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- ART. I.—1. *The Poetical Works of S. T. Coleridge.* Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1835.
2. *Aids to 'Reflection* by S. T. Coleridge, with a preliminary essay, and additional notes, by James Marsh, President of the University of Vermont. Burlington: Chauncey Goodrich. 1829.
3. *The Friend: a series of essays to aid in the formation of fixed principles in politics, morals, and religion, with literary amusements interspersed.* By S. T. Coleridge, Esq. Burlington: Chauncey Goodrich. 1831.
4. *The Statesman's Manual, or the Bible the best guide to political skill and foresight:* by S. T. Coleridge, Esq. Burlington: Chauncey Goodrich. 1832.
5. *Biographia Literaria; or biographical sketches of my literary life and opinions.* By S. T. Coleridge. Two volumes in one. New York: Leavitt, Lord, & Co. 1843.
6. *On the Constitution of the Church and State according to the idea of each,* by S. T. Coleridge, Esq., R. A., R. S. L. Second edition. London. Hurst, Ebance, & Co. 1830.
7. *Specimens of the Table Talk of the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1835.

mirers or eulogists; so far as they have given birth to a set of conceited and scornful sciolists, bandying the barbarous phrases of this school of metaphysics, and belabouring those for their shallowness, who do not understand it, despising "every thing but their own contemptible arrogance;" so far as they have trained up a race of preachers, who in place of the kindly verities of the gospel, deliver chilling and icy literary or metaphysical essays however brilliant, so far they have wrought evil. Coleridge though furnishing the richest treasures with which to stock our mind, if only he be mastered by, instead of mastering us, has faults so numerous and gross as utterly to disqualify him for being a model. These however are relieved and even dignified by their conjunction with his amazing genius and mighty intellect. But misproportions which are endurable in a giant, become insufferable in a dwarf. The transition from the great master to the miniature Coleridges, making a show like him of

" Piercing the long-neglected holy cave,
The haunt obscure of old philosophy,"

is a complete plunge from the sublime to the ridiculous, and presents us all "the contortions of the Sibyl without its inspiration."

ART. II.—*A History of Virginia, from its Discovery and Settlement by Europeans, to the present time.* By Robert R. Howison, Vol. II. Containing the History of the Colony and of the State from 1763 to the Retrocession of Alexandria, in 1847, with a Review of the Present Condition of Virginia. Richmond: Drinker & Morris. New York and London: Wiley & Putnam. 1848. 8vo. pp. 528.

NOTHING is easier than to say how a history ought to be written, and nothing harder than thus to write it. It is easy to say that a history ought to give a graphic picture of the inner life as well as the outward progress of a nation; that it ought to conduct us to the firesides and wardrobes of a people as well as to their courts, their cabinets and their battle-fields; that it should lay bare the great causes that gave shape to a nation's destiny, and deduce the great lessons that are taught by a nation's fate; that it should compress the facts and reasonings

needful for this purpose into a space small enough not to weary, and yet large enough to embrace all that is essential for future reference; that this should be done in a style that will be elevated without pomposity, clear without dullness, and lively without frivolity; in a word that it should present the finest exhibitions of the artist, the philosopher and the scholar; but the fact that this combination has never yet been found proves that the powers of human conception exceed the powers of human performance; and that there are intrinsic difficulties in the work, peculiar to itself. Every branch of art has been brought nearer to perfection than history, for the reason, perhaps, that it lays every other branch under contribution, and requires for its complete success not only excellence in one department, but to some degree in all.

When, therefore, we undertake to judge a historical work, we may apply to it either the rule of absolute or relative excellence. Applying the one it may be open to many objections. The artistic mind may object to the grouping and delineation of facts and persons; the philosophic, to the development and discussion of principles; the statistical mind, to the details of the work, and the grammatical, to its style. Applying this canon, no history that has ever been written could pass the ordeal unscathed. But it is manifestly unjust to subject every historical work to this test, for it is to demand what the experience of centuries has failed to furnish. Hence it is but an act of fairness to a work of this kind to apply to it the rule of relative excellence, and judge it by comparison with other works on the same subject.

Judged by this standard, the work of Mr. Howison deserves high commendation. It is, as a whole, incomparably the best history of Virginia that has ever been written, and would not suffer even by comparison with works of higher pretension and wider range. The first volume of the work was reviewed on its appearance, in the number of this journal for April, 1847. The points commended in it are equally manifest in the volume before us. And in the defects that were noted in it, there is in this a manifest improvement, amounting in some cases to their entire removal. The typography and general execution of the book are in the highest style of modern art, and rank it with the best productions of the day. There is the same apparent indus-

try in quoting authorities ; the same judicious selection of facts ; and the style, whilst it preserves the dignity of the first volume, has somewhat of an easier flow. The omission of religious history noted in the former part of the work, appears from this volume, to have been part of the plan, and is remedied by a sketch, which although not as full in some respects as we could have desired, is perhaps as full as was compatible with the limits necessarily prescribed to a general history.

