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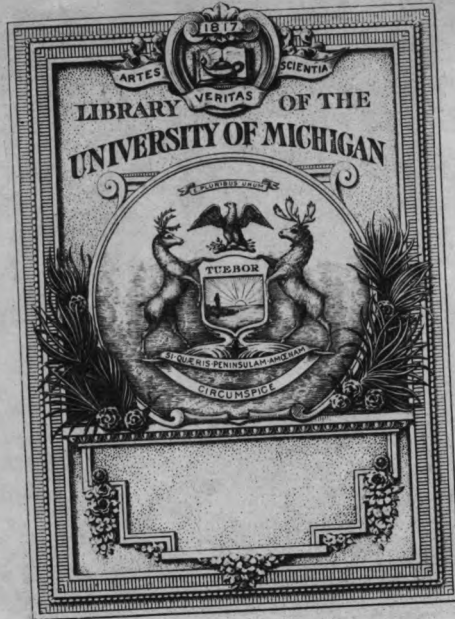
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STORAGE

mes. The Presbyterian church in colonial Virginia.



THE GIFT OF  
W. H. J. Squires

# THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA

1562 - 1788

BY W. H. T. SQUIRES, M. A., D. D., Litt. D.,  
*Norfolk, Virginia.*



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# The Presbyterian Church in the Colony of Virginia

1562-1788.

BY *William Squires*  
W. H. T. SQUIRES, M. A., D. D., Litt. D.,  
*Norfolk, Virginia.*

The rise and progress of our Church is a story to warm the heart of the discouraged, and to inspire the young and strong to finer achievements. In the Acts of the Apostles the guiding Hand of the Almighty may be traced through every vicissitude, despite the blood-stained pathway the saints of the Lord have trod. So, likewise, the Holy Spirit's power led our fathers, who laid, deep and strong, the foundations in a wilderness primeval. Their struggle against overwhelming difficulties and their victories follow through seven distinct eras, in logical sequence, like the scenes of a drama.

The First Attempt was a tragic failure. John Calvin was still teaching in St. Peter's and John Knox still preaching in St. Giles when the Huguenots left their corpses to rot on the sands of the South, their evidence to a noble devotion.

In the Second Scene, thousands of young Scotch soldiers, prisoners of war, were shipped to the plantations of the Chesapeake. Francis Makemie answered their cry for help.

In the Third Scene the healing waters of the Great Awakening flowed in from the ocean of God's love. George Whitefield lit a candle in Virginia which, by God's grace, shall never be snuffed.

Fourth: The Ulstermen beyond Blue Ridge peopled the backbone of the continent.

Fifth: The fatal fall of Braddock and the frightful carnage of the Seven Years' War drove the pioneers of the Eighteenth Century to the Piedmont valleys of Virginia and the Carolinas.

Sixth: The tactful hand of Samuel Davies touched the life of Virginia and left an heritage for righteousness which still abides.

Seventh: From the fires of Revolution the Calvinists of Virginia moved from petitions for toleration to demands for civil and religious liberty—and obtained them.

## I.

Before his martyrdom Admiral Coligni<sup>1</sup> attempted to plant a colony of Huguenots at Port Royal, South Carolina,<sup>2</sup> and, the year of Calvin's death, a second colony on St. John's River, Florida.<sup>3</sup> These far-sighted efforts, pregnant with immense possibilities, registered unfortunate failures. His brilliant hope, like an exotic plant, took no root in soil watered with blood and tears. Nevertheless the failure was by no means complete.

By 1700 there were Huguenot congregations in Boston, New York, New Rochelle, Charleston,<sup>4</sup> and Manakintown, Virginia,<sup>5</sup> besides thousands of Huguenot families scattered through the colonies. In Virginia many of their children joined the Established Church. Their great contribution to the world is Matthew Fontaine Maury,<sup>6</sup> who sleeps only a few miles from this our place of meeting.<sup>7</sup> What the Protestants of France failed to accomplish, the Protestants of England achieved. No effort to spread the Gospel is ever lost. The hand of Sir Walter Raleigh lifted the curtain of obscurity that veiled the Western World.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Born February 16, 1517, assassinated August 24, 1572.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Ribault in 1562.

<sup>3</sup>Renè de Laudonniere in 1564.

<sup>4</sup>John Esten Cooke, *History of Virginia*, p. 309.

<sup>5</sup>W. H. T. Squires, *Through Centuries Three*, p. 247.

<sup>6</sup>Lyon G. Tyler, *Cyclopedia of Virginia Biography*. Maury was born in Spotsylvania County, January 14, 1806. Died at Lexington February 1, 1873.

<sup>7</sup>Buried in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>8</sup>*Century Dictionary*. Born 1552; executed October 29, 1618.

