

THE
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Art. I.—THE HIGHER LIFE AND CHRISTIAN PERFECTION.*

BY LYMAN H. ATWATER.

THAT the prevalent tone of Christian experience and holy living is quite below the level of scriptural standards and privileges; that there is an urgent call for the great body of Christians to rise to a much higher plane of inward piety and its visiblefruits; that none are so high that they should not make it their supreme endeavor to rise higher; that to struggle onward and upward through the strength, holiness and grace already attained to yet higher measures of them, so that receiving grace for grace, they may go from strength to strength toward the goal of sinless perfection whenever and wheresoever attainable; that so there is required the ceaseless effort to get free from sin and overcome indwelling corruption, are propositions which few will be found to dispute, unless, indeed, some Perfectionists dispute the last of them, claiming to have reached

* *The Higher Christian Life*, by Rev. W. E. Boardman.

Pioneer Experiences; or, the Gift of Power Received by Faith. Illustrated and Confirmed by the Testimony of Eighty Living Witnesses of Various Denominations.

By the author of "Way of Holiness," &c. Introduction by Rev. Bishop Janes.

The Rest of Faith, by Rev. Isaac M. See.

Autobiography of Rev. Charles G. Finney. Chapter xxvii.

Holiness the Birthright of God's Children, by the Rev. J. T. Crane, D. D.

The Old Paths; a Treatise on Sanctification. Scripture the Only Authority. By Rev. Thomas Mitchell.

Purity and Maturity, by Rev. J. A. Wood.

A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, by Rev. John Wesley.

(New Series, No. 22.)

preaches the sacredness of law, and so points with reverent finger from human law to the divine, and to Him in whose breast both have their seat at last. By being servants we become children and heirs. By law we gain liberty. By waiting at the foot of Sinai we are taken up into Olivet and Tabor. The tables of stone lean against the cross. Moses is followed by the Messiah. Beyond the valleys of subjection rise the eternal hills of peace. The years of unquestioning and obedient toil ended, there is proclaimed the great Sabbatic festival, where law is love, and order is choice, and government is Fatherhood, and the Ruler's will is the impulse of every heart."

Art. IV.—PRESBYTERIANISM ON THE FRONTIERS.*

BY REV. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, President of Wabash College.

THE Presbytery of Philadelphia, formed "about the beginning of the year 1705," "consisted of seven ministers" and a score of churches. This germ in half a century had grown into two Synods, which included ninety-four ministers, and a still greater number of churches. From that time "to the commencement of the Revolutionary War the growth of the church had been rapid and almost uninterrupted."

When the differences between the Colonies and the mother country were "submitted to the arbitrament of war," the Presbyterian Church had become a commanding power in the Middle and Southern States. Although Mr. Jefferson, in his autobiography, did not name the Presbyterian clergy in his account of the means adopted "to fire the heart of the country," we know from other sources that they were prominent in the movement. He says: "We were under the conviction of the necessity of arousing our people from the lethargy into which they had fallen, as to passing events, and thought that the appointment of a day of general fasting and prayer would be most likely to call up and alarm their attention. * * *

*The Synod of Indiana was formally organized on the 18th of October, 1826. On the fiftieth anniversary of that event the Synods of Indiana South, and Indiana North, met in the First Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis, which occasioned the preparation of this historical sketch.

* * We cooked up a resolution somewhat modernizing the phrases—of the Puritans—for appointing the 1st day of June, 1774, on which the Port bill was to commence, for a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, to implore Heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war, to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of the King and Parliament to moderation and justice. * * * This was in May, 1774. * * * We returned home, and in our several counties invited the clergy to meet assemblies of the people on the 1st of June, to perform the ceremonies of the day, and to address to them discourses suited to the occasion."—(Jefferson's Works, I., 7.)

It is sufficient to remark that none responded with greater zeal to this invitation than the Presbyterian ministers of the Middle and Southern States. Until the war began our church had shown great vigor, and was rapidly spreading in all the States south of New England; but with the war came disastrous changes. The ministers were scattered, churches enfeebled, some houses of worship were burned, others desecrated by the enemy, and the community at large seemed unusually afflicted with an extraordinary increase of impiety and infidelity. And hence it was not strange that when the war closed, our church was much weaker than when it began.

From the beginning it had been a missionary church. Its early preachers had been famous for their extensive journeys to preach the gospel in destitute regions. They were not content to visit the regions that could be safely and easily reached, but many of them, with rare courage, went to the very frontiers, which were often rendered dangerous by the incursions of the Indians.

As already intimated, the immediate effect of the war on the church was disastrous, but no sooner was it ended than new life began to show itself. Decayed churches were resuscitated, new ones planted, pastors installed, missionaries sent out, young men of promise educated for the ministry; in a word, the church once more became aggressive.

All this was preparing the way for the more perfect organization of the church in 1788, with the General Assembly as its highest judicatory. And now we reach a period of the greatest interest, both from the positive opposition encountered, and the

positive encroachments which our missionaries made on the world. In the older States the French infidelity had obtained a powerful hold on the minds of multitudes who did not hesitate to denounce "religion as mere priestcraft." It was commonly reported that Mr. Jefferson himself had said, "that in fifty years the Bible would be no more consulted than an old almanac!"

After the war was over infidel clubs were formed, which included large numbers of wealthy and intelligent men. These were formed in different States. The late Mr. Israel Crane of Bloomfield, N. J., once named the societies of this sort, which formed a cordon from Paulus Hook through New Jersey, to Newburg on the Hudson, and many of their prominent members. He stated that they were violent in their opposition to religion; and also the remarkable fact that many of these men came to a violent death. The late Rev. Peter Kanouse, of Sussex County, N. J., a very intelligent witness, also made the same statement. The purpose seemed to be to uproot Christianity.

Nor was this hostility confined to words and sneers, but in some cases showed itself in such sports as horse-races on the Sabbath, and even in defiling the hated meeting-houses outside, and covering the walls within with obscene and blasphemous caricatures. At least one of the Presbyterian churches in Morris County, N. J., in the immediate neighborhood of one of the most violent of these infidel clubs, was so daubed over with filth and caricatures as to be unfit for use, the desecration not having been discovered until Sabbath morning. Nor was this the only case. Besides this the ministers were sometimes subjected to violence, and often were treated in the rudest manner by these drunken and bitter opposers.