The error into which the author fell in speaking of the "New Lights," in the first volume, is very ingenuously acknowledged and corrected in this ; and any seeming unfairness to the pioneers of Presbyterianism then perpetrated, receives an atonement that proves it to have been only seeming and unintentional.

The author divides the history of Virginia into four periods. Two of these are contained in the first volume : the period from the settlement to the dissolution of the London Company, in 1624 ; and thence to the peace of Paris, in 1763. The second volume contains the remaining two, from 1763 to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in 1788 ; and from that period to the retrocession of Alexandria, in 1847, together with a review of the present condition of the state. The latter portion of the history of Virginia lacks the romantic interest that belongs to the early years of her existence, but it embodies lessons of value and interest to the thoughtful reader, that amply compensates for the absence of that stirring incident that throws such a charm about her early annals. It embraces the scenes and actors of the revolution ; the war of giant intellects that followed the clash of arms ; the adjustment of the principles and forms of civil and religious liberty ; and the development of the agencies at work to determine her present social condition. This opens out a field of most inviting interest to a thoughtful mind, embodying as it does some of the most important problems in the future history of our common country ; but a field too wide for our present limits. We cannot follow our author minutely in his delineation of this part of his subject, but must content ourselves with taking him partly as a companion and partly as a guide in glancing briefly at the religious history and social condition of Virginia.

The religious history of Virginia is one of peculiar interest,

on several accounts. She possessed the first, and we may add the worst religious establishment among the colonies. She was the battle-ground of the most earnest and protracted contest for religious liberty that was ever waged on the soil of America. And she exhibits, in their clearest form, some of those results of the union of Church and State, which lead us to regard that union as so great an evil to both religion and good government. This field deserves a more extensive and careful cultivation than it has yet received.

In looking over the third chapter of this volume, which contains the principal part of the religious history of the state, we see much to commend, and but little to disapprove. We admire the reverence and piety which pervade this author's remarks on the general subject of religion, and the fearless honesty with which he avows his convictions on controverted topics. As an illustration of these remarks, we subjoin a few paragraphs, omitting the notes. After discussing the nature of religion in general, and presenting a condensed view of the external evidences of Christianity, he remarks as follows, pp. 143-146:

"The Author of Christianity designed that it should carry with it power to convince by its intrinsic authority. The man who will apply his mind to its teachings will believe as certainly as the man who will open his eyes in the sun's rays will see the light around him. It is because it provides an adequate remedy for every ill, that the recipient of its benefits knows it is from the Author of good. Pardon for sin; purity for corruption; comfort for sorrow; unerring precepts for doubt in duty; a life of usefulness; a death of peace, and an eternity of happiness; these are gifts offered by the religion of Christ, in a form which no man resists who desires to know the truth. But to accomplish its object it must be pure as when it was first taught by its inspired originators. Mixed with human devices, it loses its force for good, and becomes the more dangerous because of its exalted claims.

"Among the unhallowed inventions which have been applied to this system, none has produced so unhappy results as its union with civil government. Christianity, if truly possessed, will make a man a good citizen, but the law of the land can never make a man become a Christian. It was a sad day for religion when the Emperor Constantine adopted the Church as his ward,

and began to enforce his lessons by the arm of civil authority. The fires of persecution were better than the splendours of a seeming prosperity, which deadened her soul and threatened to destroy it. From this time we trace the decline of virtue and the growth of corruption; but power was too sweet to be rejected: and in the old world Christianity has not yet thrown off the shackles which have so long confined her. The church is linked to the state and like the dead body chained to the living victim, it gains no vitality for itself, and gradually destroys its hapless companion.

“At the time when the settlement of Virginia commenced, England had laid, broad and deep, the foundations of her Episcopal church establishment. The dominion of Rome had been rejected, Popery was discarded, and English reformers had striven to give to their country a system of religious rule which would secure her welfare. But their reformation fell below the demands of liberty. We may not be surprised at this when we remember how long the human mind had been moulded by habit, and how far the boldest reformers of Europe then sank beneath the principles of true religious freedom. Two remnants of a corrupt age were unhappily retained in remodelling the ecclesiastical system of England. These were first, the principle of Church establishment, the King himself became the head of Christ's Kingdom on earth; clergymen as such, sat among the peers of the land, and voted for her laws; and men, whatever might be their opinions, were compelled to pay tithes to support their spiritual teachers. Secondly, an order of clergy superior to the rectors or pastors, who overlook particular congregations. This superior order has long been distinguished by the title of bishops, but they are not the bishops designated and appointed by the New Testament; they are the successors of the Apostles of the primitive church. It is true the Apostles were all inspired men; were all distinguished by having seen Christ in bodily form, and were so exalted in their duties and character, that, to a common understanding, it would seem impossible that they should have successors; but this difficulty has been removed in England and in Rome. The bishops of the Episcopal church bear the same relation to the Apostles that the Pope does to Peter, and few who acknowledge the exclusive claims of the first will be long disposed to deny those of the other. History

whose province it is to search for the truth, discovers with surprise that there was a time when the claims of each were equally unknown; that in the first and purest ages of Christianity, Pope and Prelate had no existence; that *bishops* were then what the New Testament requires them to be—overseers of a single flock—humbly ministering the bread of life to a single congregation, and uniting together when the interests of the church required it; and that centuries of darkness and vice were necessary to make men believe that the Apostles needed successors, and that the Pope held the keys of St. Peter.”