W. H. T. Squires, *Through Centuries Three*, p. 23.

He was trained in Calvinistic Holland, and was familiar<sup>9</sup> with Coligni's plans. To the court of Elizabeth he returned with two magnificent ideals, which ultimately cost him his head. One ideal was to break the monopoly of the Spanish Colonial Empire,<sup>9</sup> and the other was to break the spiritual monopoly of the Papacy in the New World.<sup>1</sup> A portion of North America must be British and Protestant.

Two futile endeavors were made to plant colonies of Spanish immigrants in Virginia.<sup>2</sup> Both failed. It was not God's plan that America should be Latin and Papal from Greenland to Cape Horn.

James I laid Raleigh by the heels in the Tower,<sup>3</sup> but he took over his policies.<sup>4</sup>

The first Virginia clergymen belonged to the evangelical wing of the Established Church, Robert Hunt,<sup>5</sup> Richard Buck<sup>6</sup> and especially Alexander Whitaker.<sup>7</sup> As in England, so in Virginia, many of the early rectors were conforming Presbyterians, the most intriguing of whom is Roger Green.<sup>8</sup> It is a misfortune that his name and fame have been all but lost in the mists of the years.<sup>9</sup> His feet touched the banks of the Chowan, and, lo, a mighty commonwealth was born!

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<sup>9</sup>C. Whittle Sams, *Conquest of Virginia*, pp. 10-13. Raleigh's intimate relations with the Huguenots.

<sup>9</sup>Philip A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, Volume I, p. 61.

<sup>1</sup>C. Whittle Sams, *Conquest of Virginia*, pp. 54-6. Also Stebbing, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>2</sup>Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*. Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon and 500 colonists settled in Virginia in 1526. Settlement called San Miguel de Guandape. A second Spanish colony was attempted by Pedro Menendez d'Avilas (1570.)

<sup>3</sup>From 1603 to 1616 he was a prisoner.

<sup>4</sup>The London Company received its first Charter, April 10, 1606.

<sup>5</sup>Thomas Cary Johnson, *Virginia Presbyterianism*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>6</sup>John Esten Cooke, *History of Virginia*, pp. 60, 110, 115.

<sup>7</sup>E. D. Neill, *Virginia Colonial Clergy*, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>Lyon G. Tyler, *Cyclopedia of Virginia Biography*.

<sup>9</sup>E. D. Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 233.

W. H. T. Squires, *Through Centuries Three*, pp. 159-184. Also Henry Cabot Lodge, *American Colonies*.



Irascible William Berkeley<sup>0</sup> expelled 1,000 Puritans from the colony, especially from Nansemond and Lower Norfolk Counties.<sup>1</sup> Richard Bennett led many of them to Maryland and established a Puritan colony, "Providence," now Annapolis. Roger Green led a colony southward to Albemarle Sound.

When the slashing victories of mighty Oliver brought peace to Great Britain, Bennett, the exile, returned to become Governor of Virginia, and our ablest governor in an hundred years.<sup>2</sup> Reverend Roger Green returned to Jamestown and the General Assembly established civil government for the colonists there. Roger Green, the Presbyterian exile, and Roger Williams, the Baptist exile, driven from their homes, took refuge in the wilderness and became the founders of two great commonwealths.

## II.

The second scene is also dim, neglected and difficult to define. No historian of Virginia and no historian of the Presbyterian Church has presented this second scene. Oliver Cromwell won a decisive victory over the Scotch at Dunbar.<sup>3</sup> Hundreds of prisoners were captured and deported to the colonies. They were hot-headed, stubborn devotees of the tyrannical Stuart dynasty.

Maryland and Virginia, being tobacco colonies, were constantly appealing for labor—especially cheap labor.<sup>4</sup> The African slave trade had not yet developed. There were only 400 Negroes in Virginia at this time, and our population was 50,000.<sup>5</sup> Cromwell shipped these prisoners to the plantations instead of mutilating

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<sup>0</sup>From 1642 to 1677, with several interregnums, Governor of Virginia.

<sup>1</sup>John Fiske, *Old Virginia*, Volume II, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>W. H. T. Squires, *Through Centuries Three*, Chapter XXX, for a detailed account of Bennett's administration. T. J. Wertenbaker, *Virginia Under the Stuarts*, pp. 103-6.

<sup>3</sup>Not only after Dunbar, but many Tories, Irish and English, again after Monmouth's defeat at Sedgemoor, again after the Salisbury insurrection, after Preston, second Dunbar, and constantly until the American revolution, political "criminals" or "rebels" were transported to all the American colonies.

<sup>4</sup>Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, Volume I, p. 575, etc.

<sup>5</sup>John Esten Cooke, *History of Virginia*. Population of Virginia in 1616, 350 families; in 1624, 4,000 people; 1646, 15,000 English, 300 Negroes; in 1670, 40,000; in 1700, 70,000.



or killing them.<sup>6</sup> They were sold to the planters, who would pay the cost of their passage, about six pounds sterling (\$30.00). When these young "rebels" had worked out the \$30.00, they were set free.

