyterians all along the North Mountain, while the trail of the savage and smoke of his wigwam, the deadly rifle and ruthless tomahawk, made it undesirable to have the "one good and sufficient minister" in every parish ordained episcopally and supported by "a tax on all the inhabitants" of poor and perilous frontier stockades.

But there presbytery flourished. There a pure gospel was preached by such men as Craighead and Thompson and Steele and Elder with a pocket-Bible in one hand and a loaded rifle in the other. There and then, as always in critical or eventful times, heroes grew on the bench of ruling elders. There Chambers, at the peril of his life and fortune, gathered a whole community into his own fort, and when other populations fled the valley, stood with indomitable courage at the outposts of civilization in his town, and almost alone rolled back the rush of savage inhumanity.* And there it was that Armstrong, a ruling elder in Carlisle, drew to him Hugh

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* *Irish and Scotch Early Settlers, etc.*, by George Chambers.

Mercer, a young physician from Scotland, and projected that intrepid action at Kittanning which delivered the valley from savage incursion, and stands in history, as it did in the opinion of Washington, the most valorous and timely discomfiture of the foe ever achieved in warfare with the Indians. Armstrong lived to become the intimate friend of Washington, by whose influence he was made a general of the Revolution and a member of the old Congress. And his son it was who carried Mercer in his arms from the battle-ground of Princeton, became a senator in Congress, ambassador to France and secretary of war in the administration of Madison.

It will now be admitted that, in view of all the disadvantages of our beginning and opposition to our first progress, there must be rare dynamic virtue in the creed which could gather people so dispersed, and organize quickly and well a body like the Presbyterian Church, that has always grown consolidated in proportion as it has grown vast. In 1707 it had eight ministers and twelve churches. In 1717 it had more than double this number both of ministers and churches; and the perfect harmony with which it went into a synod that year and agreed upon the subordination of three presbyteries into which it was resolved, and drew to this plural a fourth in Long Island which had been Independent more than Presbyterian ten years before, shows a primal force in some great principles underlying our whole conception of the Church. No one can doubt, with our primitive records before him, that the first ecclesiastical movement which we relate this day was due to intelligent ideas that had been maturing for centuries, and began to work on this hemisphere anew, and yet normal as if they had begun again at the suburbs of Geneva or colleges of Edinburgh; and just as little can we doubt that the assimilation of new material from Holland, France, Germany, Wales and Sweden, as well as New England, was more and more complete as our system extended its fold. It was better Presbyterianism in 1717 than in 1707; better still in 1729, when "the adopting act" was voted and the numbers had grown to nearly double of what they were at the formation of the synod; better in 1741, when the rupture of ministerial communion made each wing of the separation vie with the other in devotion to the adopted standards of the whole; and better yet when the schism was healed in 1758 with a reunion which made it impossible that the Church could ever split again for the same causes of division.

This great catholic tendency, which is the main characteristic of the Presbyterian system when it is fairly understood, arises from a few elementary principles that were all at work in the first planting, and for almost half a century before an express formulation by the act of 1729, which approved of Presbyterian church government as well as adopted the Confession of Faith and the catechism. Indeed, these principles originated the Reformation in Scotland itself, and were covenanted in the body of her discipline again and again before the Westminster Assembly could gather and build with them a directory in their Confession of Faith. These are chiefly the following:

1. The Church, in its visible form, is a company of parents and children which answers to the divine purpose in Christ before the world began, to prepare a "fullness" for him through all remaining time that will represent him on earth while he represents it in heaven.

2. This representative body is made such by the constant communication of gifts and graces from himself through the agency of the Holy Spirit.

3. These gifts and graces are diversified to an indefinite extent, no two members on earth being perfectly alike in this endowment.

4. Consequently, the larger this body is made, which the Holy Ghost inhabits, the more complete the diversity reflected, and therefore the more fully is this image of Christ delineated among men.

5. Officers commensurate with the need of this body through every age are all given of God with warrant in his word, the ascension gifts of a glorious Master, and all of them representatives emphatically and in a triple sense, representing him to the Church and the Church to him, and both him and the Church to the whole world.

6. These officers, besides the function of each individual according to his order, hold jurisdiction by assemblies, only in the name of Christ, for the exercise of any power bestowed upon the Church.

7. Assemblies, through all their varieties and gradations, are to be compacted together, always converging in some higher unity which is one of ultimate appeal and general authority.

8. This ultimate and highest tribunal, by whatever name it may be called, is the primary court, being next and nearest the Head in the scope of its aims and representation of all the churches, so that if there be power in the Church anywhere lodged which has not been specifically distributed by a formal constitution, this high court is the depository of such power, to meet the exigences that cannot be foreseen or provided for by any written constitution.