It would be easy to multiply statements of this sort, showing the condition of the country when our church, beginning to recover itself from the distressing demoralization of the war, renewed its consecration to the great work of preaching the gospel, not merely in the older regions, but in the new and distant sections, both at the South and West. It is not meant to assert that the difficulty was one entirely arising from the widespread infidelity. It originated in other causes also, as in the illiteracy of vast numbers in the remote regions.

where schools were few and usually poor, and also in the alarming lack of the English Scriptures—a lack so remarkable that the New England clergy were impelled to call the attention of the Presbyterians to it. There were whole counties in Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee in which there was not a church of any sort, and it was alleged that there were multitudes of American people who had never attended a religious service or heard a religious discourse. In some cases, where a traveling minister had preached and then gone away, persons convicted of sin by this means absolutely did not know of a Christian man or woman anywhere within many miles, of whom they could go and ask the question, “What shall we do to be saved?”

If now we recur to the year 1788, when our General Assembly was formed, we shall find the beginning of great changes. The printing of the Holy Scriptures in English had been started only six years before; although against the law of England, two editions of the English Bible had been previously printed in this country, and the circulation of the Scriptures was carried forward to some extent in the destitute regions.

The condition of things in the “Old Redstone Country”—as Western Pennsylvania was called—had become very interesting, as also in Western New York. Soon after the Revolutionary War the pioneers began to push westward up the Mohawk, toward the valley of the Genesee and the shores of Lake Erie. In like manner the bold frontiersmen left the valleys of the Susquehanna and Juniata, and, crossing the Alleghenies, settled in the valleys of the Monongahela and the Allegheny. Of the most thoroughly Presbyterian stock, these last made the “Old Redstone Country” scarcely less famous than Scotland itself for its devotion to Presbyterianism.

It is affecting to note the alarm of the General Assembly near the close of the last century, in view of “the profligacy and corruption of public morals, profaneness, pride, luxury, injustice, intemperance, lewdness, and every species of debauchery and loose indulgence,” which prevailed in the older sections of the country, as also “the formality and deadness” of the churches. And yet the church was getting ready for those glorious revivals which make up so marked a part of her history, during the latter part of the last century and the first third of the present.

If the churches seemed dead in the older regions, the power of God was wonderfully displayed in some portions of the newer, at the West and South. Beginning with "Morris' Reading House"—1740—it seemed as if some irresistible influence were pressing God's people to wrestle with him for Virginia. And if we consider the origin of the movement, its progress and its instruments, we are struck with astonishment. That most extraordinary man, President Davies, although the greatest among them, was the type of the minister who heralded the great revival in Virginia. Throngs followed him. As an orator, even with his manuscripts before him, his friends in Virginia regarded him a greater preacher even than Whitefield. But it was not mere eloquence that enabled him to do what he did. He opened the secret of his power as a pulpit orator to a friend, and we see what was the lock of his strength. When he preached the terrors of the Lord, he himself shuddered; or the love of Jesus, he himself melted into unutterable tenderness. Sometimes more than at others, yet habitually in some degree, when he preached, he felt that he might not preach again, and as if he might step from the pulpit to the judgment-bar.

The war dealt harshly with these churches in Virginia; but about the time our General Assembly was organized there came another season of extraordinary revival power to that region. Although Davies had been away for years, there were on that field such men as William Graham of Liberty Hall Academy, the trainer of Archibald Alexander, and John Blair Smith. If we may credit Dr. Alexander, the American church has had few greater men than these. There was also James Waddell, "the blind preacher," whose eloquence was said to be beyond even the lofty eulogium of Wirt. Nash Le Grand was also a rising luminary, and William Hill, afterward "the patriarch of Winchester," was just coming on the stage. In some respects not one of them was greater than Moses Hoge, whom John Randolph believed to be the greatest divine of his day. Drury Lacy, Vice-President of Hampden Sidney College for a time, was another very remarkable man, who appeared in what was called by Dr. Alexander "the great revival."

And while this work was sweeping over Virginia, young Archibald Alexander wrote that they had "heard of a revival

of the same kind in Western Pennsylvania, under the labors of the Rev. Joseph Smith, the Rev. John McMillan, and others." He adds a remark concerning the Scotch Presbyterians of the Valley of the Virginia, which no doubt expressed a similar feeling among the Scotch Presbyterians in "the Redstone country." The remark was this, "the general impression was that these religious commotions would pass away like the morning cloud." The fear was proved to be groundless, as applying to Western Pennsylvania. The religious history of this region has been very remarkable. There is no part of the history of Presbyterianism on the frontier more so. In November, 1758, the Rev. Charles Beatty preached the first Protestant sermon west of the Alleghenies within the walls of Fort Pitt. The mission of Beatty and Brainard in 1763 to the "distressed frontier inhabitants" in that region, had been prevented by the renewal of savage hostilities on such a scale that west of Shippensburg every building was burned, many people were murdered, and many perished in the flight. Dr. Wing speaks of the panic among the people as "one of extraordinary extent and intensity." The people "fled almost in a body over the mountains toward Lancaster." (Wing's Discourse on Presbyteries of Donegal and Carlisle 16, Cen. Mem., West Penn., 209.) The author of "Old Redstone" describes the pitiable condition of those who found refuge at Shippensburg.

Although a Mr. Anderson, soon after Mr. Beatty's visit—probably in 1767—was directed to preach to the people in this region, and the Presbytery of Donegal was ordered by the Synod "to supply the western frontier with ten Sabbaths of ministerial labor," yet Dr. Eaton asserts that "the first of the pioneer ministers who visited this region," to prepare the way for a permanent settlement, "was the Rev. James Finley, in 1771. The Rev. James Powers made his first visit in 1774, and in 1776 removed his family. (Cen. Mem., West Penn., 209, Sprague III, 327.)