Many Virginia historians,<sup>7</sup> among them Thomas Jefferson, admit, reluctantly, that Virginia was a penal colony.<sup>8</sup> It was. The crime these youths committed at Dunbar, Preston, Culloden Moor and on other such occasions was treason. They rebelled against the government; and they were always defeated.

After these young Scots<sup>9</sup> gained their freedom, being Scotch and running true to hereditary form, they remained to labor on the master's plantation, married his daughter and became the proprietor of the farm; or they married a neighbor's daughter; or they moved to the adjacent frontier and took up land; or they moved to town and opened a store; or became exporters of tobacco. Thousands of American citizens today are of the blood of these young prisoners of war and bear names now honored.

One generation after Dunbar the borough of Norfolk was laid off<sup>9</sup> by two feoffees, Anthony Lawson and William Robinson (both Scotch). Two letters are preserved in Boston, written by Makemie from Lawson's home on the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River.

Makemie came to America at the earnest request of Judge Stevens<sup>1</sup> of Accomac. He married Naomi Anderson of Onancock, whose father was a member of the House of Burgesses and secured permission to hold Presbyterian services in his Onancock residence.<sup>2</sup> It is significant that Makemie, a great traveler, north and south, never preached on the western shores of Chesapeake—that was Church of England territory.

<sup>6</sup>Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, Volume I, p. 608. "After Droghede, 1649, the officers were deliberately butchered in cold blood, every tenth man was shot, and the survivors were shipped across the Atlantic."

<sup>7</sup>Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, Volume I, p. 629.

<sup>8</sup>Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*.

<sup>9</sup>Thomas Babington Macaulay and his estimate of Scotch character and initiative. This trait is amply illustrated in Virginia.

<sup>0</sup>See James' *Lower Norfolk County Antiquary* for long lists of colonial citizens. Fully half of the names are Scotch.

<sup>1</sup>L. P. Bowen, *Days of Makemie*.

<sup>2</sup>For all Makemie items see L. P. Bowen, *The Days of Makemie*.

T. C. Johnson, *Virginia Presbyterianism*, p. 16, gives verbatim Makemie's certificate to preach in Onancock (October 15, 1699).

To the Elizabeth River Makemie brought Josiah Mackie,<sup>3</sup> son of Patrick Mackie of Donegal, Ireland, who had no difficulty in obtaining permission to preach on four plantations, the homes of Thomas Ivey, Richard Phillpot, John Roberts and John Dickson—all Scotch names, and all still familiar in Tidewater Virginia. He labored faithfully in his extensive parish for twenty-four years, although he did not join the Presbytery, and dying he left no successor.<sup>4</sup>

### III.

Great Britain and the American colonies sank to the lowest depths of morals and religion in the Eighteenth Century. Agnosticism, Deism and Atheism were popular and aggressive. The Anglo-Saxons touched their nadir, but the Holy Spirit breathed upon the dry bones. Help and healing came from the place one would least have expected—Oxford, seat and centre of ritualism and rationalism. John Wesley and George Whitefield answered the Spirit's call.

Cut and thrust Berkeley was dispatched overseas from Virginia in the disgrace he so richly deserved and James Blair<sup>5</sup> came to bless this Colony. His name is the largest and his influence the finest that touched our colonial life from Raleigh to Washington. He was the breed of Prince Jonathan. George Whitefield arrived<sup>6</sup> first in Williamsburg to find the doors of famous old Bruton Parish Church closed to him,<sup>7</sup> although he was an ordained clergyman of the Church of England. The aged and saintly Commissary

<sup>3</sup>For Mackie items, and they are few, see *The Church on Elizabeth River*, 1892. Sketches by George D. Armstrong, E. B. McClure, George Tait, Peyton H. Hoge and James I. Vance.

<sup>4</sup>From 1716 to 1793 there was no organized Presbyterian Church in Tidewater Virginia, and so far as I have been able to ascertain not a Presbyterian service was conducted in this section.

<sup>5</sup>May 5, 1677, Squires, *Through Centuries Three*, p. 211. T. J. Wertebaker, *Virginia Under the Stuarts*, pp. 174-211. On Blair, his character and career:

D. E. Motley, *Johns Hopkins Studies, Life of James Blair*.

Lyon G. Tyler, *Cyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, Volume I, p. 62.

W. H. T. Squires, *Through Centuries Three*, pp. 236-282, passim.

<sup>6</sup>As Whitefield reached Savannah, January 20, 1740, we judge that he preached in Williamsburg in December, 1739.

