A Copious Fountain

A History of Union Presbyterian Seminary,
1812–2012

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List of Abbreviations

Institutions, Organizations, and Programs

AATS	American Association of Theological Schools (from 1978, the Association of Theological Schools: ATS)
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ACS	American Colonization Society (full name: The Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of America)
ATS	Assembly's Training School (full name: General Assembly's Training School for Lay Workers; from 1959, PSCE)
ATS	Association of Theological Schools (successor to AATS)
BTSR	Baptist Theological School in Richmond
CPE	clinical pastoral education
ECP	Extended Campus Program
GI	government issue
HSC	Hampden-Sydney College
NPC	National Presbyterian Church (a separation from PCUS in 1973)
OFINE	Office of Institutional Effectiveness
PCA	Presbyterian Church in America (= NPC, renamed in 1974)
PC(CSA)	Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America (1861–65)
PCUS	Presbyterian Church in the United States (1861–1983)
PC(USA)	Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (1789–1837, 1869–1958, 1983–)
PSCE	Presbyterian School of Christian Education
RTC	Richmond Theological Center (1968–80s), then Consortium
SACS	Southern Association of Colleges and Schools
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SIM	Student in Ministry
SMI	Society of Missionary Inquiry
STVU	School of Theology of Virginia Union University
SVM	Student Volunteer Movement
UPC	United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (1958–83)
UPS	Union Presbyterian Seminary (2009–)
UTS	Union Theological Seminary in Virginia (1824–1997)
UTS (NY)	Union Theological Seminary in New York

UTS-PSCE	Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education (1997–2009)
WRFK	Call letters of the UTS radio station

Degrees

AB	bachelor of arts
BA	bachelor of arts
BD	bachelor of divinity
DD	doctor of divinity
DDS	doctor of dental surgery
DMin	doctor of ministry
DPhil	doctor of philosophy
Dr. theol.	*doctor theologiae*
EdD	doctor of education
LLD/LL.D.	doctor of laws
MA	master of arts
MACE	master of arts in Christian education
MATS	master of arts in theological studies
MD	doctor of medicine
MDiv	master of divinity
MDS	master of dental surgery
MSW	master of social work
MTS	master of sacred theology
PhD	doctor of philosophy
STB	bachelor of sacred theology
STM	master of sacred theology
ThD	doctor of theology
ThM	master of theology

Timeline

For presidents of UTS and their years in office, see the list of illustrations.

	Union Seminary	Denomination	National
1705		First presbytery meeting	
1741–58		Old Side/New Side split	
1743			Presbyterians tolerated
1747		Samuel Davies begins preaching in VA	
1749	Augusta Academy founded; renamed Liberty Hall in 1776		
1755		Hanover Presbytery formed	
1776	Hampden-Sydney College founded		
1789		First General Assembly	Constitution
1800			Second Great Awakening
1801		Plan of Union	
1806	Hanover Presbytery establishes Theological Library at HSC		
1807	Moses Hodge elected HSC president		
1808	Moses Hodge serves as Professor of Theology (1808–20)	General Assembly proposes plan for establishing seminary	
1810		Cumberland Presbyterian Church formed	

	Union Seminary	Denomination	National
1812	Synod of Virginia votes to establish seminary		
1824	John Holt Rice serves as Theology Professor (1824–31)		
1826	The Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, under the care of the Presbytery of Hanover, becomes Union Theological Seminary in Virginia		
1831	George A. Baxter serves as Professor of Theology (1831–41)		
1837		Old School/New School split	
1841	Samuel B. Wilson serves as Professor of Theology (1841–69)		
1861–65			Civil War
1869	Robert L. Dabney serves as Chairman of the Faculty (1869–83)		
1861		PC(CSA) formed	
1865		PCUS formed	
1883	Thomas E. Peck serves as Chairman of the Faculty (1883–93)		
1890s			Progressive era begins (1890s–1920s)
1893	Clement R. Vaughan serves as Chairman of the Faculty (1893–96)		
1896	Givens B. Strickler serves as Chairman of the Faculty (1896–1904)		
1898	Classes begin in Richmond		Spanish-American War
1904	Walter W. Moore serves as first president (1904–26)		
1911	First time over 100 enrolled; First million-dollar budget		
1917–18			World War I
1926	Benjamin Rice Lacy Jr. serves as second president (1926–56)		