In 1775 the Rev. John McMillan, one of the most remarkable of our pioneer preachers, made his first visit to the Redstone country. In 1776 he was ordained at Chambersburg, but on account of the hostility of the Indians did not remove his family until 1778; but during the intervening period he him-

self visited his selected field of labor to perform ministerial duties among the people in that truly distressed region. He is described by Dr. Eaton as "not attractive in personal appearance; six feet in height, rough-hewn in features, brusque in manner, and with a voice that was like the rumbling of thunder."

The Rev. Thaddeus Dodd, of New Jersey, reached the Redstone country in 1777 the first time, and in 1779, having been ordained, returned for permanent settlement. For a time his labor was within blockhouses and forts, which the people had built for protection against the savages. It is an interesting fact that in these unfavorable circumstances his preaching resulted in a revival, which added forty converts to the church, or rather they professed their faith before the church was organized in 1781. It was an affecting sign of the distresses of the times, that this pioneer preacher, who had seen "converts multiplied" under his ministry, is said to have been on his field four years before he administered the Lord's Supper. In 1783 he held his first sacramental meeting in a barn.*

In 1779 a fourth man, the Rev. Joseph Smith, came to the Redstone country who was the worthy co-worker of the three already named, and who was also to exert a powerful influence in that region as a preacher and as one of the founders of Jefferson College. The descriptions given of him show how it was that he should exert such a powerful influence as a pioneer preacher. Winning in manner, imposing in person, powerful in thought, devoted in piety, impassioned in voice and action, he was at times overpowering in his discourses. His work as a preacher was only exceeded in results by his relations to the founding of Jefferson College. McMillan, Dodd and Smith, like Tennent at Neshaminy, taught schools in their own houses, chiefly for the purpose of training young men for the ministry. And it surely was not the smallest of the results they achieved that two colleges—now happily one—grew out of these schools in the wilderness.

In May 1781 the Synod of New York and Philadelphia organized the Presbytery of Redstone, the first west of the Alleghenies. Powers, McMillan, Dodd and Smith—all just

* *Sprague* iii: 358; *Gillett* i: 262.

described—were its first members. Although its first meeting was appointed to be held at the Laurel Hill Church, on the third Wednesday of the following September, Dr. McMillan says the “first Presbytery that met on this side of the mountains was held at Mount Pleasant on the third week of October, 1783.”

Although the church edifices were few and rude for several years, religion greatly flourished in this region. It is true that at times the people were compelled to flee to their blockhouses and forts, and that even in the most favorable times their circumstances were by no means inviting; yet, whether in the grove, the log meeting-house, or the fort, they were favored with some great religious awakenings.

In 1778 the exhortations of Joseph Patterson, in “Vance’s Fort,” were the means of leading a score to Christ, the germ of the Cross Creek church, of which one of the converts, the Rev. Thomas Marquis, was the pastor for many years. (Cen. Mem., 41.) Dr. Sprague says: “Mr. Dodd’s labors throughout his whole ministry seem to have been attended with much more than an ordinary blessing. Besides the regular increase of his church from year to year, there were several seasons of special religious interest which brought in large numbers.” He died in 1793, while his church was still feeling the power of a great revival.

Dr. McMillan says that from 1781 to 1794 his churches were experiencing powerful refreshings, and that during those thirteen years numbers were added at every sacramental occasion. Indeed, it may be said that this remarkable man lived in almost a perpetual revival during his ministry of more than half a century. Some of these awakenings were very extensive and wonderful in their power. They spread through Western Pennsylvania, and reached the frontier settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee.

Dr. Carnahan describes Mr. Powers also as not only an effective preacher, but a truly successful one. The Rev. Joseph Smith was one of the most remarkable men that ever preached on any of the frontiers, not only in his piety and gifts as a preacher, but in the truly astonishing effects which often attended his ministry.

If now we add to the names of the original members of the

Redstone Presbytery, such as Joseph Patterson, Elijah McCurdy, David Smith and others, who belonged to it or to Presbyteries springing from it—"able, devoted and self-denying men, whose influence is felt at the present day"—we shall see why Presbyterianism obtained such an overmastering influence in Western Pennsylvania. It began with a remarkable population, had remarkable pioneer ministers, and truly remarkable revivals of religion. The history of it abounds in incidents that seem like romance. Indeed, if we consider them, the revivals and the results, we have no more thrilling chapter in the history of our Church than this.

Such were the beginnings of Presbyterianism on the frontiers of Western Pennsylvania. They were not less remarkable in Western New York and Northern Ohio, but as the Synod of Indiana was descended from the Presbyterianism of Western Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, we may omit extended descriptions of that which has exerted so great an influence in the northern half of Ohio, and in all the States west of Indiana.

Our sketch will not be complete, as related to the organization of the Synod of Indiana, without referring briefly to the introduction and history of Presbyterianism in Kentucky.

In 1783 the Rev. David Rice began his labors in Kentucky. In 1784 the Rev. Adam Rankin and Rev. James Crawford came to the same field; and in 1786 the Rev. Andrew McClure and Rev. Thomas B. Craighead. That year these men, with an evangelist, the Rev. Zerah Templin, were organized into the first Presbytery in that State. Not long afterward came Robert Marshall, a remarkable man, a convert of Dr. McMillan, and Carey H. Allen. Their journey to Kentucky was perilous, but its results were great in extensive revivals. The history of Presbyterianism in Kentucky is full of romantic interest, and is connected with remarkable men. The church grew in spite of the fanatical scenes connected with the revivals which swept over the State during the earlier years of the present century, and which occupy a prominent place in the religious history of that period.

In Tennessee Presbyterianism began about 1785, and its history is not very unlike that in Kentucky. Some of the offen-

sive extravagances of the great revival in the latter State were said to have been imported from Tennessee.