We quote this episode not because of its special relevancy to the history of Virginia, but because it contains much valuable truth, and furnishes a fair specimen of the author's style, and because it is the longest discussion of abstract principles in the volume.

Were we disposed to be fastidious, we might object to the arrangement of the religious history of the state as lacking somewhat the clearness and method of the civil history; and to the want of prominence given to some facts that we regard of material importance; but we deem it ungracious and unfair to dwell on minor blemishes or errors, when there is so much to approve that is more important.

The ecclesiastical history of Virginia naturally divides itself into three periods; the first, reaching from the settlement at Jamestown, to the entrance of Dissenters into the colony; the second, from that time to the downfall of the establishment and the complete acknowledgment of religious liberty; and the third, from thence to the present time. Each of these periods is marked by peculiar characteristics, worthy of special note.

The first period exhibits in the most striking manner the inherent evils of a religious establishment. The first colony that settled on the banks of the James river, then the Powhatan, brought with them a minister of the established church of England; and the royal instructions of the crowned pedant, under whose authority the settlement was made, required the same ecclesiastical establishment in the colony that existed in the mother country. Soon after the settlement of the first colony, a system of ecclesiastico-military law of the most stringent character was adopted, which in the relentless severity of its precepts and penalties, will not suffer comparison, even with the

blue laws of Connecticut. Whipping, mutilation, and death were the punishments annexed to the most common offences. Although this draconian code was not long in operation yet the laws by which it was supplanted were of the most rigid and tyrannical character, responding in the colony to the spirit and efforts of Laud and Stafford in England. During the Protectorate a milder spirit pervaded the colony; but on the restoration of Charles II. the ancient intolerance revived with more intense vigour. In 1663 the laws were rendered still more severe. Not only was conformity required, but attendance on meetings of dissenters punished with severe fines, and heavy penalties laid on shipmasters for bringing dissenters into the colony. Thus for a hundred years was uniformity of worship maintained in the colony, by the rigour of law. We condense from our author a delineation of the working of the establishment during this period, pp. 154—160.

“There had long been, and was still, an appearance of prosperity thrown like a veil over the Church in Virginia, which might have deceived a casual observer. But with this seeming life there was actual death, and not death merely, but all the ghastly consequences of death—the bones of the whited sepulchre—the corruption beneath the gilded tomb—the worms that prey upon the corpse when the soul is gone.

“Let the evils attendant upon the Church establishment of Virginia be fairly stated. First, it deprived men of the free exercise of the rights of conscience. It is vain to say that men may think as they please, when they are compelled by law to attend on the ministrations of one religious sect, or to endure fines for non-compliance. The privileges of citizenship itself were denied to dissenters, and the person who chose to depart from the requirements of the established religion, was met by innumerable vexations which would goad almost to madness a soul sensitive to freedom. It was with delay and reluctance that the courts of Virginia construed the “toleration laws” of England to have any operation in the Colony, and when they were admitted, their efficacy was confined within the narrowest limits possible.

“Secondly, it compelled every man, whatever might be his opinions or his scruples, to contribute to support the Episcopal ministers. He might be a Quaker, or a Baptist, or an Indepen-

dent, but his fate was the same. After *induction* by the Governor, the rector had a freehold claim upon his glebe, and a right to demand at law the stipend granted to him by enactments of the Assembly. The effect was obvious; on no subject are men less willing to be forced than in religion, and many who would voluntarily contribute to its support, feel it to be tyrannous, that they shall be compelled to pay teachers with whose ministry they would willingly dispense.

“Thirdly, it produced many overt and shameful acts of intolerance. Stripes, fines and imprisonment were often inflicted. It is vain to say that the church was not responsible for these cruelties. The establishment unquestionably was, for without it there could have been no such thing as dissent, and therefore no laws against it. These oppressive acts affected strongly, though silently, the whole body of the people, and contributed, with other causes, to reconcile nearly all men to the heavy strokes that finally levelled the Established Church with the ground.