	Union Seminary	Denomination	National
1929	Walter W. Moore Fund		Great Depression begins
1941–45			World War II
1949	Mid-Century Campaign		
1950–53			Korean War
1956	James Archibald Jones serves as third president (1956–66)		
1960			Woolworths sit-in
1964–75			Vietnam War
1965	Advance Campaign		
1966	Balmer Hancock Kelly serves as interim president (1966–67)		
1967	Frederick Rogers Stair Jr. serves as fourth president (1967–81)		
1968			Poor People's Campaign
1981	T. Hartley Hall IV serves as fifth president (1981–94)		
1983		Reunion	
1994	Louis B. Weeks serves as sixth president (1994–2007)		
1997	Union Theological Seminary becomes Union Theological Seminary–Presbyterian School of Christian Education		
2002	Charlotte Campus begins		
2007	Brian K. Blount inaugurated as seventh president		
2009	Union Theological Seminary–Presbyterian School of Christian Education becomes Union Presbyterian Seminary		

Preface

When President Brian Blount called me at noon on April 16, 2008, I was making grilled-cheese sandwiches for my church's weekly Bible study luncheon. I had not expected a phone call from the seminary president and was even more surprised when he asked me if I would write the bicentennial history of Union Presbyterian Seminary. I was both honored and disappointed; this should have been Jim Smylie's book to write. The shadows of age would prevent Jim from working on the book, and I eagerly jumped at the chance to tell Union's story. About a month later three huge archive boxes were sitting in my den and reams of jottings on Jim Smylie's yellow legal-pad paper started my research. His voluminous notes served as signposts in writing this history, and I am grateful for him as a teacher and for the foundation he laid in this history.

I was surprised to find that a systematic history of Union, founded in 1812, has never been written. Although Moses Hoge helped write an article for the *Virginia Argus* in 1810 as a retrospective justifying the need for a theological school and library, the first "official" history was a short paper written by Samuel B. Wilson, Secretary to the Board of Trustees, in 1867. As Union was trying to find its way after the Civil War, Wilson wrote his account to be included in the board's minutes, to give context to the school's struggle for survival. Seminary histories appear as adjuncts to commemorative events thereafter. Thus we find a brief history written for the 70th anniversary celebration in 1894; article-length histories in the 1884, 1907, and 1976 *General Catalogue*; biographies and historical notes in the 1899 *Appreciations* by Walter W. Moore (published to celebrate the "Removal" of the campus from Hampden-Sydney to Richmond); a book of biographies for the 1912 centennial celebration; and scattered historical notes in both the *Union Seminary Magazine* and the *Union Seminary Review*. The first modern history is *The Days of Our Years*, written by several professors as part of Union's 150th anniversary celebration in 1962. There are also unpublished speeches from the 175th anniversary celebrations in 1987 along with an entire issue of *Focus* magazine devoted to Union's history (written by Jim Smylie). The traumatic "Removal" was analyzed and commemorated on the 25th (1923), 50th (1948), and 100th (1998) anniversaries of the move to Richmond from Hampden-Sydney. These histories, except for the *Days of Our Years* and the materials for the 175th anniversary celebration, focus on the administration of the seminary and do not put the school into context with its times or trends in theological education.

There is one constant in the 200-year history of Union Presbyterian Seminary: the five-course curriculum inherited from the Church of Scotland. This

traditional core curriculum consists of Old and New Testament exegesis (including a proficient knowledge of the original languages), theology, church history, and polity. Early in its history, Union developed a unique outlook; while it retained the traditional curriculum as its foundation, it was also introducing innovative subjects into the curriculum and employing pioneering ways to teach. Yet five themes have been in constant tension within Union's history. How these five themes ebbed and flowed in relation to each other through the first 200 years helps explain why John Holt Rice's school is unique and can be fruitful in putting Union's history into a wider context. The first theme is how the definition of an educated ministry has changed in 200 years. Second, how Union has functioned as both a "Southern" and a "national" institution. Third, how Union engaged the world even as it served a small denomination. Fourth, how Union students and graduates resolved the tension between conserving the cultural status quo and advocating for reform. Finally, how Union Seminary influenced the denomination and theological education.