Without proposing to name all the men who were influential in these States, it is sufficient to remark that in both there were men of very great ability, and that they gave to Presbyterianism a hold there which it still retains. And further, the extravagant outbreaks of religious fanaticism seemed to have spent themselves, or to have been corrected, before the pioneers from that region came to this State. In other words, the very best force of these religious movements had been preserved for use in our own State. The wisdom, piety and preaching power of Doak and Blackburn, in Tennessee, and Craighead, Marshall, Allen, Blythe, Cleland, Campbell, Cameron, and others, in Kentucky, did much to prepare the way for the introduction of Presbyterianism into the new regions north of the Ohio.

The influence of the Old Redstone Presbytery is at once seen, even before the close of the last century, in the pioneer work in Ohio in 1799, when the Rev. James Hughes began his labor in Eastern Ohio, at Mt. Pleasant. In 1802 the Rev. James Snodgrass began his pastorate at Steubenville. Meanwhile "Father Rice," in 1790, had organized the first Presbyterian church in Cincinnati, but it was not able to build for itself a house of worship until 1792. The Presbytery of Washington—the first north of the Ohio—was organized in 1799, but in 1802 it included only five pastors and thirty-two congregations. If now we trace the history of Presbyterianism in Ohio down to the date of our own Synod in 1826, we shall find that to a large extent its ministers were either directly from Kentucky, or the Redstone. To this general statement there are many exceptions, especially in the northern part of Ohio, where the New England element expressed itself in its relations to our church in "the Plan of Union." The sterner type of Presbyterianism which Dr. Joshua L. Wilson of Cincinnati, Dr. Robert G. Nelson of Chillicothe, and Dr. James Hoge of Columbus represented, fairly embodied the views of the great body of our church in the south half of the State and the eastern counties, of which Steubenville was a center. The church had made great progress in numbers and material strength. It held protracted meetings, sacramental meetings, and even camp-meet-

ings, quite similar to those which occurred in the ministry of McMillan of Western Pennsylvania, and Cleland of Kentucky. Our church in that State then had possession of the two State Universities at Athens and Oxford, at both of which places many were educated for her ministry. It, in a word, was a great power in Ohio.

We have thus sketched in a very general outline the several religious antecedents of the Synod of Indiana. In the eastern portions of the country there was the extraordinary outpouring of God's Spirit as the last century closed, and repeatedly during the first quarter of the present century. The same was true of Virginia, Western Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. It might be rash to assert that in these new regions our church grew faster and more vigorously than other churches. It is enough to say that in spite of the sparseness and the poverty of the people, and the occasional outbreak of fanaticism, as in Tennessee and Kentucky, the Presbyterian Church had a vigorous growth, as the Assembly's minutes and other authorities prove. These regions were invested from the very first with all the interest of romance, and attracted to themselves multitudes of people who easily adopted our faith and polity. But whatever we may say of these regions in this respect, we find the antecedents of our Indiana Presbyterianism to have been of the type of the original Synod of New York and Philadelphia, of Virginia, the Old Redstone, and Kentucky. Northern Ohio was powerfully affected by the direct emigration of New Englanders, and also that of Central and Western New York. About the time the Connecticut Missionary Society, and then the American Home Missionary Society, began to send out in large numbers the graduates of New England colleges and seminaries, many of the churches in the western half of Ohio, as well as on the Reserve, were modified into a type that did not harmonize at once with the other type just named. But in either case it was strongly imbued with the revival spirit that frequently shook with Pentecostal power the churches of our order, East and West and South, during the half-century 1780-1830. It is a record of antecedents of which our Synod has no reason to be ashamed.

We now reach the part of our narrative that pertains to the planting and growth of our church to the communities north

of the Ohio. In 1787 Dr. Manasseh Cutler had negotiated with Congress for the purchase of several millions of acres, including the tract of the "Ohio Company," in the region of Marietta, and that of Judge Symmes in the Miami country. On the 7th of April, 1788, Gen. Rufus Putnam, with forty-seven men, most of whom were Revolutionary soldiers, landed at Marietta; on the 13th of July Governor St. Clair, by proclamation, defined the boundaries of Washington county, the first in territory of the Northwest; "on the 20th of July the Rev. William Breck, a New England man, and one of the Ohio Company, delivered on the banks of the Muskingum the first sermon ever preached to white men in the present State of Ohio"; and on the 2d of September, with religious and civic ceremonies of an imposing character, the first Court of Common Pleas was opened at Marietta. On this occasion Dr. Cutter officiated as chaplain.

As this eminent clergyman and scientist was on his way to the Muskingum in August, 1788, he had met Judge John Cleves Symmes, at Bedford, Pa., on his way with his family and some colonists to the Miami. The advance guard, under Matthias Denman, of New Jersey, reached Cincinnati in December of this year, Symmes himself not getting there until the following February.

While the New Englanders, under the lead of Putnam, attacked the wilderness of the Northwest at Marietta, and the New Jersey colonists, under Symmes, attacked it at Cincinnati, other brigades of colonists were subduing the Genesee country. From 1761 to 1788 the Moravians, on the Muskingum and on the Cuyahoga, were striving to introduce Christian institutions among the savages. While several sales of lands on the Western Reserve were effected by Connecticut as early as 1788, and to the Connecticut Land Company in 1795, the first permanent settlement in Northern Ohio was not effected until 1796. How difficult of access all these regions north of the Ohio were may be inferred from the length of time consumed by the various bands of colonists to Marietta, Cincinnati, and Cleveland. Whittlesey says that "for thirty years before 1788 rude highways had been in existence over the ridges of the Allegheny Mountains, made by Braddock and Forbes, to the forks of the Ohio at Pittsburgh. From thence they could

float onward with the stream"; but in 1798 Edwards and Doane were ninety-two days on their journey from Connecticut to Cleveland. James Kingsbury reached Conneaut in the fall of 1796, by a journey very tedious and even perilous, and such were the straits of his family that during the following winter, the snow being too deep for the oxen, "he was obliged to drag a hand-sled to Erie—thirty miles—and obtaining a bushel of wheat to draw it himself to Conneaut." Atwater says that "Kingsbury and his hired man drew a barrel of beef the whole distance at a single load."*

To reach the new country under the most favorable circumstances during the first twenty-five years after the military colonists landed at Marietta, in 1788, was a tedious and sometimes dangerous undertaking. Dr. Cutter, in the summer of 1788, took about six weeks to travel by sulky and canoe from Massachusetts to Marietta, and the late Mrs. Judge Burnet, as did many other ladies, repeatedly made the journey from New York to Cincinnati on horseback. To reach the great valley in those days was no child's play, and even at a later day, during the existence of the first bank in Chillicothe, so slow were the public conveyances and so bad the roads, that a man who was offered a large reward to get to Philadelphia in time to stop the payment of a draft fraudulently obtained, preferred to make the journey on foot, and actually did so, obtaining the reward!