“Fourthly, it introduced into Virginia a body of ministers without piety, and by necessary reaction, the people were as graceless as their pastors. It is a point beyond denial, that the great body of the Episcopal preachers in Virginia were men whose lives were any thing but illustrations of the gospel. They frequented the race-field and the ball-room. They baptized children amid scenes of hilarity, where wine flowed in streams, and the dance enabled them better to display their clerical grace. Many of them betted freely at cards, and rattled dice in a way which would have put Governor Fauquier to shame. One clergyman was known for a long time to be president of a jockey-club, and doubtless his services in this capacity were adjudged more important than in the pulpit. One reverend gentleman laid aside his spiritual armour, and having taken carnal weapons, fought a duel within sight of the very church where his own voice had often been heard praying to be delivered “from battle, murder, and sudden death.”

“The effect of such a ministry on the people may be readily conceived. An utter want of the spirit of piety, and a hatred of the truth, can be detected in many of the manifestations of this period. If a minister ever rose above the *dead level* of his peers, and preached against popular vices, vestry and people both fell

upon him, and ceased not to annoy him, until he was driven from his place. So glaring was the wickedness of the clergy, that the General Assembly, at an early period found it necessary to enact, that 'ministers shall not give themselves to excess in drinking or riot, spending their time idly by day or night.' Thirty years ago, eye-witnesses were alive who had seen ministers of the church enter the pulpit in a state of intoxication, so disabling that their tongues refused to pronounce the oft repeated words of the liturgy.

"Thus the religious establishment of Virginia was weakened by its own inherent vices. It had the sanction of law, the support of learning, and the countenance of men in high places. Nevertheless, it tottered to its fall, and even had it not been attacked by other sects, it would at last have been crushed in the general struggle between tyranny and freedom, of which America was the scene."

In ecclesiastical relation, Virginia was under the diocesan jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. We learn from a note in Neal's *History of the Puritans*,* that in the reign of Charles II. it was determined to place a bishop in Virginia, and that the letters patent for this purpose are yet extant. But the design failed in consequence of financial difficulties connected with the endowment. Had it been successful, its influence on the ecclesiastical history of the state, might have been of some moment.

The evils of a religious establishment are sufficiently manifest during the first period, but we will notice them still further as we examine the second period; which reaches from the introduction of dissenters to the downfall of the establishment, and is marked by the struggle for religious liberty.

We find early traces of dissenters in the colony, in the form of Puritans and Quakers; but their influence was speedily checked if not extinguished by the enforcement of the intolerant laws then in operation. It was not until near the beginning of the eighteenth century, that the dissenting interest could be said to have an existence, as an active and vital element in the ecclesiastical history of the times. It first appeared thus, in the form of a colony of French Huguenots, in 1690, followed¹ by another, in 1699. They were driven by the bloody scenes

* Harper's Edition, vol. ii. p. 311.

that followed the revocation of the edict of Nantz, to plant the seeds of religious liberty on the banks of the same river that had witnessed the growth of religious intolerance and persecution in the settlements at Jamestown. Thus the storm that had seemingly prostrated the vine and scattered its fruit to wither and die, was found to have carried its seed over mountain and ocean to spots it could never have reached in sunshine and peace. We believe that there never was an act of persecution more signally overruled for good; or one to which England and America, and even Europe, through the French Revolution, owe more under God than the revocation of the edict of Nantz. It was thus to Presbyterianism that the honour was assigned by God, of first implanting the principles of religious freedom on the soil of the mother colony, as it was to Presbyterianism that in after years the burden and heat of their defence was assigned, in the hour of deadly struggle.

A few Baptists were settled in Virginia, near the beginning of the century, but it was not until after the great awakening that they appeared in any considerable force, or excited any considerable attention. In 1760, the first Separate Baptist Church was established, and it proved a nucleus for many fervent and earnest spirits. Coming forth as they did, all eager and burning with the zeal that had been kindled by the fire-words of Whitfield, Davenport and Edwards, we can well conceive the amazement that their untiring energy and fervid appeals would excite in the apathetic incumbents of the establishment. Religion had hitherto been as gentle as "a sucking dove;" giving no man any trouble, unless he omitted to pay his tithes, or wanted to hear a dissenter. But these men made it quite a serious matter, and were setters forth of strange things concerning new births, spiritual experiences, and other new-fangled and Puritanical notions. As we would naturally expect, this zeal excited the spirit of persecution, and the results of this persecution is thus given by our author, p. 170:

"Religious tyranny produced its accustomed effect: the Baptists increased on every side. If one preacher was imprisoned, ten arose to take his place; if one congregation was dispersed, a larger assembled on the next opportunity. Twenty years before the revolution, few of this sect could have been found in the colony, and yet, in 1774, the *Separates* alone had thirty churches

south of James River, and twenty-four on the north of it; and the Regulars, though not so numerous, had grown with rapidity. The influence of the denomination was strong among the common people, and was beginning to be felt in high places. In two points they were distinguished. First, in their love of freedom. No class of the people of America were more devoted advocates of the principles of the revolution; none were more willing to give their money and goods to their country; none more prompt to march to the field of battle, and none more heroic in actual combat, than the Baptists of Virginia. Secondly, in their hatred of the church establishment. They hated not its ministers, but its principles. They had seen its operation and had felt its practical influence. Common sense pointed out its deformities, and clamored against its injustice. To a man they were united in the resolve never to relax their efforts until it was utterly destroyed."