My intent is for this book to be both a celebration of what makes Union unique and an examination of the forces that made Rice's "school of the prophets" what it is today. I have followed the work of Glenn T. Miller in his analysis of Protestant theological education, especially *Piety and Profession* (2007). His thesis on the specialization of theological education is particularly helpful in understanding the Removal and subsequent curricular developments.

I have tried to let the student voices predominate. To do this, I have used letters and diaries, student publications and monographs, and conducted over a hundred interviews in an effort to let generations of students speak for themselves. To give a sense of the culture in which those students lived, I have kept the archaic language, grammar, spelling, and capitalization in the letters, minutes, articles, and titles for courses and personnel (yet adding a few commas for clarity). Since the spelling of Hampden-Sydney College was not standardized until the twentieth century, I have used the archaic "Sidney" where it appears in older documents. From these documents we can see how Union students have been shaped by their culture, and yet they also remade the world in which we live. May we do as well in our time.

Where a specific word or reference is unfamiliar, such as the term "black flag" in chapter 5, I have included a short definition in the text or in a note. There can also be some confusion with regard to the nationality of some students. Throughout the nineteenth century several students are described as coming from a European county, usually Scotland, England, or Germany. These students were considered "foreign" but were probably immigrants since they went on to serve churches in the United States. The first student who would meet our definition of a foreign student, meaning one who attended Union with the intention of returning to his country, was Isaac Yohannan (1901) from Persia.

I am grateful to Jack Kingsbury, Dean McBride, and Doug Ottati, who helped me understand the currents of theology and biblical studies over the last two centuries and how they have impacted Union. I confess that I have used their insights perhaps too sparingly. Very quickly I discovered that a critical discussion of theological trends, currents in biblical studies, and issues in denominational politics would take my focus away from student life. Ken McFayden

introduced me to the works of Glenn T. Miller and clarified recent developments in the Doctor of Ministry (DMin) program. My conversations with Bob Bryant helped me to focus and shape my approach to the later chapters.

Many people have asked me if I am including PSCE in this history. Although the stories of UTS and PSCE do intersect at many points (and finally converge), PSCE was a separate institution, with its own life and traditions. Consequently, I only mention PSCE when its history overlaps with Union. PSCE was a unique school in American Christianity and valuable to the PC(US). It deserves its own history. The best current resource is *The First 70 Years: A History of the Presbyterian School of Christian Education*, by Louise McComb.

Whenever I quote a graduate (or attendee), I have placed the date of graduation (or attendance) in parentheses after the name. Prior to 1900, degrees were not awarded, so only the last year of attendance is noted. After 1900 I record the degree received and the date. After the 1980s there are UTS graduates who participated in the dual-degree program with PSCE. I only note their degree from UTS out of respect for the integrity of the history of PSCE. Although names can change due to marriage, when quoting from student publications I have used the name of the person writing the article at the time. All information as to graduates prior to 1976 came from the 1907 and 1976 *General Catalogue*.

Gregory of Nazianzus (329–90) is reputed to have said that "we are but dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants." What is true for fourth-century theological controversies is also true for seminary education—and for researching this book. I would have foundered without the help of many people. I cannot thank my wife, Sheila, enough. I started out in our downstairs den, invaded the living room with stacks of papers arranged "just so," and ended up in the bedroom upstairs. Through the deaths of her mother and my father, she was gracious as I got up from dinner every night to "go to work" and never complained when I went to Richmond twice a year. I had fun writing this book because of her gracious attitude and support.

There are too many people to thank for this book. I do, however, especially thank Brian Blount for asking me to undertake this project. I hope I will justify his confidence and his infinite patience. Former presidents Hartley Hall and Louis Weeks have gone over my manuscript and given me their perspectives. Jim Mays graciously read chapter after chapter and made insightful comments while Charles Swezey kept me on track. Their kind words gave me a context to examine my point of view on several issues. My advisory committee of John Kuykendall, Heath Rada, Stan Skreslet, John Trotti, Mark Valeri, and Rebecca Weaver got me started and pointed me in the right direction.