According to Judge Law, the French had effected settlements, as trading and military posts, both at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, "as early as the year 1710 or '11—probably the former."—(Law's Vincennes, p. 12.) In 1796 Volney found not only the French people at the latter place, but "new settlers from the neighboring States." In 1798 there were twelve families of these new settlers in the place, and in 1799 Col. Henry Vanderburgh, an old army officer, and a citizen of Vincennes, was a member of the Legislative Council, which constituted the upper house of the first Territorial Legislature that met north of the Ohio. The following year the territory of Indiana was organized, including all that now constitutes the States of Indiana, Michigan and Illinois. In 1804 an im-

* Whittlesey's Cleveland, p. 264; Howe's Ohio, p. 39.

mense portion of the Louisiana purchase west of the Mississippi was added to it. Dillon says the entire Territory in 1800 was estimated to have a civilized population of 4,875. In 1808 this immense region had about 28,000, of whom some 11,000 were within the present State of Indiana. In 1807, according to Dillon, there were in Indiana "2,524 free white males, of twenty-one years and upward." Of these 2,516 were in the south quarter of the State, or south of a line connecting Lawrenceburg and Vincennes.

The General Assembly of Virginia had granted Gen. Geo. Rogers Clarke, and the men who assisted him in the capture of Vincennes and other French posts, 450,000 acres of land, which are chiefly in Clarke County, Indiana, and in 1783 passed an act establishing Clarksville at the Falls of the Ohio, a few miles above New Albany. In 1801 Clarke County was established. In a private letter the indefatigable historian of Indiana, John B. Dillon, states that "the earlier civilized settlements within the original boundaries of Clarke County were, without an exception, founded on the borders of the Ohio river. A few soldiers were stationed at a small fort that was erected at the site of Jeffersonville before the year 1789, and a block-house, which bore the name of 'Armstrong's Station,' was built in 1795 on the right bank of the Ohio, about seventeen miles above the Falls. Clarksville was a small village in 1808, and in the year 1810 the only *villages* on the Indiana side of the river, between the Miami and the Wabash, were Lawrenceburg, Madison, Jeffersonville, and Clarksville. Charles-town, in Clarke County, and Corydon in Harrison, were both founded about 1808. Very few of the founders of these villages were from New England. The most of them came from Virginia, Kentucky and North Carolina, and a few from Pennsylvania."

In 1791 eight men, bearing the name of Hayes, and two named Miller, settled in the Miami bottom, near Lawrenceburg. In 1796, and again in 1798, other families came to Dearborn County, so that in 1800 the settlements there were quite strong. At Rising Sun, in Ohio County, adjoining Dearborn, we learn from a discourse by the Rev. B. F. Morris, that in 1798 emigrants began to find homes at that pleasant spot on the Ohio. From a remark of Perret Dufour, in his

history of the "Early Times in Switzerland County," it may be inferred that the earliest date of settlement there was 1797, although John James Dufour did not begin at Vevay until 1798.

It is very probable that emigrants had settled at other points on the river than those mentioned before 1808, where Madison was located. *The Indiana Gazetteer* of 1849 says: "The first settlements of any consequence were made from 1790 to 1800 in the towns along the river, so that the inhabitants, on the first notice of the approach of the Indians, might escape into Kentucky."—(*Ind. Gaz.*, for 1849, p. 192.)

We have the following dates, which belong to this sketch: The first settlement at Vincennes was about 1710 or '11, and American settlers at the same place about 1795; in 1789 there was a small military post at Jeffersonville, and from 1791 to 1800 settlements were made at Lawrenceburg, Rising Sun, Vevay, "Armstrong's Station," and probably at some other points on the Ohio. In 1808 such points as Madison, Corydon, and Charlestown were settled. In 1800 the Territory was organized. The first county—Knox—was organized in 1790, the second—Clarke—1801, Dearborn County in 1802, and Harrison in 1808. "A court of civil and criminal jurisdiction was organized at Vincennes, June, 1779"—the first after the conquest by Clarke, and on the 4th of November, 1790, "the judges of the Superior Court of the Northwest Territory" appointed regular times for holding courts at Vincennes.—(Dillon 169-297.) "The first school-teacher in Indiana, of whom we have any account, was M. Rivet, a Romish priest at Vincennes, who opened a school at that place in 1793. The second school was near Charlestown, in Clarke County, in 1803.—(Daniel Hough, in *Schools of Indiana*, pp. 53-4.) And on the 4th of July, 1804, Elihu Stout published at Vincennes *The Indiana Gazette*, the first newspaper within the present bounds of Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois.—(Law's Vincennes, p. 138.)

It is said that in 1804 the Rev. Peter Cartwright preached the first discourse ever delivered by a Protestant minister in Indiana. In the spring of 1805 the Rev. Thomas Cleland preached the first Presbyterian sermon at Vincennes. So far as we know, this was the first delivered in Indiana.

The Territory of Indiana had been organized six years when the Rev. Samuel B. Robertson formed the first Presbyterian church within the present bounds of this State. This was the "Indiana Church," not far from Vincennes. In 1807 a second church was formed, which did not live long. If this weakling, that long since died, be excepted, the second church formed was at Charlestown in 1812. From this time until the formation of the Synod of Indiana, in the autumn of 1826, the growth of our church was not very rapid, but it was healthy. The new Synod included forty churches, among which may be named that at Washington, 1814, Madison, 1815, Salem, New Albany, Livonia, Blue River and Pisgah, 1816, Bloomington, 1819, Hanover, 1820, Evansville, 1821, Indianapolis, 1823, Crawfordsville, Franklin and Columbia, 1824, and several others. Among the ministers who had preached statedly or occasionally we find the names of Samuel B. Robertson, Samuel T. Scott, Joseph B. Lapsley, John Todd, John M. Dickey, William Robinson, Thomas C. Searle, James McGrady, James H. Johnston, William W. Martin, Daniel C. Banks, James Balch, John F. Crowe, Isaac Reed, Baynard R. Hall, Charles C. Beatty, David C. Proctor, George Bush, Samuel G. Lowry, and quite a large number besides.