Prior to the settlement of the Baptists, we trace the first germs of the Presbyterian church in the colony. The pioneer of Presbyterianism, Makenzie, had planted several churches in Maryland and Virginia before his death, in 1708, but in a letter from the Presbytery of Philadelphia, to the Presbytery of Dublin, under date of September, 1710,* we learn that there was but one congregation on Elizabeth river, and several Presbyterian families on the Rappahanock and York; and in the minutes for 1712, we see signals of distress from this one congregation, which is the last intimation we have of its existence.

In Western Virginia we find a more vigorous ecclesiastical growth. In the records for 1719, we find an application made to the Synod, for the services of a minister, whose labours resulted in the establishment of a church. We afterwards find repeated notices of the Virginia churches in the minutes; and in 1738 and 1739, we find the correspondence with Gov. Gooch, that produced a full permission granted to the ministers of the Presbyterian church, to labour west of the mountains, in conformity with the Act of Toleration. And although the success of these pioneers, was not so brilliant as that of Robinson and his successors, yet the epithet "drones" applied to them by a venerable historian of our day, is, we think, a needlessly harsh description of their character and labours.

* Records of Presb. Church, pp. 17, 18.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, we find in Eastern Virginia, a most wonderful manifestation of the power of God. We see it first in "the reading-house" of Samuel Morris, where men came together in crowds to hear those wonderful truths from the pages of the dead, that they were forbidden to hear from the lips of the living. The copy of Luther on Galatians that God directed to this man's house, deserves to rank side by side with the memorable Bible in the library of Erfurth, that let in the light to the soul of the great reformer. The jealous spirit of the establishment sought to crush this strange movement, but the work was of God, and it went on. Soon these hungering souls were permitted to receive the bread of life from the hands of the fervent Robinson, and the four days of his preaching were memorable days in the religious history of the colony. The wind, and the earthquake, and the fire were there; but there was also the still small voice, and to many souls it uttered accents of strange melody that had never thrilled their hearts before. Again was the spirit of persecution evoked, and the man who unveiled this "new light," so blinding and offensive to those optics accustomed to "the dim religious light" of the establishment, was obliged to flee in order to escape the rigorous grasp of the law. But before he left this interesting people, he was led by one of those mysterious combinations of circumstances that show the guiding hand of Providence, to connect their fate with that of a thoughtful young student, who was afterwards to become the Paul of the Presbyterian church in Virginia.

Samuel Davies was one of those spirits that God always raises up in the exigencies of his cause on the earth. He was dedicated to God, like the seer whose name he bore, from the womb, and the prayers of a pious mother were answered by seeing her son take up the cross at the age of fifteen, and turn his face steadfastly toward the ministry. Poverty and pain were the stern tutors whose teachings were to fit him for the hallowed work before him. Brought down at the outset of his career to the very borders of eternity, he seems to have come back like one who had seen and heard unutterable things, and on whose face there lingered some of that strange light that had streamed in upon his spirit as it looked into the unseen and the eternal. He was learned, but it was not his learning that broke

down the strongholds that fell before him. He was eloquent, but it was not the spell of his eloquence that wrought the mighty transformations that marked his career. Men were smitten to the heart by the simple utterance of the text, before another word had come from the lips of the speaker. It was the deep and earnest spirit of the man, that breathed like flame through every word and act; a spirit kindled at the living word and the eternal throne, and fanned into brightness by the breathings of the Holy Ghost; it was this that made him so pre-eminently "a burning and a shining light." It was this that caused the people to hang in crowds on his words, and go away thoughtfully, feeling that a new era had begun in their history. It was this, that made his words the conductor that kindled a flame in the young hearts of Patrick Henry and James Waddel, which glowed and grew until it burst forth in the thrilling eloquence of the American Demosthenes, and the Blind Preacher. And it was this that gave such power to his words, when he battled for liberty of conscience, and gave indirectly such stunning blows to the establishment. We cannot follow him through his brief but splendid career without feeling that if there is one man to whom, more than another, Virginia owes the enjoyment of a free pulpit and a pure gospel, that man was Samuel Davies.