Willie Thompson was the first person to offer assistance, and he was more than generous with his time and notes. His work on antebellum southside Virginia, the relationship of the seminary to slavery, and the Removal formed the basis of my research on those areas of Union's history. In addition, he directed me to Benjamin Mosby Smith's diary (which should be published) and alerted me to other diaries and letters, as well as the impact of Alexander Jeffrey McKelway III. John Trotti generously shared his unpublished history of the library with me and was available for conversations even when he was ill. Hartley Hall also shared his unpublished notes on Union's administrative history.

Don Shriver graciously opened his house to me, and we spent two afternoons discussing Union in the 1950s. He wrote a short paper for me that was critical in understanding biblical theology and its influence. Peter Hobbie was generous in sharing his insights on E. T. Thompson and how much "Dr. E. T." still influences Union.

This book would not have been possible without a lot of on-campus help; it takes five and a half hours to drive from my house in Spruce Pine, North Carolina, to the Thompson House. Whenever I needed something from the library (and they heard from me constantly), no request was ever too much. Paula Skreslet, Rachel Perky, Fran Eagan, and Ryan Douthat never said no. There was nothing they could not find, and Ryan's photocopying made it possible for me to work from so far away. Sheila Mullenax never failed to find a room for me; Janet Swann Shook, Barbie Haberer, and Janet Puckett always made sure my paperwork was correct. Without their attention to detail, the logistics of this enterprise would have ground to a halt. In the Registrar's office, Stan Hargraves and Carolyn Day Pruett were consistently cheerful when I asked for just one more statistic. Richard Wong in Advancement and Lynn McClintock and Laura Lindsay Carson in the Alumni/ae Office were always helpful. Suzan White was more than supportive in the decisions over the front cover. Carson Brisson and Rodney Sadler worked with me to check the translation of the Hebrew in chapter 3 (the students in the 1820s got it right). Lou McKinney could always be counted upon to go above and beyond. At the museum on the Hampden-Sydney campus, Angela Way was cordial through many phone calls and e-mails as she steered me to materials in the early chapters. Edgar Mayse gave me a tour of Hampden-Sydney, which gave me a feel for Union's first home.

In Spruce Pine, Leah Hamlyn and Linda Wright typed note cards for me and asked questions to make sure what I was writing would have a wider interest. Brian Raymond read several drafts of each chapter and, as a former English teacher and army officer, has saved me from much embarrassment. Frank Adkins had a habit of stepping in at just the right time with encouragement: he kept me going when times were toughest.

As someone who has had no experience with publishing, I cannot think of anyone I would rather have guiding me through this process than Hermann Weinlick, my editor. From the very beginning he showed a remarkable patience in reading draft after draft, pushing me for clarity, questioning what didn't "sound right," and encouraging me to keep going. Thank you! At Westminster John Knox Press, David Dobson and Daniel Braden shepherded me as the book came together, and I thank them for their grace.