<sup>7</sup>W. W. Bennett, *Memorials of Methodism*, p. 30:

W. H. Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, p. 154.

permitted him to preach from the steps of the State House.<sup>8</sup> To all protests James Blair replied, "He shall preach." And preach he did, such preaching as the Virginians never heard before and have heard but rarely since. For four days a vast and growing throng hung upon his words. Souls grew loftier where his teachings fell.

A modest man, bricklayer and farmer, of Hanover County, Samuel Morris<sup>9</sup> by name, did not hear Whitefield, but he heard the truth in detail by repetition. His heart was touched, as were the hearts of his neighbors. It was like the sun that bursts through a thick canopy of cloud and floods the dripping landscape with light and joy after long and dismal days of storm and wretchedness.

Each Sunday these earnest planters read Whitefield's sermons and other evangelical books. They built a reading-house to accommodate the crowds. Morris was fined more than fifty times for absence from the parish church, but he paid gladly for conscience's sake.

The story of these non-conformists has often been told<sup>0</sup>—their summons to Williamsburg to answer to Governor Gooch for persistent absence from church. They were embarrassed, for they did not know how to call themselves. A storm overtook them, and, stopping in the home of a modest Scotch farmer, they discovered an old Confession of Faith of the Scotch Kirk. This they handed Governor Gooch as a statement of their belief. He exclaimed: "These men are Presbyterians!" They took him at his word, and the thread of influence may be traced through the warp and woof of our history from Whitefield's sermons on the steps of the State House to the meeting of this Synod today.

Whitefield's eloquence was not the only origin. Every mighty river may be traced to a thousand pleasant rivulets pouring their crystal floods from the mountainside and racing down green valleys to join the brimming river.

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<sup>8</sup>The State House has been restored with meticulous care by the generosity of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The stoop and wings of the State House form an ideal out-of-doors auditorium.

<sup>9</sup>W. H. Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, pp. 121-24.

<sup>0</sup>Foote, *Sketches*, p. 124.

Johnson, *Virginia Presbyterianism*, p. 30.

William Robinson,<sup>1</sup> son of a Quaker physician in Carlyle, England, broke his pious father's heart by his wicked ways. He came to New Jersey, and, as a school-master, earned his first honest livelihood. The floods of spiritual power were at high tide in the Great Awakening. The Holy Spirit touched the heart of this prodigal. In the stillness of a summer's night, he looked up to the stars and exclaimed aloud: "What do I know of this God?" Then he fell on his knees by the roadside, and he made his peace with God. What a proof of the potency of a pious parent's prayer!

New Brunswick Presbytery licensed him<sup>2</sup> and he traveled the frontiers, a voice crying in the wilderness. He visited Opequon,<sup>3</sup> Rockfish Gap, Amelia and Brunswick Counties (now Prince Edward and Charlotte). He crossed to Carolina, returned to Cumberland, where he organized the first Presbyterian Church in that section, one of the oldest on the roster of our General Assembly. He visited Hanover and preached for four gracious days.<sup>4</sup> When he left he promised to send them a minister who would instruct and lead them. Never was a promise more splendidly redeemed!

He sent Samuel Davies, the most eloquent of all colonial Americans, a youth whose heart was touched with Apostolic fire, whose life was as pure as that of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who spoke with the tongue of a forest Chrysostom.

Saintly William Robinson served the Lord only five years,<sup>5</sup> and, dying, reminded Samuel Davies that the planters of Hanover had assisted his education. Davies promised his dying pastor that he would go to Hanover. He came by way of Williamsburg<sup>6</sup> and secured permission to preach on three plantations in Hanover and one in Henrico. George Whitefield was preaching in Williamsburg at that time (April 14, 1747).

Davies remained twelve years in Virginia. It is to marvel at his

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<sup>1</sup>On the life and influence of saintly William Robinson, Foote's *Sketches*, pp. 125-32. T. C. Johnson, *Virginia Presbyterianism*, dismisses Robinson with three lines, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup>May 27, 1740; he was ordained August 4, 1741.

<sup>3</sup>During the winter of 1742-43.

<sup>4</sup>Sunday, July 6, to Wednesday, July 9, 1743.

<sup>5</sup>He died about August 3, 1746, in St. George's parish, Delaware, where he had recently become pastor.

<sup>6</sup>Gilbert Tennent, Samuel Finley, John and Samuel Blair and perhaps others advised Davies to visit Gooch first.

achievements. He wrote Dr. Avery<sup>7</sup> that he had "touched" seven or eight counties, that he often preached to 1,000<sup>8</sup> people. His sermons are masterpieces of cogent logic, pure English and spiritual power. As an evangelist he travelled into every part of Virginia, save the Tidewater section and the Southwest. He spent two years in Great Britain, preached before His Majesty George II, secured substantial donations for Princeton College,<sup>9</sup> organized the Presbytery of Hanover, and set his stamp so indelibly upon Virginia that he is the pattern to which Virginians expect Presbyterian clergymen to conform. He inspired Patrick Henry, who learned from him how to appeal to the hearts and conscience of men. He pointed to "that heroic youth, Colonel Washington" and predicted that God had preserved him for some great service to his country.<sup>0</sup> His was a potent influence in securing for Virginia and, to a degree, for America, separation of church and state. Yet he was neither blind to the affairs of state nor dumb in demanding justice for its citizens. In Hanover, as a mere boy, David Rice caught the inspiration which made him an Apostle to Kentucky, and the first of the Rice dynasty which has blessed the Church in each succeeding generation, represented here today by the President of this Seminary.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