9. Election of officers must be in the people of each particular church, who are free to choose

among the candidates approved of God and imbued with his Spirit, suffrage always abiding where the Holy Ghost abides, the great commission of the ministry really resting on the bosom of the whole Church, and no one succession of individual men, who are all given to the Church only to serve her, the transmission of office by those already invested being always a relative and not absolute necessity, qualified by the greater necessity of ability and faithfulness.

These are the principles which had shaped the Presbyterian Church in every land and among English-speaking people just as long before "the adopting act" of America as our Centennial of civil independence has been coming since that adoption. In Scotland a General Assembly existed before either synods or presbyteries were formed, as a council of apostles, elders and brethren was held in Jerusalem before any intermediate judicature had been formed, for the reference of causes from particular churches. Our presbytery at Freehold or Philadelphia one hundred and seventy years ago was the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America. It was a "representation of all the particular churches in this denomination;" it was "the bond of union, peace and mutual confidence" at home and the organ of "correspondence" with churches abroad. It "issued all references and appeals" and exercised all the authority of review over courts of record below it; and beyond this, it often did the session's work in particular churches, and exercised the right of "eminent domain" in bringing its authority to bear on evils and disorders which it was wise to redress before any record could be made below or any complaint and appeal could have time to go up above. In ten years more that General Assembly was called a synod, and this body exercised in turn all the prerogatives now invested in our supreme judicatory by the constitution; and more than this, it often did the work of presbyteries, erecting or dividing particular churches, ordaining, translating and judging ministers, adopting standards—the Westminster Confession of Faith and Directory in 1729, just as the General Assembly of Scotland had done in 1645—without sending down overtures to the presbyteries on the subject. This privilege was a grant, subsequently made, in the way of distribution, vesting rights below which are, of course, irrevocable, from the reservoir of power inherent in that supreme assembly which most fully represents Christ himself and all the particular churches of this denomination, as it was at the close of the seventeenth century in the "Barrier Act" by the General Assembly of Scotland.

We may now see that two republican structures grew up together on this continent during the eighteenth century, the converse of each other, but all the more concordant and helpful to each other on this account—Church republicanism and State republicanism. Very much alike in being both the ordinance of God, and both constructed largely by Presbyterian hands, and both containing the democratic element in large proportion, yet they differ essentially in the order and place they gave to real democracy. The Church begins in heaven; the State begins on earth. The Church begins with unity; the State with multiplicity. The Church is founded on one divine "Rock;" the State is founded on many minute constituencies of men. The Church secures her safety and the liberty of her people by the exercise of power in but one branch of it, committed to men, the judicial, and that modified by the equities of paternal discretion; the State secures her safety and the liberty of her people by the co-ordinate exercise of power in three branches, legislative, judicial, and executive, with as little of the paternal as possible. The Church is complete only in the representation of all the gifts and graces emanating from her Head and flowing down to the skirts of priesthood in her people of every name and place and age, making it impossible for any true Presbyterian to be a bigot and out of co-operative union with a single feature of Jesus wherever it is seen; the State may be complete in but one fragment of an empire, an island as well as a continent, a revolted province or colony as well as a subjugated kingdom annexed; so that it is impossible for a true citizen to be cosmopolitan, as a true Christian is catholic, or to travel from one country to another, without being an alien. Insubordination is death to the State, rebellion being "as the sin of witchcraft;" but the resistance even of conscience to behests of the Church may weaken her energies and disturb her peace, but cannot touch her life, which is "hid with Christ in God." These two systems were never so thoroughly compared and sharply contrasted, and yet inseparably held, as they were by our fathers in the forming period of our Church, between 1706 and 1789.