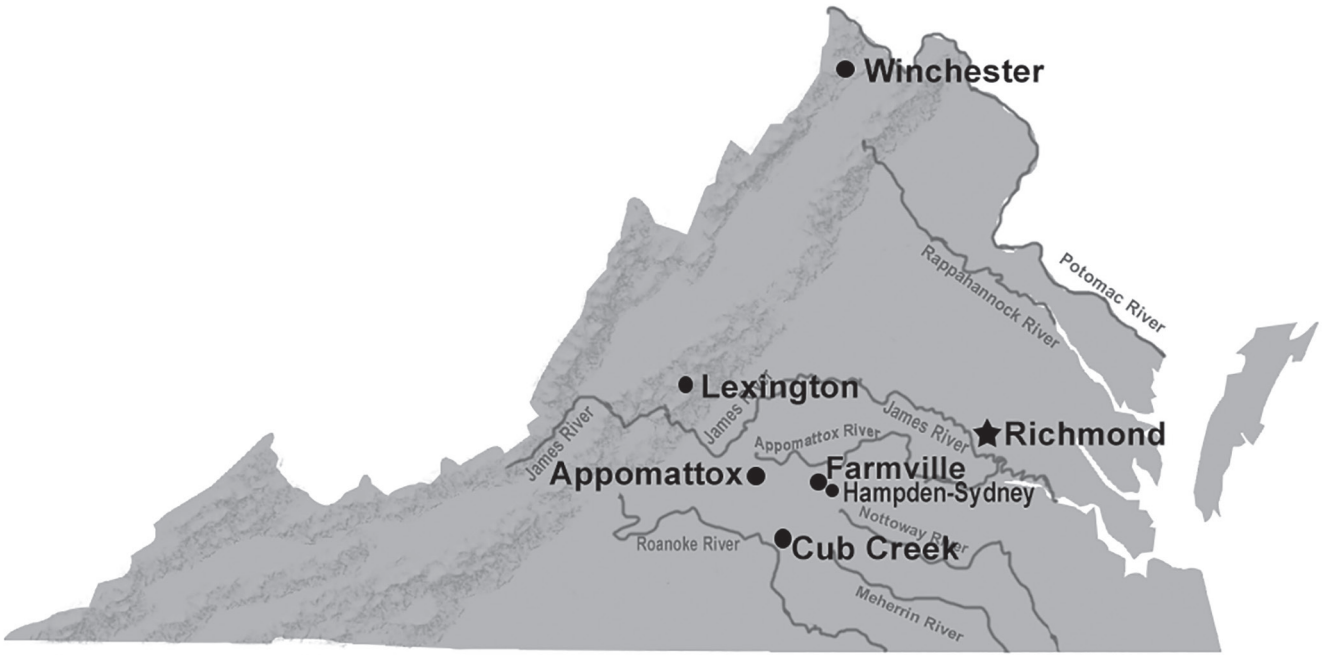
Sandi Goehring has been indispensable to this book from the very beginning. She updated the information concerning directors and trustees, presidents, professors, and Sprunt Lecturers from the 1976 *General Catalogue*. This information was originally designed to be included as appendixes, but due to space constraints can now be found on the seminary's Web site. She also found the time to listen to ideas, scan (and rescan) pictures, make excellent suggestions, and suggest new ways to approach an issue. She was always upbeat, and I appreciate her support.

From my first history class in 1986 until I finished my dissertation, and indeed to this day, Rebecca Weaver has been an example and inspiration. Her

exacting scholarship and care for those around her showed me I could combine my love of history and teaching with the parish. She encouraged me to accept Brian's offer. I hope this book justifies her confidence.

I am grateful to the people of First Presbyterian Church, Spruce Pine. I would travel from Spruce Pine to Richmond twice a year, and they were always interested in what I learned. They always listened to my many references to the history of Union Seminary in my sermons and understood when I closed my office to interview someone.

During the writing of this history, I combed through the entries in the 1976 *General Catalogue* and was constantly amazed at how often my path crossed those of earlier Union graduates, both in churches I visited and in those I had served in Virginia, as well as Spruce Pine. The true history of the last two hundred years of Union Theological Seminary is written in their ministries and in the lives they have touched in the ministry of Jesus Christ. Those who helped me in writing this history made it better; only the mistakes are mine.



1. Map of Virginia
Lou McKinney, Union Presbyterian Seminary Media Services Department

Chapter One (1706–1806)
The Vacant Congregations Are Perishing for Lack of Knowledge

From the perspective of two hundred years, it is difficult to imagine the Presbyterian Church without seminaries. The ideal of an educated ministry has been consistent throughout the history of the church. Yet in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, population growth and geographical expansion tempted the Presbyterian Church in the American Colonies to abandon its commitment to theological education. Local churches in growing western settlements suggested following the pattern of other denominations and creating various levels of ordained offices so that minimally educated men could enter the ministry. The heirs of John Knox, however, remained adamant. Presbyterians never discarded the Scottish ideal of an educated ministry and would never dilute their high educational requirements just to fill pulpits.