The Fourth Scene carries us to the gates of the glowing West. Virginia was not settled in orderly sequence, like the states of the West. But rather like those crazy quilts our mothers used to

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<sup>7</sup>T. C. Johnson, *Virginia Presbyterianism*, pp. 36, 37, gives a long verbatim quotation from Davies' letter to Dr. Benjamin Avery, dated May 2, 1752.

<sup>8</sup>One of his great sermons was delivered at "Merry Oaks" (Ashland). The occasion was a gathering of the militia called a General Master, a kind of picnic for the countryside, held in Virginia until the War Between the States.

<sup>9</sup>His diary and a few other relics are preserved in the Library of Union Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>0</sup>As President, General Washington appointed William Davies, eldest son of Samuel, to a lucrative and influential position in Norfolk. Some of his direct descendants in the Whittle family are still resident in Norfolk. William Davies' daughter, Mary, married Fortesque Whittle. Francis McNeece Whittle, Bishop of Virginia (April 5, 1876), was the son of this marriage. The Bishop died in 1902.

<sup>1</sup>Dr Benjamin Rice Lacy.

make,<sup>2</sup> patches of every conceivable size and shape, united into one attractive whole. The movement of the Virginia pioneers, their grants, clearings, and little villages, is a phase of historical research not yet adequately presented but of intense significance to those who would read Virginia's struggles aright. The trek of the Scotch-Irish behind the lofty summits of Blue Ridge,<sup>3</sup> in irregular fashion, up the Shenandoah, across the James, over the Appalachian divide, followed the clear, cold rivulets of Holston,<sup>4</sup> Clinch, Kanawha, Cumberland, Cherokee (now the Tennessee). They were undeterred by Indian terror, by rivers deep and rapid, or by rough and rugged mountains.<sup>5</sup> This human Gulf Stream has mingled generously with the National ocean and yet retained to an astonishing degree its primitive characteristics. It filled the valleys of Western Virginia, Eastern Tennessee and Kentucky, Western Carolina, Northern Alabama, and came forth upon the plains of Mississippi, Arkansas and even distant Texas. To call the roll of mighty men begotten of this race would be a task well-nigh endless; but, incidentally, it is to note that Stephen Austin<sup>6</sup> was born beside New River in Wythe County, Virginia, and that Samuel Houston<sup>7</sup> was a native of the verdant valleys of Rockbridge, where the family still abide.

Sir William Gooch<sup>8</sup> welcomed these sturdy volunteers with their axes, their physical and moral manhood, their wives and large families of tow-headed children, who grew into strong and sturdy men. The Governor and elegant colonels of his Council did not object to this virile human curtain, hung to the blue summits of the western hills between Eastern Virginia and the fierce Indians, who burst in from time to time for rapine and plunder.

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<sup>2</sup>The movement of the pioneers is best presented by Morgan Poitiaux, Robinson, *Bulletin of the State Library*, January-July, 1916.

<sup>3</sup>W. H. T. Squires, *Land of Decision*, pp. 249-270.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas W. Preston, *Historical Sketches of Holston Valleys*.

<sup>5</sup>Constance Lindsay Skinner, *Pioneers of the Southwest*. Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*. Joseph Addison Waddell, *Annals of Augusta*.

<sup>6</sup>Lyon G. Tyler, *Cyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, Austin born November 3, 1793; died December 27, 1836.

<sup>7</sup>Tyler, *Virginia Biography*, Houston born March 2, 1793; died July 25, 1863.

<sup>8</sup>W. H. T. Squires, *Through Centuries Three*, pp. 264-271. Governor, October 13, 1727-June 20, 1749.

The Governor knew—none better—that French colonists and colonels were behind the torture, passion and fury of the pagans. They claimed that New France extended to the ultimate head-springs of all Mississippi waters—namely, to Lewisburg, Christiansburg, Mount Mitchell and practically all of Western Pennsylvania and Northwestern Virginia. It need hardly be said that the stern Scotch-Irish had a prejudice against death by Indian tomahawks or French rifles.<sup>9</sup>

Save only the English elements these mountain men of Ulster blood with a German contingent have done more to make America mighty than any breed among the heterogeneous populations of our country. Oh, it is a thousand pities that their church, our church, did not follow their brave advance and shepherd them. Bitter and appalling these lost opportunities! The first Virginia settler in this migration seems to have been a Welshman, Morgan Morgan;<sup>9</sup> and the first substantial settlement seems to have been on the banks of the Opequon;<sup>1</sup> and the first church seems to have been Tuscarora Meeting House.<sup>2</sup> Each of these statements has been disputed, for the debate has dragged on for an hundred years. The data here presented is substantiated by good, but not by convincing authority.