Simultaneous with this movement of two structures was the movement of two currents within the province of ecclesiastical formation. One was from the North and the other from the South, and they met at Philadelphia. The Northern current issued from a theocracy in New England, which was then at the best of its experiment, having blended with a civil administration the government and discipline of the Church and rivaled the beautiful theocracy of Calvin at Geneva in the century before; and like that Helvetian model, it was transient as beautiful, leaving the Church it had cherished to weakness for schism and Socinianism, and the State it had sanctified to laughter, through all coming generations, at the "blue" regulations which governed forefather times. The current from the South was all Scotch-Irish, with a little Welsh in its element, made up of rivulets which owed alike their dispersion and confluence in the wilderness to bitter intolerance of Church and State united in the Old World, and was now swelling to a volume which would henceforth dash every scheme that would establish religion by law and divest the Church of government or discipline prescribed by her own Lord alone. There was some ridging and foaming when these currents met to form that river which has made glad the city of our God, although the Southern current, like the Gulf Stream in the Atlantic, prevailed with its direction, and made the Independent Presbyterian Andrews, of Philadelphia, who had written to Dr. Colman, of Boston, about the overture of John Thompson for subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, offered first in 1727 and pressed to the vote in 1729, that he "had been in hopes they would hear no more of it," and Dickinson, of Elizabeth, who had published, in strictures upon it, that such a subscription would be like the wall about Laish —nothing of protection, but a snare—were soon more than contented, both of them. And all the others of that stream—Pemberton, Pierson, Morgan, Elmer, Webb and Pumry, with the churches of East Jersey and Long Island—yielded and owned with glad reminiscence that it proved to be all the benefit its authors had promised. And no wonder they were so easily satisfied with Westminster at that time, when the Northern current bore on its bosom Cambridge and Saybrook platforms going to pieces—synods and ruling elders in rafts which could be floated on only by the stronger withs of Presbyterian organization.

Instead of checking the influx of Puritan ministers and people, the formal adoption of our standards increased the number, until, within one generation, from being as one to seven, it became almost one to three, in the proportion of ministers. Instead of depressing the energy and influence of New England men to acquiesce reluctantly in the subscription which Irish and Scotch members, in their strong majority, had imposed, they became honored guides of the Presbyterian Church through the stormy and eventful midst of the last century. It might even be called the Dickinson age of our Church. Scotch and Irish ministers never dominated as a party in their successful structure of our system. The leading authors were from New England, with the exception of Gilbert Tennent, whose book and pamphlets issued from the press, it was said, "as bees from a hive." Not to speak of Edwards in this connection, Jonathan and Moses Dickinson and Joseph Morgan, of Freehold, were prolific authors; and the first of these three had no superior in handling the press of that day for the service of that generation and the generations following.

But scarcely had the fabric of this fair construction been completed with so much harmony of council and adornment of ability and learning, piety and zeal, when it was subject to a strain which has no parallel in history. Lest it should be exalted above measure by the consciousness of strength in its unity and orthodoxy and force of discipline, it was humbled and almost ruined by the agitations of that "great awakening" which was so worldwide in the days of Whitfield and Wesley, Davenport, Edwards, Dickinson and the Tennents. Perhaps the temper of its organization was too rigid for such a time, and the attitude of fencing against the laxity which was coming in from abroad had induced a reserve and suspicion that were excessive in the body of our old synod. Probably also many of its best ministers and people were too indiscriminate in challenging a revival of religion which had so much of tumult and disorder in its manifestations, radicalism in its pretensions and fanatical bitterness in its judgments. Certainly, also, there was much declension of practical goldliness, considering the recent high and perfectly harmonious attainment of the Presbyterian Church in purity of doctrine and simplicity of order and worship. But these were faults which only "the meekness and gentleness of Christ" in the unction of his ministers could deal with. The wrath of man, however, unhappily attempted to work the righteousness of God when Samuel Blair and Gilbert Tennent undertook to convert the Church instead of the world with their burning zeal and wonderful abilities.

They began with acrimonious invective. Irritated by the strictures of slow but sober-minded brethren on the enthusiasm of Whitfield and his co-workers, the most ardent of whom was Gilbert Tennent—their pretensions to know precisely who were converted among the people and who were unconverted among the ministers, and their encouragement of strange disorder in the meetings for worship, the hideous outcries, bodily agitations and convulsive fits of "the falling work," alike in the camp-meeting and the church—Tennent and Blair, at the open synod, charged their fellow-members in formal "presentation" papers, read before a crowd of promiscuous followers, with unregeneracy of heart, heresy of doctrine (for allowing our own happiness to be a motive at all in obedience to God), pharisaic hypocrisy and dead formality in their ministrations. In the same year Gilbert Tennent preached at Nottingham a sermon on "the dangers of an unconverted ministry," which was filled with the most malign denunciation of evangelical men that fanaticism could express in our language—a sermon published twice at Philadelphia and once at Boston, and scattered like the leaves of November among the churches. In this "Nottingham sermon" the people were advised to judge their ministers and assured that they were capable of discerning the unconverted among their shepherds, and that it was their duty to forsake the ministry of such and quit hearing any man whose preaching did not profit their souls according to their own judgment and taste. Along with this incendiary libel sown broadcast through the land were actual intrusions into the churches of such men as Alison and Boyd, Gillespie and Thomson, not one church in the whole presbytery of Donegal escaping rupture; divisions made and gloried in, despite the solemn and repeated warning of synod. Added to all was open disobedience to the order of the synod that a liberal education should be required of candidates for the ministry—either a diploma from some approved college or an examination sustained by the synod—before any presbytery could be allowed to take the candidate on trials for license and ordination. The presbytery of New Brunswick was no sooner created in 1738 than it began to protest against this order, and actually proceeded to license John Rowland, with total disregard of the injunction. The synod, having a right to judge of the proper qualification of its own members, refused to acknowledge license and ordination so irregularly made, and refused a seat to any one so introduced. The dispute occasioned by this anarchy involved other points of deviation, at which "the Brunswick party" began to swerve with radical jarring. The value of all external calling to the ministry was questioned, the enthusiasm of an inward call was held to be sufficient, and the power of a synod to govern a presbytery with anything stronger than mere advice was denied. Antinomian tendencies were developed on every hand, and the preaching of duty was denounced; learning and soundness and regularity of life were contemned as inadequate vouchers for minister or member unless he could tell exactly when and how he was converted, and retain the assurance of this reality as distinctly in his knowledge as he could "a thought of his mind or a stab in his flesh."