Yet high educational requirements and the desire for doctrinal orthodoxy pressured the church to find enough qualified ministers. The population of the American Colonies doubled every twenty-five years throughout the eighteenth century. With no domestic theological institutions to teach ministerial students, and with education in Scotland becoming more impractical, the church could water down either its theology or its educational ideals. At the same time, Presbyterians wanted to evangelize the frontier. Yet revivals—such as those adopted by other denominations—were theologically incompatible with traditional Calvinism. Consequently the education of ministers became the primary concern and frustration of colonial and post-Revolutionary Presbyterians.

To resolve the dilemma between evangelizing a new country and maintaining an educated ministry, colonial Presbyterians had to decide what their ministerial candidates should know and how they should be taught. In the process of establishing standards, many models would be tried: Scottish universities, log colleges, tutors, church colleges, and cooperative endeavors with the Congregationalists. Presbyterians were so open to educational experimentation because the issue of ministerial education was foundational to how they understood the church. Indeed, the issue of Presbyterian theological education was so important that it underlay every church division and theological controversy in the eighteenth century. The establishment of what came to be Union Presbyterian Seminary was not a systematic, reasoned process. Instead, the founding of Union Seminary evolved out of a series of often incongruous actions in response to the national shortage of ministers and a hostile culture in colonial and post-Revolutionary America.

The Desire for an Educated Clergy

On October 27, 1706, seven Presbyterian ministers were on the second day of their meeting in Philadelphia. Although historians would later call this gathering the first Presbyterian General Assembly, these ministers saw themselves merely as "the presbytery met at Philadelphia."[1] According to Francis Makemie, moderator, they had modest intentions: They did not intend to inaugurate a church. Rather, they gathered only "to consult the most proper measures, for advancing religion, and propagating Christianity, in our Various Stations."[2]

On the second day the first order of business was to conduct "Tryals" for a young ministerial candidate, John Boyd. The "Tryals" were extensive: John Boyd "preached a popular sermon [on] Jno. i. 12, Defended his Thesis[,] gave Satisfaction as to his Skill in the Languages, & answered to extemporary questions." The presbytery was satisfied and approved his ordination and call to a church in Freehold, New Jersey.[3]

While hearing candidates preach and asking questions from the floor is a feature of most modern presbytery meetings, Boyd's examination was something new for colonial Presbyterians. Until British North America grew away from the coast, most Presbyterian ministers received their education in Scotland or Ulster, were examined and ordained by their home presbyteries, and were then sent to the Colonies in response to a presbytery or church request. Colonial Presbyterians wanted to make sure their ministers were properly educated in biblical languages, orthodox theology, and proper polity, and the only place to receive that education was in the old country.

Francis Makemie (1658–1708), the Father of American Presbyterianism, is representative of the Scottish university model. Makemie was born in County Donegal, Ulster, probably graduated from St. Andrews, and was licensed by the Presbytery of Laggan (Ulster) in 1681. In December 1680, a Colonel Stevens from Somerset County, Maryland, had asked the Presbytery of Laggan to send a minister to his congregation. The presbytery assigned Makemie to Maryland, where he arrived by 1683.[4] He returned to England in 1704 on a recruiting trip and returned with two ministers.[5] In 1707, on behalf of the newly formed Presbytery of Philadelphia, he wrote to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, requesting financial assistance to support itinerant ministers in Virginia.[6]

Presbytery minutes document the stream of ministers disembarking from Scotland and Ireland. As early as 1684, Josias Mackie arrived in Virginia from County Donegal.[7] James Anderson was ordained by the Presbytery of Irvine (Scotland) on November 17, 1706, for settlement in Virginia, but he moved to Delaware within a year.[8] John Henry, ordained by the Presbytery of Dublin, wrote to his home presbytery in September 1710, describing the poor conditions of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia and requesting that ministers be sent.[9]

John Boyd's examination, then, illustrates the promise and the dilemma of colonial Presbyterianism. The ministers gathered in Philadelphia had expected to discuss evangelism because the Colonies were growing and new towns needed ministers to fill the pulpits. The growth of what would become the United States, however, exceeded their dreams. In 1700 the colonial population was twenty thousand; by 1750 it had reached one million; and by 1800 there

were four million Americans.[10] The demographics were inexorable: with every new immigrant and every settlement, the need for clergy grew.