## V.

Our Fifth Scene follows the Fourth in logical but not in chronological order. The decisive defeat of Edward Braddock is not a mere episode in the blood-stained annals of our country, for it had many permanent reactions in the settlement of Virginia and the Carolinas.<sup>3</sup>

The Seven Years' War, known in America as the French and

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<sup>9</sup>James Grahame, *History of North America*, Volume II, p. 319; also Volume II, p. 227.

<sup>9</sup>F. B. Kegley, *Virginia Frontiers*, p. 31. Jacob Stover's purchase, 1730, or thereabout. Van Meter discovery and occupation, 1730, or thereabout.

<sup>1</sup>W. H. Foote, *Sketches*, p. 101. Joice Hite and 16 families, 1732. Kegley dates Hite's grant 1731.

<sup>2</sup>John Esten Cooke, *History of Virginia*, p. 323. Tuscarora and Opequon.

<sup>3</sup>F. B. Kegley, *Virginia Frontiers*, Chapter X.



Indian War, shook Christendom to the foundations.<sup>4</sup> Out of it modern democracy slowly and painfully developed.<sup>5</sup> Virginia and Pennsylvania were stricken with fear, and not without good reason. No war is ended when it ends. No treaty of peace really concludes a war. Braddock's fatal fiasco<sup>6</sup> in the umbrageous forests of the Monongahela drove thousands from the threatened frontiers southward. And other thousands coming to make their homes in the new land also turned their faces southward. As they traveled, many found vacant lands<sup>7</sup> along the pleasant uplands and stopped to make their homes. The great empty spaces in Southern Virginia were soon populated.<sup>8</sup> Others passed into Carolina; keeping the dim outlines of Blue Ridge forever over their right shoulders. They found open spaces in the vast forests, a cool spring where the purple rhododendron grew or an old Indian clearing fringed with stately trees of the forest.

Saintly William Robinson, John Thomson and John Caldwell,<sup>9</sup> the grandfather of John C. Calhoun, followed these new settlers. Caldwell, especially, was active in guiding hundreds of such families to their new homes in Virginia and the two Carolinas. This movement was in progress only twelve years before the Revolution burst forth.

If a map of the Presbyterian Churches of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia as they were to 1861 were spread, one could trace the course of this migration without other data.

The scions of this virile race have long since filled the countryside with prosperous cities, rich farms, busy factories and a million happy homes, sufficient testimony to their initiative, energy and worth.

## VI.

The Sixth Scene takes the story back to Hanover. Samuel Davies returned from a journey of two years to Great Britain,

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<sup>4</sup>W. F. Poole, *The West from 1763 to 1783*. R. King, *Ohio*, Chapter V. The Text of Proclamation by George III is given in Force's *American Archives*, Series 4, Volume I, p. 172.

<sup>5</sup>Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Volume I, Chapter 11. England declared war May 18, 1756.

<sup>6</sup>Robert R. Howison, *History of Virginia*, Volume I, pp. 463-473.

<sup>7</sup>T. J. Wertenbaker, *Virginia Under the Stuarts*, p. 160.

<sup>8</sup>Landon C. Bell, *Cumberland Parish*, map, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup>F. B. Kegley, *Virginia Frontiers*, pp. 39, 41, 112, 441.

landing at Yorktown February 13.<sup>o</sup> The following minute will be read with interest:

“The Synod of New York Met at Philadelphia

At a meeting of the Synod of New-York September 3rd, 1755, a Petition was brought into the Synod setting forth Ye Necessity of erecting a new Presbytery in Virginia; The Synod therefore appoint Ye Revd. Samuel Davies, John Tod, Alexander Craghead, Robert Henry, John Wright, and John Brown, to be a Presbytery, under Ye Name of the Presbytery of Hanover; & Yt. their first meeting shall be in Hanover on the first Wednesday of December next; & that Mr. Davies open the Presbytery by a Sermon; & that any of our Members settling to the Southward and Westward of Mr. Hogg's<sup>1</sup> Congregation shall have Liberty to joyn the Presbytery of Hanover.

Pr. Richard Treat Syn: Clerk.”

At the time appointed the Presbytery met and the following minute was recorded:<sup>2</sup>

“*Hanover*, December 3d. The Presbytery of Hanover met according to the above Constitution and Appointment Mr. Davies Moderator and Mr. Todd Clerk. Ubi post Pesces Sederunt. Messrs. Samuel Davies, Robert Henry, John Brown and John Todd, ministers. Elders Samuel Morris, Alexander Joice, John Malley; Messrs. Craghead and Wright absent—Mr. Davies being sick,<sup>3</sup> requested Mr. Todd to preach for him and according the Presbytery was opened by him, by a sermon from Zachariah the 4-7.”