The storm that had so long been provoked by the unjust and persecuting spirit of the establishment, at length burst upon it, at the first session of the free legislature of Virginia, in 1776. Men of all creeds and men of none, united in demanding the repeal of laws, that the common feeling of mankind declared to be unjust and oppressive. Among the most powerful attacks made upon it was that of the Hanover Presbytery, in a memorial which is a model of argument, elegance and truth. The contest on the floor of the legislature was long, strenuous and bitter. Prejudice, interest, policy and even piety arrayed themselves to support what seemed to many to be identical with religion itself. But at length the spirit that had flamed out in resistance to civil oppression prevailed against religious tyranny, and an ordinance was passed relieving dissenters from the obligation of attending or supporting the established church; and extending their privileges in several respects. But important as were the concessions of the ordinance of 1776, the establishment was not yet

overthrown. In 1784 and 1785, the contest was renewed and after several able memorials from the Hanover Presbytery, and after hearing a member of the Presbytery for three successive days at the bar of the House of Delegates, the Act of Religious Freedom was passed, drawn up by the pen of Jefferson, and embodying substantially the principles and reasonings contained in the forementioned memorials. In 1787, another step was taken in the overthrow of the establishment, by repealing the law incorporating the Episcopal Church, that had been passed in 1784. It was not, however, until 1799, that the final blow was struck. The statute of that year repealed all previous laws on the subject, and planted the religious liberties of the people on the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and the Act of Religious Freedom. Thus was the last tie cut, and the church sundered finally, and we trust forever, from the state.

One further step was needful to retrieve the injustice of those laws that had built up one church at the expense of all others, and this was taken in 1802, by ordering the sale of the glebe lands as they became vacant by the death of the incumbents and the application of their proceeds, first, to the liquidation of all debts against the parish, and then to the poor, or to any other object not strictly religious, that a majority of the freeholders should designate.

This law was denounced as unconstitutional, and the issue carried to the highest appellate court. Of the five members of the court qualified to sit, three believed the act unconstitutional, among whom was the president judge; but the very day that the judgment was to be rendered, *the president died*. A re-organization of the court being thus made necessary, the cause came up again for argument in 1804, when the court being equally divided, it was lost. Still not satisfied, an effort was made in 1830, to quash the law, which in 1840 was finally settled by an *unanimous* decision of the Court of Appeals, that the act of 1802 was constitutional.

Thus at last was the struggle, that began essentially with the memorable tobacco case, which first called forth the powers of Patrick Henry; that was carried forward through so many years of earnest, bitter contest, crowned with complete success, in the establishment of religious liberty on the widest possible foundation.

But although the legislature could remove the legal consequences of the establishment, we fear there are others equally to be lamented, that are beyond their control. We doubt not that religion received an injury in the heat and strife of this prolonged contest, which it will require years to repair, and the extent and depth of which are known only to the Omniscient.

We see the traces of this influence in the extreme jealousy that marks all the legislation of Virginia bearing on the subject of religion; in her rejection of a legislative chaplaincy; in her exclusion of clergymen from a seat in the legislature; in the enactment in the amended constitution of 1830, that "no religious society shall even *levy on themselves* any tax for the erection or repair of any house for public worship, or for the support of any church or ministry;" and her steady refusal to grant acts of incorporation to any religious society. Whatever may be thought of the policy of this course, it plainly involves a suspicious jealousy of religion, and a want of confidence in its purifying and controlling power that is clearly traceable to the experience of the evils of an establishment.

But there are other results still more serious, which we think are fairly chargeable, in part at least, to the influence of the establishment. If there was any one man in Virginia whose influence for evil, in the matter of religion, is to be compared with that of Samuel Davies for good, that man was Thomas Jefferson. Of his talents, his influence, and his services to the cause of civil liberty, we need not speak. They are enshrined in monuments which the world will not soon suffer to perish. But it is the very greatness of his merit and power in what he did understand, that makes his influence so disastrous in that which he did not understand. In statesmanship he had the intellect of a giant, in religion that of a child. But by a natural error of the human mind, his greatness in the one department was transferred to his credit in the other, and his influence thus became one of the most disastrous elements in the religious condition and history of Virginia. In tracing the causes that tended to form his opinions, we are forced to recollect that his mind received its first impressions of religion from an establishment that was trampling in the dust, what he knew to be the most sacred rights of men, that he received the first teachings of it from men many of whom were found arrayed against the struggling colonies in their noble efforts to be free; and that he encountered the

teachers and defenders of that religion in repeated and bitter struggles to retain a power that he knew was unjust in its origin, unjust in its exercise; and unjust in its nature. Can we wonder then, that he associated with the abuses and tyrannies of the past, that religion which he found in its most respectable and influential form, steadily maintaining those abuses and exercising those tyrannies? Can we wonder that in his intercourse with the zealots of France, he learned to identify the corrupt priesthood of the old world with the ministry of the new, when he found them holding some of the same tyrannical doctrines, and indulging in some of the same unjust practices? And if, as we think is most clearly demonstrable, the infidelity and therefore the blood of the French Revolution are to be charged greatly if not mainly to the monstrous corruptions of the established church of France, is it surprising that a similar process of causation and reasoning should obtain during the scenes of the American Revolution, in the mind of Jefferson? When, therefore, his sneering scepticism and bitter sarcasms against priests and churches were thrown out and circulated among the young, ardent and cultivated minds of Virginia, they received an irresistible confirmation in scenes that were fresh in their memories, or transacting before their eyes. And we cannot but believe that had the mild and liberal policy of a Penn or a Baltimore prevailed in the Old Dominion, and a purer and better type of Christianity been before the minds of Jefferson and his contemporaries; if their infidelity had not been entirely prevented, at least its deadly and blighting power, that is still felt with mournful potency, would have been much more circumscribed in its extent and temporary in its duration.