Until 1824 the Transylvania Presbytery of Kentucky included Indiana. On the first of April of that year the Presbytery of Salem was formed, the first in Indiana, and was attached to the Synod of Kentucky. According to the *Salem Presbytery Reporter*, there were seven ministers in it, and Gillett adds, "most of the churches in the State." In 1825 the original Presbytery was divided into the three Presbyteries of Salem, Madison and Wabash, the aggregate strength of which amounted to fourteen ministers and forty-three churches. (Dickey's Brief History, 21). The Assembly's minutes for 1826 illustrate the weakness of the churches at that time. The eleven churches of Salem Presbytery had a total of 478 communicants; the thirteen churches of Madison Presbytery had 536 communicants; and there was no report from the churches of Wabash Presbytery. From what we know of these churches, we shall do no injustice in saying that the entire membership of all the Presbyterian churches in Indiana did not exceed 1,500.

By the time the Synod was formed, October 18, 1826, some changes had been effected. Our first church had been formed in 1806, and after that such towns as Madison, Charlestown, Corydon, Evansville, New Albany, Princeton, Terre Haute, Crawfordsville, Lafayette, Indianapolis, Columbus, Franklin, and some others had been settled. The Territorial capital had been removed from Vincennes to Corydon in 1813. In 1816 Indiana was admitted into the Union. In 1820 Indianapolis was located, and in 1825 became the capital of the State. The population, from about 11,000 in 1807, had increased to about 250,000 in 1826.

And yet this new country was not very attractive in many respects. The author of the *Indiana Gazetteer* for 1849, referring to the transfer of the State capital from Corydon to Indianapolis in 1825, says it required ten days to perform the journey of only one hundred and twenty-five miles; and, moreover, that "on two occasions, after hours of weary travel, the writer had found himself very unwillingly at his starting-place of the morning; and his good friends, the present Postmaster at Indianapolis, and the Auditor of State, after a day's travel, as they thought, toward Cincinnati, were back at their own town, which they took for some unknown settlement in the wilderness. And another traveler from Ohio, when asked if he had been through Indiana, replied that he could not tell with certainty, but he thought he had been pretty nearly *through* it in some places!"

Although emigration was making inroads into the northern half of the State, the most of the population was thinly scattered over the southern half, and, according to Dillon, the most of it was from the slave States; and in spite of the ordinance of 1787, there were in Indiana nearly 200 slaves in 1826. As for the condition of the country, we may learn it from the statements of those who visited it in early times.

In 1822 the Rev. John Ross made a missionary tour from the Miami valley to Fort Wayne, and he describes the journey. One night the wolves howled about their little encampment, and when not far from their destination they were met by a terrible snow storm; their wagon wheels were frozen fast in the mud; they sought in vain to light a fire, and at last, leaving their wagon with its contents in the care of a dog,

they made their way to Fort Wayne, reaching it late at night. And yet, the brave man, the next day being the Sabbath, preached twice in the Fort. Between 1822 and 1826 he made five such missionary tours to Fort Wayne.—(*Williams' Fort Wayne*, 13).

This venerable patriarch passed away at Tipton, Indiana, March 11, 1876, aged ninety-two years, having spent more than half a century in the ministry in this State and Ohio. His history is one of singular interest, and his ministerial life was crowned with unusual success.

When Dr. Post reached Logansport, Christmas day, 1829, it was "a town of thirty or forty families—a community numbering between two and three hundred. Dispersed in the country were eight or ten log cabins, holding the entire residue of Cass county. We were literally on the confines where civilized man had overtaken the savage, and they had stopped for a day and struck hands. . . . Wild forest and prairie, unoccupied by the white man, stretched away westward over Illinois to 'the Father of Waters,' and in the direction of the Great Lakes to an almost indefinite expanse; toward the rising sun, and the remote southeast and south were spread out 'the solemn woods.' Some rude fixtures of the French trader were found at long intervals on the large water-courses. On nearly every side lay a wide extent of unorganized territory, and all around was a dark, massy solitude. Out of Fort Wayne and Logansport there were not in Indiana, north of the Wabash, 300 inhabitants. From several points of the compass a traveler, day after day, might have taken his course in a direct line to this place without his eye being cheered with even the roughest quarters of the backwoodsman." He describes his journey in December, 1829, from Madison to Logansport on horseback, requiring nine days of hard riding, "with roads which were almost a continuous morass—long, weary miles of a deep, half-liquid compound of earth, water, snow, and ice—roads without bridges, high waters, impassable fords, and with 'swimming horse,' and sometimes his rider, too, through full angry currents."—(*Post's Retrospect*, 9, 10.)

If we had time to cull hints and more positive statements from various sources within reach, we should find that Indiana,

although ten years a State in 1826, was a vast wilderness that was only just beginning to tremble before the axe of the pioneer. In 1822 that truly able man, the late Mr. John Beard, found only one cabin between Indianapolis and the cabin or two built at Crawfordsville. And that very year Mr. Charles Beatty, now our venerable patriarch at Steubenville, riding from Terre Haute to Crawfordsville, to preach the first sermon there, and to perform the first marriage in the county, encountered several wolves near where the village of Warrland now is, and performed both the religious services referred to in an unfloored cabin which had not even a door. The bridegroom of that Sabbath, hearing that a minister was to be there, had gone the week before to Indianapolis to get his license—the eleventh issued in Marion county—and the journey required nearly four days' hard riding, although the distance was only a little more than forty miles.