An Established Curriculum

Colonial Presbyterians had a definite idea of what an educated minister should know. Drawing on their Scottish roots, they expected their ministers to meet the standards set forth in the Church of Scotland's Book of Discipline (1560). Influenced by his Genevan experience and what he considered to be the low educational level of the Roman Catholic clergy, John Knox had emphasized ministerial education in the Book of Discipline and designed a seamless course of study from undergraduate to graduate theological education.

Knox had mandated a comprehensive educational system for the Scottish church. Each church would have a school. Smaller schools would send qualified students to larger schools, and qualified graduates of the larger schools would attend one of four universities: Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St. Andrews. Those desiring to enter the ministry would attend St. Andrews, where Knox envisioned a curriculum of two parts: "Tongues" (Greek and Hebrew, with "readings and interpretations" in the Old and New Testaments) and "Divinity" (theology, church history, and polity). The courses leading to ordination would take five years to complete.

Knox placed ministerial scholarship on the same level as law and medicine, so the classes at St. Andrews were not designed for what we would call undergraduates: "None should be admitted unto the class and siege of Divines but he that shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in Dialectics (philosophy), Mathematics, Physics, Economics, Moral Philosophy, and the Hebrew tongue."[11] The Book of Discipline mandated a clear model of theological education: students who had completed their undergraduate work would undertake lengthy, comprehensive courses in Greek and Hebrew exegesis, theology, church history, and polity. Those who had graduated in "Divinity" would then undergo presbytery examinations and, if successful, were only then considered ready for ordination.[12]

This comprehensive educational system gave the Church of Scotland confidence that its ministers could interpret Scripture, defend orthodox theology, and preach.[13] Moreover, there would be no deviation from or exception to the educational requirements. In Knox's view, it would be better for a church to have no minister for a time than to have an uneducated one.[14]

The ministers who gathered for that first presbytery meeting in Philadelphia, then, had clear and specific educational requirements in mind. Yet, as the population of the Colonies increased, it became clear that Scotland and Ulster could not supply the number of qualified ministers a growing church required. As the Colonies grew, the Synod of Philadelphia (encompassing the presbyteries of Philadelphia; New Castle, Delaware; and Long Island, New York) was formed in 1717 to help colonial churches fill their pulpits without help from across the sea. The bonds between the old and new church were loosening with every native birth, and Americans were learning to rely on their own resources. For example, in September 1719 the Synod of Philadelphia "received a letter

from the people of Patomoke in Virginia" (now in Maryland), requesting a minister. It is significant that they turned to the synod, not to Scotland or Ulster. The synod responded by sending Daniel McGill.[15]

How Should Presbyterian Ministers Be Taught?

From its very inception the Presbytery of Philadelphia labored to find ways for students to meet the requirements of the Book of Discipline. There were only two colleges in the Colonies before 1700 (Harvard, from 1636; William & Mary, from 1693; Yale was founded in 1701). Since the Presbyterians had no indigenous system to educate ministerial candidates, they were free to innovate. After the examination of John Boyd, the Presbytery of Philadelphia set "tryals" for a candidate named Smith to discuss *an fides solum justificet* (justification by faith alone) and give a sermon on John 6:37. Just two years later, the presbytery tried to figure out how to "advance" David Evan so that he could prepare for his "tryals." They asked him to quit his job for a year and study a curriculum designed by three presbytery-appointed ministers. It is not recorded if he ever took his examinations,[16] but there is never any hint of sending him to St. Andrews. Colonial Presbyterians knew what they wanted their ministers to know, but they needed an institution to educate their own ministers.