It was well for the Church that the life of this party was the family of the Tennents. They had a school which was very good, but very poor—a log college—with their father at the head of it, the best of teachers in the last century, but extremely straitened in his means and immeasurably scant of the resources and appointments which belonged to the colleges of New England. Unfortunately, the requirement of a diploma or an examination by the synod itself, in order to be taken on trials for licensure, seemed to overlook too much the great service of that Neshaminy schooling, and mentioned only the chartered colleges of this and other lands. The senior William Tennent, master of the log college and father of four illustrious ministers—Gilbert, William, John and Charles—had come from Ireland ordained a priest of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and had renounced Episcopacy in coming here mainly because of objections to the use of liturgical forms in worship. He had little or no sympathy with the tumult of the time, except as he lived in his sons and pupils, and burned because they were offended with the imaginary slight of Neshaminy by the synod. John, the third son, had finished his course at Freehold, N. J., before he was twenty-five years old, in 1732, and in a ministry of scarcely two full years had gathered a harvest for his Lord in that "poor distracted Scottish church" where he saw the first fruits of the great revival which was so soon to overspread the continent. His brother William succeeded him in that charge with similar success, and a very peculiar fame for the supernatural in the course of his life. Charles was the youngest of these brothers, and settled in the presbytery of New Castle, where his influence reinforced the New Brunswick party beyond the limits of that "protesting" presbytery.

But the strong man of this great family was Gilbert, the eldest son, fourteen years old when he came to this country, taught everything by his father, whom he also assisted in the log college, and the first Presbyterian minister whose whole education for the office had been received in America. When George Whitfield arrived at Philadelphia in 1739, he hastened to Neshaminy to imbibe the lessons of that school and the spirit of the prophets there. Gilbert Tennent was the man of all others whom he most admired as a preacher and as a guide in adapting his own resplendent ministry to the character of the churches and the conversion of the American people. To him he was indebted also for most of the mistakes, antipathies and illusions which marred his career in this land. The fame of Whitfield, however, became that of the Tennents also in consequence of this intimacy and companionship, giving immense advantage with the people to any side of a contest on which Gilbert was engaged. The censoriousness, the intrusions, the distraction of parishes, pretensions to judge the hearts of men, the defiance of synodical authority,—all these and other fanatical excesses were so glorious for a while, in the company of Whitfield and the Tennents, that reflecting men who had rejoiced in the revival at first beheld with consternation the true glory of their infant Church departing. Discouraged, disorganized, left by the multitude and having no longer the "many" to sustain them in forms of judicial process, they determined to meet the extremity with a measure that corresponded with its lawlessness.

At the synod of 1741, Robert Cross, the successor of Andrews in Philadelphia, offered a "protest" against the "protesters" or Brunswick party, which enumerated with great precision and power the many evils which that party had brought upon the Church and which threatened her destruction, proposing to renounce all further connection with those brethren until they would confess and abjure the errors of their way. It was placed on the table for signatures, and a scene of the utmost confusion followed. It is said the moderator left his chair, and the galleries, crowded with excited people, who generally sympathized with the new side, turned the confusion into uproar. Each side claimed to be the synod, and with much difficulty order was restored enough to count the signatures to this protest and the numbers opposed. It appeared that the former, called henceforth the Old Side, had the majority, and the latter, called the New Side, withdrew. Thus the schism of the last century began; and we must mark the finger of God for good even in this little thing—that the act of separation was a muss and not a vote. Half a generation might heal the one, a whole generation it would take to heal the other. As it was well ordered that the whole combination of the disturbing party hung upon the character and will of Gilbert Tennent, so it was well ordered that the protest which meant to revolutionize the Church with an overture rather than to conserve her with the process of her own discipline should be in no proper technical sense an act of the constituted synod.