As late as 1829, Dr. Thomson, our missionary in Syria, took three hard days' riding to make that same journey one way. And even as late as 1834, a member of one of the Wabash College families was two days in the stage-coach going from Crawfordsville to Lafayette, and thence made the journey by steamers down the Wabash and up the Ohio, and thence by stage-coach to New Hampshire. Chicago was a trading post, to which farmers in Central Indiana hauled their wheat, exchanging a load of it for a barrel or two of salt. The hogs of Indiana were driven to Louisville and Cincinnati for market at ruinously small prices; and the cattle and horses were driven over the mountains to Eastern markets by journeys so long and expensive that the producers had but little left them when the expenses were paid.

As an illustration of the times, it may be added that Maj. Ambrose Whitelock, for several years land receiver at Crawfordsville, was accustomed to put in kegs the specie he received for lands, and to send large sums of money in this shape by a teamster without guard to Louisville, a distance of nearly two hundred miles. In one case the wagon was upset and one or more of the kegs burst. The man gathered up the shining treasures and delivered the whole safely to the Government office at Louisville.

While the local history of Indiana has received no very

general attention, there are a few historical discourses which abound in sketches of the State as it was fifty years ago.*

Dr. Beatty, in 1822, missionated from Vincennes to Crawfordsville, but he found only here and there a settlement. That indefatigable itinerant and organizer of churches, the Rev. Isaac Reed, everywhere found himself in the wilderness, except as occasionally he emerged into the small settlements that were indeed "few and far between." The pioneer was raising his axe against the forest, but as yet he had made little impression. It was still a "massy solitude."

In his fine paper on the history of the first Presbyterian Church in Franklin, Judge Banta presents to us the picture of the first party that settled at that point in 1823, "wearied and foot-sore," and forced to camp out for the night; and such were the trials from deep mud, undrained swamps and dense forests, that "we may well imagine that it was in many instances a very struggle for life."—(Pres. Ch., Franklin, 122-5.) In 1824 Rev. Baynard R. Hall, in describing Bloomington, says that "east of it was an uninhabited wilderness for forty miles." And as early as 1829, when the Rev. David Montfort went with his family from Oxford, Ohio, to Terre Haute, the journey of 160 miles was "through an almost unbroken forest."

Mr. Reed, in 1827, describes some of the largest towns in the State. Madison and Charleston had about 1,200 people each; Jeffersonville, 800; Vincennes, 1,000; Terre Haute—"a handsome little village of white buildings"—300; Bloomington, 400; Indianapolis, 800. It has "a well-finished meeting-house and settled minister," and "the attention to good order and to religion is favorable." Mr. Reed did not see much in the common schools to praise, and the State has "many men and women who cannot read at all." But there was much "true hospitality. There is much equality among the people. * * A man is an idle and lazy fellow if he does not soon get a farm of his own. Money is scarce and provisions low. It is very easy to lay out money, but very hard to get it back again."

*The sketch of Fort Wayne by Jesse L. Williams, Dr. Post's Retrospect, Williamson Wright's Pioneer of Cass County, Judge Banta's Franklin, Father Johnston's Forty Years' Ministry in Indiana, are charming specimens of our local historical literature. There are books and documents of a similar kind and value.

And this very year that the Synod was formed Mr. Reed describes his journey out of Indiana in the month of May. He speaks of leaving Indianapolis and "entering the woods on the road to Centerville." It is difficult to realize, as we are now whirled so easily over the railway between the two points named, the sorrows of our pioneer on his way to happier regions at the East. One day he only traveled thirteen miles. At some places he found the high waters had made great confusion among the log causeways, floating the logs in every direction. Often the mud was so deep that his wife had to get out and make her way on foot, while he "led the horse by the check rein, walking before him, and frequently with the mud and water as deep and deeper than his boots!" On the fourth day he passed through Centerville, sixty miles from Indianapolis.

To go from Owen county, in this State, to Essex county, in New York, had taken Mr. Reed "eight weeks and a day."—(Reed's *Christian Traveler*, 222-233, etc.)

These facts are mentioned as affording glimpses of Indiana as it was fifty years ago. It was on the frontier, or nearly so, and it was famous for the obstacles which hindered rapid locomotion. Goods were wagoned from the Ohio, or brought up the White or the Wabash, with great labor and cost. The produce of the country was worth little on account of the distance of the markets and the difficulty of reaching them. We can hardly do honor to the pioneer work of those who organized our first Synod without thus recalling the Indiana of half a century ago, so different from the Indiana of to-day.

The small numbers and strength of our church have already been referred to, and it will be readily seen how small the figures are in comparison with the present; but Father Johnston, in his delightful "Forty Years' Ministry in Indiana," says that the Salem Presbytery in 1825, within eight months, "held no less than eight distinct meetings at points remote from each other. * * * In performing these laborious and self-denying duties, so important in their bearing on the spiritual interests of our State, these fathers and brethren spent weeks of precious time and traveled many hundred miles. * * * At that time traveling was for the most part on horseback, and often with no little difficulty even in that way. But labor and

toil and difficulty did not deter those indefatigable pioneers from the full discharge of the duties, which the circumstances in which they were placed required at their hands."

The Rev. Isaac Reed says—"My travels in Indiana in 1824 were 2,480 miles." Now he is at Salem, or Charlestown in the far south, and then at Indianapolis or Crawfordsville, and anon at Terre Haute, or across the river at Paris in Illinois. The first licensure was at Charlestown in 1824, and the first ordination at Bloomington in 1825. In this last year—1825—Reed says "there were six ordinations in the Presbyterian Church in Indiana." He attended four of them himself. It is really wonderful to note this man's journeys on horseback through this great wilderness, but it was only more wonderful than the tours of other "preachers of the Word" in that we have his record of what he did, while we have little record of what they did. Such men as Proctor, and Dickey, and Crowe, and Martin, and Johnston, and others, accomplished numerous long journeys. Proctor rode regularly for a time between Bloomington and Indianapolis. Johnston made frequent missionary tours; Dickey was constantly in the saddle, riding from "The Pocket" to "Mouth of Eel"; as was also Crowe, who made at least one extended journey through Indiana and Illinois, to explore the country with reference to the planting of churches. And this was only a specimen of his missionary tours.