The Presbytery asked to be relieved of an offering for the College of New Jersey (Princeton University) because of “the present impoverished State of the Colony.” After many other items the Presbytery adjourned to meet at “Mr. Woodson's at Goochland Court-House at 7 o'clock this evening.”

The new Presbytery included all the Presbyterian Churches south of Maryland except the Old Side congregations, then in Donegal Presbytery, but which soon after joined Hanover. For the Old Side-New Side schism was about to be healed after seventeen years of wrangle and argument as useless as it was ill-tempered.

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<sup>o</sup>1755. He left America November 17, 1753. W. H. Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, gives Samuel Davies' Diary, a part of which in original manuscript is preserved in the library of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>1</sup>Reverend James Hoge, pastor of Opequon, the father of three distinguished sons, James, John Blair and Samuel Davies Hoge. James Hoge and his brother were the progenitors of the Hoge dynasty.

<sup>2</sup>The records of Hanover Presbytery are carefully preserved in the Library of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond.

<sup>3</sup>Samuel Davies was physically frail and was constantly over-worked.

To the eternal glory of the Colonial fathers be it said that they were indefatigable in their efforts to carry the gospel into every spiritual distitution in Virginia. Men filled with Apostolic zeal, intensely zealous for the salvation of souls,—it warms the heart to read the simple, almost childish, record—missionary journeys over mountains, rivers and plains, revivals sweeping the countryside, blasphemous sinners touched by the Spirit and turned into penitent saints. They preached in the homes of the planters, under the spreading trees of the forest, in slave quarters, in tobacco barns, and at the country cross-roads. They followed the sun to the summits of the Cumberland Mountains and came forth upon the blue grass counties of Kentucky. Again it is to lament our lost opportunities, for had the spirit that motivated Hanover Presbytery been continued to this day, we would have ten Presbyterians where now we have one. You would represent a constituency of 600,000 instead of 60,000, and every section of this Commonwealth, every valley and mountain cove, every fertile neck of land beside tidal waters, would have been evangelized.

## VII.

After seven years of terror the exhausted nations of Europe signed the Treaty of Paris.<sup>4</sup> Louis XV, by the stroke of his pen, resigned half the continent of North America<sup>5</sup> to Great Britain. "New France" disappeared and Canada was born. Sir Walter Raleigh, sleeping under the altar of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, for 150 years with his dissevered head, was vindicated. His splendid vision was at long last realized. From the boreal pole almost to the Gulf of Mexico, America was now British and Protestant. When Thomas Jefferson purchased Louisiana,<sup>6</sup> James Monroe, Florida;<sup>7</sup> when John Tyler annexed Texas,<sup>8</sup> and James K. Polk California,<sup>9</sup> the huge circle was complete.

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<sup>4</sup>T. H. Dyer, *History of Modern Europe*, Volume III, Chapter 6. The signatory powers were France, Spain, Great Britain and Portugal. Treaty signed February 10, 1763.

<sup>5</sup>Thomas Carlyle: "France beaten, stript, humiliated, sinful, unrepentant, governed by clever fools, collapses, sinks into bankrupt quiescence, into dry rot."

<sup>6</sup>Benson J. Lossing, *History of United States*, p. 390, April 10, 1803.

<sup>7</sup>W. H. T. Squires, *Through Centuries Three*, p. 399, February 22, 1819.

<sup>8</sup>Lyon G. Tyler, *Cyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, April 12, 1844.

<sup>9</sup>The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, *Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History*.

The Presbyterians of Virginia, especially those whose homes were along the far-flung frontiers, were now unleashed. With astonishing rapidity they pressed southward and westward. By the time the Revolution began, settlement of this Commonwealth in its present boundaries was superficially complete.

Before the Restoration of Charles II, many Presbyterians in England and the colonies found a spiritual home in the Church of England. After 1662 they were harried out of the Established Church and were forced either to conform or become Independents. When William and Mary were crowned, all non-Conformists were tolerated. In Virginia that toleration was exacting. No records could be kept, no churches built, places of worship and officiating clergymen must be licensed. But after the French War these provisions were relaxed, and after the epoch-making address of Patrick Henry in the Two Penny Case<sup>o</sup> at Hanover Court House, religious freedom was practiced, but not officially recognized in the colony.