The third era of the religious history of Virginia, properly dates from the beginning of the century, when the establishment was substantially overturned. Having consumed so much of our limits on the first two, we cannot even epitomise in the briefest manner, this portion of her history. Compared with the preceding periods, it has been one of prosperity and growth.

Our author presents at some length the present condition of the churches in Virginia, from which we condense a few statistics. The Baptists have about 673 church edifices; 357 ministers; 85,143 communicants; and 35 associations, of which 23 are favourable to missionary effort, and 12 opposed. The Metho-

dists possess 156 church edifices; 298 local preachers, and 59,660 members. The Episcopalians have a bishop and assistant bishop; 95 parishes; 112 church edifices; 112 clergymen; and 4305 communicants. Of several other denominations no particular statistics are given. Of our own church he thus speaks, p. 484.

“The Presbyterian church in Virginia has not been false to the promise made by its auspicious beginnings. Its progress has been steady; and though inferior in numbers, and in some other respects, to the Baptist and Methodist, it probably yields to none in the influence which, when required, it is capable of exerting. Its ministry, as a body, have been learned men; and from time to time, it has been adorned by minds as brilliant in talents as they were devoted in piety. The names of James Waddel, Moses Hoge, John Holt Rice, Conrad Speece, George Baxter, and William Armstrong, will long be remembered and revered. Of the distinguished living, it would not be proper to speak. For many years of its existence this church in Virginia, was harmonious. But the unhappy division of 1837–38, extended itself into this state. The *Old School* portion maintained great ascendancy in numbers, but the *Constitutional* Presbyterians were active and determined. For a time embittered feeling prevailed, and scenes occurred which produced a painful impression on all minds in love with true piety. But as years have passed away, bitterness has subsided; the parties have learned to regard each other as sister churches, separate in name, and perhaps in some doctrinal opinions, yet united by many common sympathies. Within a very short time past, a coalescing tendency has exhibited itself, the full result of which is yet to be developed.” The *Old School* statistics are 170 churches, 137 ministers, and 13,048 communicants; the *New School*, 49 churches, 43 ministers, and 4,138 communicants.

In turning to the social state of Virginia, we enter upon ground of some delicacy and difficulty, but ground which we cannot avoid at least touching before taking leave of this work. The portion of the book bearing on this subject has perhaps less clear and logical analysis than is found in other parts of the work. The social system of Virginia is marked by clear and definite peculiarities. The two prominent facts in her civilization are, first, the striking development of individual character; intellec-

tually, in the great names that adorn her annals; socially, in the fine domestic feelings, the courtesies and hospitalities of life; the indifference to proper economy amounting often to prodigality; the high sense of honour, and punctilious adherence to certain principles. Secondly, the tardy development of social and physical greatness, thus expressed by our author, p. 510. "It must therefore, be regarded as a truth but too fully established, that Virginia has fallen below her duty; that she has been indolent while others have been laborious; that she has been content to avoid a movement positively retrograde, while others have gone rapidly forward. Her motion, compared with that of Massachusetts or Ohio, might, in familiar terms, be likened to the heavy stage-coach of the past century, competing with the flying steam-car of the present."

For the latter fact, our author assigns three causes, the want of popular education; the want of Internal Improvement, and Slavery. The first two of these, are rather effects, and part of the very phenomena they are adduced to explain. They demand, in a free government, a certain advancement of population and labour, before they can be successfully carried into operation. The want of them in Virginia is the result of anterior causes. The one fact that explains most of the phenomena, is the comparative absence of a producing middle class; from whose ranks the rich, the powerful, and the great, are constantly coming forth, leaving room for those next in order, and creating thus an upward and onward movement that reaches the humblest producer; and stimulates each to the most strenuous effort, by the hope of improving his own condition and that of his family. This is the mighty mainspring of energy in modern civilization, and it is the comparative absence of this fact, that explains the particulars adduced by our author: The causes producing this fact, and the first peculiarities of social condition mentioned above, lie in the past; in the character and circumstances of the original settlers; in the causes that led to the settlement; in the preference of the colonists for an isolated, country life, and their unwillingness to settle in dense and compact bodies; in the laws of entail and suffrage; and other minor facts; but mainly in a cause that has been to many of those mentioned a *causa causans*, and which we give for several reasons in the words of our author, pp. 517—520.