These missionary scouts were soon joined by others as brave—James Thomson of Crawfordsville, James N. Carnahan of Dayton, Martin M. Post of Logansport, Edward O. Hovey and Caleb Mills, of Wabash College, David Montfort of Franklin, and many others. Montfort was a marvel of heroic power and enthusiasm, who on account of his crippled condition had to be lifted on and off his horse, and yet made long missionary journeys, not only among his own people, but in the State. Jesse L. Williams, of Fort Wayne, then a young surveyor, who had stopped over Sabbath at Knightstown, heard this resolute and able man preach twice. It was no uncommon thing, as related by Dr. Cleland and others, for these missionaries to lose their way in the woods, or to be overtaken by night far from any habitation. So far from esteeming the hardship as great, they felt themselves happy if they had flint

and tinder with which to kindle a fire both for warmth and protection.

Dr. Post, in his "Retrospect," speaks of "the long rides several times every year to Presbyteries and Synods, often distant from sixty to two hundred miles," and of "the missionary excursions," even as far as the Lake, "organizing churches, preaching and exploring."

And did space permit it would not be difficult to cull from many sources other incidents, which show how great were the embarrassments and hardships of our pioneer ministers in this State. And yet Dickey, and Martin, and Crowe, and Johnston, and Carnahan, and their worthy peers, could have adopted as their own the eloquent words of Dr. Post, who has just gone to his rest. In his "Retrospect" he said: "Nor have I regretted my choice of a place. Unworthy to serve Christ anywhere, I have found here reasons for attachment, and *have made no sacrifices, none which can be mentioned, when the eye is fixed on Gethsemane and Calvary.*"

Father Johnston, in his "Forty Years' Ministry," describes the organization of the Synod, as one who took part in the act, and I quote his words. After showing that the Presbytery of Salem had been divided into three, as already referred to, he says that "by an act of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, adopted May 29th, 1826, these three Presbyteries, together with the Presbytery of Missouri, were constituted into a synod denominated the Synod of Indiana. Agreeably to the appointment of the General Assembly, this Synod held its first meeting at Vincennes on the 18th day of October, 1826. There were present at that meeting eight ministers and twelve ruling elders. Other brethren would have attended had they not been detained at their homes by sickness. The following are the names of the ministers who were permitted to be present at that first synodical meeting ever held west of the State of Ohio and north of Mason and Dixon's line: From Salem Presbytery but one minister attended, Tilly H. Brown; from Wabash Presbytery there were three, Samuel T. Scott, George Bush and Baynard R. Hall; Madison Presbytery furnished the same number, John M. Dickey, John F. Crowe and James H. Johnston; from Missouri Presbytery, which included the whole State of Missouri, the only minister present was Salmon Gid-

dings of St. Louis; while from Illinois, whose entire territory constituted the great central portion of the Synod, not a solitary representative appeared."

And such were the small but grand beginnings of the synodical organization, which included nearly all there was of Presbyterianism in Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, not to speak of Michigan, with all the West and Northwest. On the territory defined as belonging to the Synod of Indiana, as it was fifty years ago, with its four feeble presbyteries, there are now six synods and twenty-four presbyteries, including seven hundred and fifty-eight ministers, nine hundred and ninety-four churches, and seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and eighty members. In all other respects the growth has been as marked.

It is not necessary to carry this investigation farther, nor to enter into details at any great length. Indiana, fifty years ago, was described in the Assembly's narrative as having "an immense territory lying waste without laborers to cultivate it. Now and then a traveling missionary scatters the seed of the kingdom." And yet the churches in these vast wastes were not only few, but in one year five became extinct for want of ministers. The General Assembly speaks of these destitutions in Indiana, and the feeble churches dying for lack of ministers. And was it so strange that with our highest judicature saying officially, "*they are our brethren, and they cry to us for help,*" that such a want should have pressed from the agonized and beseeching churches in the wilderness its *two Christian colleges?*

Of what has occurred since the 18th of October, 1826, be it bright or dark, be it sweet or bitter, be it of the nature of aggressive warfare or unfraternal strife, it is not necessary here to speak. In the reminiscences of those times there is much both to gladden and to sadden us; many things we could wish were undone; but, on the whole, we shall find that the Presbyterian Church has made progress in all respects, in the number of its churches and their strength, in its financial and moral power, in its educational institutions, and in most other respects. There are now single churches in this State that have more wealth than all our churches in 1826. There are men, not a few, who commune at our altars, who singly can endow either of our colleges, or build institutions for the unfortunate. We are not poor, and if we will, we can overshadow the State itself

by the magnitude of our endowments and the magnificence of our churches. The Synod of 1826 was weak in its wealth and its constituency, but it was glorious in its missionary zeal and self-denial. The Synod of 1876, inspired with the spirit of the men of '26, have numbers, intelligence, organization, wealth, force to make our church "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners." With not an exception, the ministers who met in Vincennes just fifty years ago, are gone. A year ago our venerable Johnston was the sole survivor, but he, too, has fallen asleep, full of years and glory. Brown, Scott, Bush, Hall, Dickey, Crowe and Giddings had all been summoned away, and Johnston alone lingered. And now he, too, has taken his departure to join the fellowship of the saints in heaven. And if we add another decade, bringing our church down to that period when she was about to be met by divisions, we find that the fathers who belonged to that pioneer period, with only here and there an exception, have joined the great church on the other side of the flood. A few men remain, crowned with the glories of long service in this field, like Carnahan, and Hovey, and Mills, and Chase, and Henry Little, and Hawley, and Kent, and Stewart, and Scott. But, one by one, they are passing away. We have just laid in his own new tomb the remains of our St. John, our dear and venerable Post, and also our patriarchal Ross. And thus they pass away into the heavens, but as the fathers of our church—the pioneers—leave to us the work they so well begun; and we shall prove our admiration of them by carrying forward with great zeal and power the work they loved and ennobled, to a glory they never dreamed of.