It has been a long habit to point the finger of scorn at the Episcopal Church because of the quasi-persecution of the colonial era. That comes with very poor grace. It is to remember that the Calvinists of Geneva, Massachusetts and other places were just as intolerant as the Episcopalians of Virginia. It should also be remembered that the Great Awakening was, under God, the work of two Church of England clergymen, Wesley and Whitefield—and to the latter we, the Presbyterians of Virginia, owe a debt of gratitude which can never be repaid. Complete separation of church and state in Virginia and in America is ours now by constitutional right. And to whom do we owe it, save to our Virginia Episcopalians—Henry, Mason, Marshall, Washington, the Lees, Jefferson, Madison, Grayson, Bland, Tazewell, Wythe—every man of them a member of the Established Church.

Again: one specific episode more than any other set forward religious liberty in Virginia—the persecution of three humble Baptist preachers in Spotsylvania County.<sup>1</sup> At their trial Patrick

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<sup>o</sup>December 1, 1763. W. H. T. Squires, *Through Centuries Three*, p. 285.

<sup>1</sup>June, 1768: John Waller, Lewis Craig and James Childs. John Esten Cooke, *History of Virginia*, p. 391. W. H. T. Squires, *Through Centuries Three*, p. 292.

Henry arose in the crowded court-room, uninvited and unexpected. Striding to the bar he cried: "May it please your worships, what did I hear read? Did I hear an expression that these men whom your worships are about to try for misdemeanor are charged with preaching the Gospel of the Son of God?"

Those solemn words (1768) sounded the death knell of the Established Church in Virginia. They reached throughout America, and the world!

The attorney for the state went pale and trembled with suppressed emotion. The multitude stood, packed into the small room, in awestruck silence. The justice presiding found his voice and exclaimed: "The accused are dismissed."

From that critical hour the struggle in Virginia was no longer for the Right of Toleration, but for the Right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience, absolutely without hindrance. And, as a corollary, the abolition of taxes for religious societies.

It would be tedious to follow the debates in Presbytery,<sup>2</sup> in the General Assembly of the Commonwealth, and in the other churches. The debate began in 1763 and ended with the adoption of a resolution offered by Thomas Jefferson, the complete and final separation of church and state (1785).

In the meantime, the reunion of the Old and New Side synods, the inflowing tides of migration, the gracious revivals sweeping the countryside from the time of the Great Awakening, and, in Virginia, the growing influence of the Presbytery of Hanover, its zeal, activity and its rapid spread in the western and southern states, made the organization of a National Church both wise and imperative.<sup>3</sup>

The Old Synod determined to divide its constituency into four, and erect a General Assembly.<sup>4</sup> To the Synod of Virginia were assigned the Presbyteries of Redstone in Western Pennsylvania, Transylvania in Kentucky, the recently erected Presbytery of Lex-

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<sup>2</sup>Perhaps the best discussion of the Five Memorials forwarded to the General Assembly of Virginia by Hanover Presbytery is found in *Virginia Presbyterianism*, Thomas Cary Johnson; the Memorials of 1776, p. 82; the Memorial of 1777, p. 87; the two Memorials of 1784, pp. 93 and 100; the Memorial of 1785, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup>George P. Hays, *Presbyterians*, p. 137. The First General Assembly met in Philadelphia, May 21, 1789.

<sup>4</sup>R. C. Reed, *History of the Presbyterian Churches*, p. 253.

ington<sup>5</sup> and the original Presbytery of Hanover in Virginia. The Presbytery of Abingdon,<sup>6</sup> extending far southward into North Carolina (Eastern Tennessee), was assigned to the Synod of the Carolinas. The Old Synod of New York and Philadelphia then adjourned *sine die*.

The new Synod of Virginia held its initial meeting according to appointment at New Providence Church, Rockbridge County, October 23, 1788. Reverend John Brown, the dean of the clergy there present, convened the Synod with prayer and delivered the sermon from Colossians 4:17. Only nine ministers were enrolled, with four ruling elders present,<sup>7</sup> all members of Lexington Presbytery. Reverend William Graham was unanimously elected Moderator. The troubled and uncertain times, before the Constitution of the United States was adopted and while its provisions were being debated, the importance of the elections being held in all the colonies, the great distances to be covered and the expense and discomforts of travel, explain the absence of many commissioners.

But with the erection and organization of the Synod and the National General Assembly, though small and feeble, a new era dawned for American Presbyterianism, and the story of the Colonial Presbyterian Church in Virginia ends.

God Almighty sets His seal of immortality upon each passing generation. To every age He gives its problems, power and victories, even as He gives to every man his labor and his meaning. This is the seven-fold argument for the propulsive power of Presbyterianism.

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<sup>5</sup>Minutes of the Synod of Virginia, 1788.

<sup>6</sup>W. H. Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 281.

<sup>7</sup>Reverends John Brown, William Graham, Nicholas Scott, Edward Crawford, John Montgomery, Benjamin Erwin, William Wilson, Moses Hoge and John McCue, Ruling Elders James Allen, Samuel McCutcheon, John Walker, Samuel McCampbell.

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