Providentially, also, the whole presbytery of New York was absent from that meeting of the synod. Next year, 1742, it appeared, and Jonathan Dickinson, one of its members, became the moderator. He at once proposed that the separated brethren of the previous year should be restored to their seats—not because he thought they were blameless, for he condemned their excesses; not because they had become either penitent or apologetic, for they were going on to license others without regard to the authority of the synod, and to rend the churches in every direction and beyond all bounds with active intrusion and malign aspersion of the pastors; but because the whole transaction of 1741 had been irregular and unconstitutional. The excluded brethren ought to have been arraigned by their presbyteries or by the synod itself with process of discipline, and ejected only with a full and faultless record. But he failed. The majority objected with keen force that absentees of the preceding year should not assume the position of judges and seek to reverse what might have been better done if they had been present. Trial according to forms of process in the Directory was impossible when the offenders were leading the multitude and insisting to the last count that they were the synod themselves. And even a reconsideration of the act could not be moved when it had never been voted, and was now a rupture in fact without a record in order. There was no remedy but return of the excluded party to a better mind. Thus the schism was continued.

For three years the Dickinson proposal was pressed on the synod, and conferences were held, with alternate overtures to the synod and to the excluded members. The latter had been brought by Aaron Burr and others to the point of confessing with regret nearly all the charges of irregularity and wrong, demanding in return that the protest of Cross should be withdrawn from the files and records of the synod. But this was refused for the simple reason that all its allegations were true, and truer every year. At length (1745) the presbytery of New York formed itself into a synod and took upon its own roll the exscinded presbytery of New Brunswick and all others in their following. This was done with little or no heat of resentment or antagonism in any particular, but the technical point of restoring to visible unity with the Presbyterian Church a body of men who were mad with enthusiasm, but sound in the faith and pre-eminently gifted for the service of Christ. It was expressly and thoroughly understood in this formation that the New York synod, as it was now called, was one with the synod of Philadelphia; not only in an honest adherence to the Westminster standards, but also in every particular of decency and order which had been specified in the dividing protest of 1741. Its attitude from the beginning was that of reunion; and if it had only repressed with a firm hand "the intrusions" with which the Brunswick party continued to agitate and divide the churches adhering to "the Old Side," there would not have been three instead of thirteen years more of separation. Here was the standing cause of discord, making every year an ultimate reconstruction of parishes and presbyteries in case of reunion more impracticable. The swelling tide of prosperity which favored the synod of New York, and the halo of brilliant men and sainted evangelists which adorned her ministry at the time, hid from the world the sin of this obliquity, and left many a precious light in the territory of the old synod to be quenched by reason of distraction.

The glory of our old synod of Philadelphia through all these times of excitement and convulsion was the "ornament" of her "meek and quiet spirit." When Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Blair insulted her to the face at the first with charges of unregeneracy, unfaithfulness and opposition to the Spirit of God, she adopted unanimously and sent forth to the churches, as well as enjoined on her ministers, the pastoral minute requiring them to take heed to themselves and search and see whether these things were so. When John Thompson, her great conservative and defender by the press, took up the task of her vindication in his imperishable book on church government, he did it with lowliness of spirit, modesty and candor and consistency, throughout, which were in singular contrast with the haughty contempt of the "Nottingham" sermon and its volleys of subsequent defence.

So it was through all the ensuing conferences had between the synods until the reunion came about in 1758. Though her desolated and fragmentary churches could not be restored by any organic union, and though her great protest of 1741 must be affirmed at every conference as the truth of history and the moderation of justice to the character of both parties, she was willing to meet the chronic demand for its withdrawal by a phrase which yielded no principle, but kept the fact for all future generations in a state of negative solution. It was that the protest of 1741 "was not the act of the synod." On this phrase the two bodies agreed, and the main dispute was over.