“The last and most important cause unfavorably affecting Virginia which we shall mention, is the existence of *Slavery* within her bounds. We have already seen the origin and progress of this institution. As to its evils, we have nothing new to offer; they have long been felt and acknowledged by the most sagacious minds in our state. ‘It is the common remark of all who have travelled through the United States, that the free states and the slave states exhibit a striking contrast in their appearance. In the older free states are seen all the tokens of prosperity; a dense and increasing population; thriving villages, towns and cities; a neat and productive agriculture; growing manufactures, and active commerce. In the older parts of the slave states, with a few local exceptions, are seen, on the contrary, too evident signs of stagnation, or of positive decay; a sparse population, a slovenly cultivation, spread over vast fields that are wearing out, among others already worn out and desolate; villages and towns few and far between, rarely growing, often decaying, sometimes mere remnants of what they were; sometimes deserted ruins haunted only by owls; generally no manufactures, nor even trades, except the indispensable few; commerce and navigation abandoned as far as possible, to the people of the free states; and generally, instead of the stir and bustle of industry, a dull and dreary stillness, broken, if broken at all, only by the wordy brawl of politics.’* ”

“Were we called to declare what we believe to be the sentiments of a large majority of our people on the subject of slavery, we would attempt it under two heads. First, we hold that this institution, as it exists among us, is lawful, and that *we only* have the right to control it. The Constitution of the United States has solemnly guarantied the rights of slaveholders in their property. Any interference by the general government, or by particular states, or by classes of individuals in other states, with her right to this property will be resisted by Virginia to the end. A dissolution of the Union is an evil which she regards with horror, but a dissolution of the Union would be preferable to submission to measures which would violate the most solemn pledges on which the Union was founded.

“Secondly, we apprehend that, in general, the people of Vir-

* Quoted from Dr. Ruffner's Address to Western Va.

ginia hold slavery to be an enormous evil, bearing with fatal power upon their prosperity. This sentiment has been gaining ground during many years. Within a very short time past, a citizen of east Virginia, intelligent, highly educated, and possessed of great wealth in this species of property, has spoken out plainly and urged owners to get rid of their slaves as rapidly as possible. And in west Virginia, expressions of opinion have been even more decided, and incipient means have been adopted to provide for the gradual destruction of the evil.

“Under these circumstances we hail with pleasure any indications that this part of our population is decreasing in number, and that the time shall come when Virginia shall be a free state. . . . During the last ten years they have *diminished* 4.5 per cent.

“The principal source of decrease in our slaves is in the number *exported* to cultivate the cotton and sugar lands of the south. Hardly a day passes in which large companies may not be seen traversing the roads of Virginia, on their way to her southern frontier. Melancholy as may be the thoughts suggested by such scenes, they will at least bring with them some solace. The condition of the slaves in the south is not probably worse than upon the impoverished plantations of our state, and their gradual removal by this means, gives place to a better population. Already German and New York farmers have occupied large tracts of land in Fairfax county, and an English company has been formed, whose professed design is to transport emigrants from Great Britain to the inviting fields of Virginia. In her latter days as in her infancy, our state seems destined to draw her inhabitants directly from the mother country.”

These frank and manly statements indicate that Virginia comprehends her social condition, and that the only boon she asks in regard to her main difficulty is, to be let alone. The removal of this evil has already been retarded by foreign interference in the past, and no other result can be expected from it in the future.

Virginia has thus passed through several distinct social phases. The first was the period of struggle with the forest, the soil and the savage; producing the hardy and intrepid virtues of border life, and moulding those daring and heroic spirits that adorn the early years of her annals. The second, was the period of con-

quest over these opposing elements, when a teeming soil and a genial climate poured plenty at her feet; when her peculiar system of labour was adjusted to the exuberant richness of the land; and when all the courtesies and elegancies of human life had reached their highest and most exquisite cultivation. The third was the period of exhaustion; when the tree that was cut down for the sake of its fruit, was found withered and leafless; when the relations of labour and soil became reversed; and the evils of her system of labour became apparent. The fourth, is her present state, the period of transition. When she is throwing off the peculiarities of the past; ridding herself of her slave population; inviting the influx of free labour; and preparing, in the words of our author, to become "a free state." If this process be not arrested by fanatical meddling or unexpected obstacles, she will speedily enter a fifth phase, which will be one of prosperity, power, and greatness, such as are indicated by her peerless advantages of climate, soil, position and natural resources.

We take leave of Mr. Howison's volume, with high respect for the ability, candour, and piety, manifested in his work. And whilst he himself would be the first to object to our assigning to his history a place beside the master-pieces of historic literature, that often owe as much to the greatness of the subject, as the powers of the writer; yet we freely assign to it a high place among the contributions now making to the episodes of history; and would be glad to see them all marked by the scholarship, taste, and high moral spirit that pervade this History of Virginia.

ART. III.—*The Bible not of Man: or the Argument for the Divine Origin of the Sacred Scriptures drawn from the Scriptures themselves.* By Gardiner Spring, D.D., Pastor of the Brick Church, New York. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau street, New York.

EVERY speculative mind has had its difficulties attending belief in Christianity; and sometimes when reflecting on the momentous consequences of God's Revelation to man, we are