Another cause of reunion was the complete humiliation of Gilbert Tennent. That "son of thunder" had discomfited himself, and the strong staff of the disturbing party was broken. He was the father of controversy in the American Presbyterian Church. Not by any false doctrine avowed nor by any scandal coming on his life nor by any paralysis of intellect and power of speech nor by loss of zeal for the cause of Christ in the salvation of souls, but by the extreme severity of his temper in religious controversy, he fell from leadership in this Church. It awakened suspicion of error when he was seen to be tossed continually to the verge on this side and that of the vast area he trod in disputation. It arrayed against him the fears of all considerate men, whether timid or courageous; and the man who excites our fears never could govern Presbyterians. And, above all, it confounded himself with a maze of inconsistencies from which there could be no recovery. He had voted in the synod to approve of the admirable paper on the controversy between him and David Cowell respecting the foundation of moral obligation, and yet soon afterward flung that paper back upon the synod as heretical, in permitting our own happiness in any sense to mingle with the glory of God in motives of obedience. He had assailed Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians with pamphlets as well as speeches of vehement censure, in which every objection was a condemnation of his "Nottingham sermon" and a justification of all that Robert Cross embodied in the memorable "protest of 1741." He had confessed in a letter of penitence to Jonathan Dickinson the great errors of his extravagance enumerated in that protest, and had this letter widely published among the churches at the very time a third edition of the Nottingham sermon was coming from the press in Boston under his own direction. Pamphleteers on both sides of the Atlantic were not slow to blazon "Gilbert *vs.* Tennent;" and so great was the prejudice against him of good men abroad that the mission of Samuel Davies and himself to Great Britain for the College of New Jersey would have been a failure if he had not humbly retracted the Nottingham sermon in London, although the last conspicuous exploit of his pen just before leaving home was a fresh demand upon the synod of Philadelphia, as a term of reunion, that the protest of 1741, which had complained of that sermon, should be pronounced null and void and virtually untrue. Not in his lifetime and ascendency could there have been a reunion if he had not published his *Irenicum*, confessing his inconsistency and extravagance as he doffed the great coat and leathern girdle in which he had thundered from Delaware to Maine, and consented to retire as an ordinary pastor to the Second church of Philadelphia.

Another cause of reconciliation which mightily constrained the greater to seek reunion with the less at that time was the virtual transference of the log college from Neshaminy to Princeton, whither, some two years before its consummation, Burr and seventy students had removed the College of New Jersey from Newark. The jealousy of all the Tennents had been buried in the grave of their father at the very time this college began with the presidency of Jonathan Dickinson at Elizabeth, and the prosperous academies of

Pennsylvania and Maryland and Delaware, nearly all of them nurtured by the Old Side, came to be coveted and courted as feeders for the College of New Jersey.

But the great cause which secured and hastened a reunion was precisely that "wall" which had surrounded both these bodies all the while of their apparent separation, which Dickinson himself had said, in 1729, would fall "if so much as a fox would go over it"—the Westminster Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms and Directory of Government, Discipline and Worship. This palladium, as well as bulwark around them, rallied all the parties, restrained the factions, gathered the fragments without any loss, and proved once for all to the ages that a full creed is not a dividing wedge, but the very handle of concord, and a witnessing Church that testifies for Christ in her own words to the whole extent of her attainment will never be left "a portion for foxes." It was the centennial time of our old standards, and never had they been hailed with glory and enthusiasm on every side as when history came to make up the results of a world-wide revival.

The reunion was accomplished in 1758, and the name then given to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was "The Synod of New York and Philadelphia." A few months before that consummation Jonathan Edwards died; a few months before him his son-in-law, Aaron Burr, had died; Jonathan Dickinson ten years before him. Andrews, Brainerd and Robinson had also departed, three apostolic men and missionaries, one to Philadelphia, another to the Indians and a third to Virginia. So had Samuel Blair, "the incomparable," and John Thomson "the conservative."

What a roll of renowned and sainted men of the interval might be called who had been written on this side and that of the division on earth, and were by that time summoned away to the Church of the first-born that are written in heaven! But a host remained for a new era—the Alisons, the Tennents, the Finleys, the Smiths, Prime, Pemberton, Pierson, Rodgers, Roan, Miller, Spencer, Beatty, Bostwick, Buell, Robert Cross, John Blair, James Brown, George Duffield, and that young man who had charmed with his eloquence the intolerance of the South, and prophesied of Washington at Braddock's defeat, and gathered endowment for Princeton from the opposite hemisphere, and was just now to enter on the presidency of Nassau Hall—Samuel Davies.

One hundred ministers began to assemble in the synod now, and to represent nearly twice that number of nominal churches. Gilbert Tennent was the first moderator, Robert Cross the second. "Protesters" on both sides of the quarrel and schism were now successors to each other in harmonious line. If Gilbert was first in the honor of presiding over the united body, Robert was first in constructing the platform on which he was elevated. The plan of reunion embodied every plank of principle on which the Old Side had been standing for seventeen years, and every item of additional incorporation would have been at any time assented to if it had been overtured without demanding the formal canceling of their "protest."

It was indeed ordered well that mere "protest" should not be allowed again to disrupt a synod. It was equally well defined that the work of God's own Spirit in the ministrations of truth should not be gainsaid because of paroxysms in the flesh which might incidentally attend it. The existence of a college among us on this side of New England was now conceded as a sufficient reason for the synod to entrust the presbyteries with independent judgment on the qualifications in learning of candidates for the ministry. And the sad disruption of so many churches by the "intrusions" chargeable on the Brunswick party in the day of their heat was accepted as a fact which could not be remedied in reconstruction, beyond enactment that the territorial integrity of parishes should not be disturbed in that way again. With few exceptions, the Old Side were content with this adjustment, because it was seen upon every hand that good had been brought out of that evil, and in that very thing divine Providence had rebuked the grudging reluctancy with which so many congregations of the Old Side resisted the work of church extension against the tide of ever-swelling populations. In short, the distinctive gains to the New Side in that memorable compact of reunion were all in the direction of the Old Side as well—Westminster endorsed again; order restored; revivals discriminated; majorities vindicated; minorities made free; sound faith and good life accredited as true religion without inquisition after mental states and a prescribed order of experiences. Never was there a more perfect union, never a more noble and frank avowal on both sides, and never a more complete symbol of reconciliation, than the plan of reunion in 1758. Of course it distinguished between essential and non-essential things in the submission of conscience to that bond. But it stipulated for no liberty beyond this; no reduction; no revision; no compliance with expediency. And surely it had no change of the constitution kept in abeyance or in secret on either side, to be sprung upon the whole Church as soon as it could be welded together in the reconstruction.

Thus restored and harmonized again, the Church of our fathers, with a banner streaming at full length in every fold, advanced to another stage of militancy, for which her equipment, that had been gained in the conflicts of principle, and structures of Liberty, civil and religious—twin towers, that she alone had studied how to build distinctly and together—prepared her to act as no other denomination could act in those great events which filled the sequel of a century from her beginning in this land—missions, wars and institutions.

For a whole generation she had to fight the savages on her border almost alone. The proprietaries of Pennsylvania and early governors and councils of this commonwealth strangely allowed the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in her frontier valley, with very little help in men or money, to bear the brunt of a warfare the most cruel that is recorded in the annals of our country. And yet from the sentries of that exposed and slaughtered community there always went forth the most benignant friends of the poor Indians to enforce the faith of treaties and keep the reservations from intrusion and give them the light and peace of the gospel. When the Quaker government of Pennsylvania outwitted the Delaware Indians, in 1737, with a bargain for as much land "to extend back in the woods" as a man could walk over in a day and a half, that small but powerful tribe was irritated greatly when the white men secured by advertisement and lavish bounty a pedestrian who could walk as fast as an Indian could run, but they had no remedy. When, again, the Six Nations made their memorable cession at Albany in 1754 to the same authorities of what the latter had been carefully indefinite to describe in metes and bounds which the savages could comprehend, and all middle Pennsylvania was taken as a part of the claim, with a manifest purpose to push it on to the setting sun, the red man was enraged; and Braddock's defeat the year after was but the beginning of horrors which could be stayed only with an honest concession that the summit of the Alleghany Mountain should be the limit of that Albany grant. On the other hand, the border valley of the Presbyterians was no sooner constituted a county, Cumberland, than its authorities enlisted with eager determination to repress all dishonest dealing with the Indians. When a few rash adventurers, mostly Germans, but with some Scotch-Irish, moved into Sherman's valley and other places beyond the Kittochtinny or North Mountain, before the cession of that region at Albany, the Indians complained of the encroachment; and instantly Benjamin Chambers and George Croghan, with other magistrates and a considerable force of men from the Presbyterian churches, urged by their ministers, crossed the mountain in 1742 and constrained the settlers to quit their clearings, and even burn their cabins in sight of the Indians, that justice might be done and savage resentment avoided.* Such was the uniform spirit of equity toward the Indians on the part of a people whom certain flippant chroniclers describe in this connection as "a pertinacious and pugnacious race," whose trespass on the Indian territory was the main provocation which leagued the Indians with the French in the bloody wars of that age. As they were the sufferers chiefly, they have been falsely accused as the transgressors. The provincial government of Pennsylvania, in its jealousy of Scotch-Irish energy and adventure, its impotency in the hands of cunning knaves who contrived treaties and got for a price the privilege of selling rum to the Indians, has to this day escaped the just condemnation which history finds out in searching for the causes of those horrid calamities that made so much bloody ground on the bosom of this commonwealth.

"The Widows' Fund," the oldest corporation for the relief of desolated families in America, began its benignant work among the necessitous on the frontier. In 1760 it sent to Great Britain Charles Beatty, who had been the Irish peddler that in attempting to sell his wares to William Tennent of Nishaminy, by praising them in Latin, did it so well that the noble teacher was taken and Beatty himself was taken with the conviction that he ought to stay there and study for the ministry. His success in gathering funds for the corporation was wonderful. Even the General Assembly of Scotland ordered a collection to help his cause throughout the churches. But when he returned home, a dispute arose with Provost Smith, of Philadelphia, respecting the distribution of these funds—whether the disbursement should be a measure of broad philanthropy to comprehend all the distressed who had been driven from their homes by the Indians, or a special distribution to the Presbyterian sufferers whose husbands, brothers or sons had perished in war with the savages. At length it was determined by the synod of 1766, in accordance with a request of the corporation, that he and George Duffield, of Carlisle, should explore the condition of the whole border to learn its necessities, and especially the spiritual condition of the frontier settlements, and also what opportunities might be had for giving the gospel to the Indians. Beatty was full of missionary zeal, having been much with Brainerd and deeply interested in the Indian school supported long and liberally by the synod. So far as can now be ascertained, he was the first Protestant minister to preach beyond the Alleghanies, when he preached in 1758, at Fort Duquesne, to the troops of Forbes' army that took possession of that post after it was evacuated by the French. And now in this mission of the synod he was the first to preach on the soil of that magnificent State, Ohio, having penetrated the wilderness some hundred and thirty miles and obtained on the Muskingum a knowledge of the Indians to encourage the establishment of permanent missionary enterprise. It is therefore a fact worthy of commemoration that when we say, "Corporations have no soul," this one, the oldest of all among Presbyterians, stands an illustrious exception, the first thing to incite the synod of New York and Philadelphia to move alike in foreign and domestic missions whilst in pursuit of its own distinct and legitimate object, the succor of "poor and distressed" families of Presbyterian ministers.

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* See *Irish and Scotch Early Settlers of Pennsylvania*, by Hon. George Chambers, 1856.

That same meeting of the synod which sent Beatty and Duffield to reconnoitre settlements on the frontier and open a pathway to the Indian towns beyond was a jubilant meeting, full of gratulation, loyalty and patriotism. It voted an address to His Majesty for the repeal of the

Stamp Act. And these brethren found the whole border full of the same enthusiasm. Every field, every stump, was vocal with the same rejoicing. Indeed, fields and stumps have always been the scenic joy of this denomination.

"The unaccountable humor," as McKemie called it, of the American people to live in the country and cultivate the lands rather than dwell in villages and build up cities, has, in spite of his remonstrance, remained the humor of the Presbyterian people. They have been emphatically from the beginning a rural church. It would seem as if, in this characteristic, the stability of earth itself has been imparted to this ecclesiastical system in making the bulk of her pastors *chorepiscopal* bishops in our assemblies, and making agricultural work the sinew both of money and virtue in defending the institutions of the Church and the liberty of the land. No sign of the times could be more at war with our traditions and ominous of weak degeneracy than the ambition of ministers to quit the country for the city, as if a rural parish were fit only to begin with and a metropolitan pulpit were the goal of aspiration, and the Holy Ghost were in waiting for the work of "translating ministers" rather than keeping them to "make the wilderness and the solitary place glad for them." Perish the policy which, either in education or industry, would make our youth discontented with a home in the country! When the rage of fanaticism or frivolities of fashion have wasted our churches and emptied our fanes in the town, how often have numbers been replaced by fresh importations from the country of well catechized believers who brought with them revivals of family religion, and thus became "restorers of paths to dwell in"!

We know what kind of soldiers our Presbyterians of the field have sent to every war that has been a war of defence. Before the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia was written it began to be composed in the fields of the valley and along the mountain tops, from Mecklenburg to Carlisle and from Carlisle to Hannahstown, over the Alleghany Mountains and among the clearings of Westmoreland county. No historical finesse can rob the Presbyterian yeomanry of their credit in having sown with broadcast unanimity the seminal thought, if not phrases also, of that immortal document. It was therefore a philosophical justice in history that the only minister of any denomination who signed it was John Witherspoon, the representative of Presbyterian education and a regular teacher of theology at Princeton half a century before Archibald Alexander was elected to the office. More than a year before he signed it the tidings of bloodshed at Lexington and Concord started companies from the frontiers of our Church, and mainly from the churches of the Cumberland Valley, to anticipate Washington himself at the siege of Boston, and make the Revolution quick as it was inevitable. Veteran captains were found there quite ready, and numerous almost as ministers and elders, and all of them eager again to muster the host and fire its patriotic ardor.

But "the commencement of the war of the Revolution" is the end of my task, and I desist with filial reverence and affection at a centre of patriotism even on the border of our civilization when that war began.