In 1726, William Tennent Sr. (1673–1746) thought he had remedied the lack of an educational institution by founding the first log college at Neshaminy (present-day Warminster), in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Log colleges dotted the colonial landscape, but three were particularly connected with Presbyterians: Tennent's log college (the main source of clergy in the south) at Neshaminy; the log college at Fagg's Manor, Chester County, Pennsylvania; and Robert Smith's log college at Pequea, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.[17] Tennent was a graduate of Edinburgh who had migrated from Ireland to America in 1718. After serving pastorates in New York, he accepted a call to the church at Neshaminy in 1726. Like other ministers, Tennent had tutored young men in theology and had prepared four for the ministry before 1735, when he opened his log college.

Many in the Synod of Philadelphia, however, disparaged log-college graduates. Indeed, the very name "log college" was used as an insult. The colleges themselves were simple, just one 20-by-20-foot log building. Even George Whitefield (one of the main figures in the Great Awakening and perhaps the best-known preacher in Britain and America during the eighteenth century), after a visit to Neshaminy, called the college "plain" but said it reminded him of "the school of the old prophets."[18] Presbytery objections to the log college were not necessarily directed toward the education offered. Rather, it was William Tennent's and his son Gilbert's (1703–64) enthusiasm for revivals that gave them pause. The Tennents always held to the curriculum of the Book of Discipline, but they also insisted that a basic theological education must be combined with the power of the Holy Spirit for an effective, "converted ministry." It was the Tennents' support of revivals that caused many Presbyterians to be suspicious of the school.

Log colleges, however, represented a new way of thinking. William Tennent envisioned that his school would cultivate pious men through a rigorous

curriculum, and those men would then be tutored as apprentices by experienced, presbytery-approved ministers. In this way the church would be assured of a steady supply of ministers who would meet the expectations of the Book of Discipline. But log-college critics saw these schools as a way to avoid traditional educational requirements, because they were uncontrolled by the presbyteries or synods and suspected as breeding revivalism. Log colleges became the catalyst that divided the church.

Although the presumption that all colonial Presbyterian ministers should accept certain basic theological standards was raised as early as 1727, the debates over the Adopting Act of 1729 laid bare the continuing problem of clerical education. The Adopting Act required all ministers to agree with the Westminster Confession of Faith as the basis of their faith. Before 1728 there were no stated requirements for ordination. Ordination examinations were at the whim of the presbytery. While examinations usually covered preaching, exegesis, and theology, there was no uniform standard of subjects to be examined and no criteria for acceptable answers. In addition, ministers transferred between presbyteries, and from Scotland and Ireland, with no examination: they simply presented testimonials from their previous presbytery and were accepted.

Scotch-Irish ministers (centered in Philadelphia and New Castle Presbyteries) wanted the synod to require all ministers to assent to the Westminster Confession of Faith. In contrast, New Englanders from the Presbytery of Long Island argued that individual conscience could be bound only by Scripture. The Synod of Philadelphia unanimously passed the Adopting Act of 1729 as a compromise, requiring "all the Ministers of this Synod, or that shall hereafter be admitted into this Synod," to declare "their agreement in and approbation of the Confession of Faith with the larger and shorter Catechisms of the assembly of Divines at Westminster," as the basis of all "Christian Doctrine." The Adopting Act became, therefore, the ordination standard.

While ostensibly setting the theological basis for ordination, the Adopting Act intensified questions over what kind of education ministers should receive. On one hand, academic knowledge was important. After all, one cannot agree with the Confession of Faith and articulate Christian doctrine if one does not know the Confession or theology. On the other hand, knowing theological precepts does not mean one lives them.

In 1734, Gilbert Tennent (William's eldest son) overtured the Synod of Philadelphia to "exhort and obtest all our Presbyteries to take Special Care not to admit into the sacred office loose, careless, and irreligious persons, . . . and that they diligently examine all the Candidates for the Ministry in their Experiences of a work of sanctifying Grace in their hearts," and admit none who are not "serious Christians." Tennent, and many like him, saw in the Adopting Act a move toward emphasizing academics over piety. Those opposing Tennent accused him of trying to weaken the educational requirements by accepting testimonies of "sanctifying Grace" in place of academic achievement and favoring emotion over study.

The issue of clergy education occupied the 1738 meeting of the Synod of Philadelphia. While many in the synod were suspicious of a log-college education, the Tennents and others were equally concerned that the synod was advocating training over faith. Gilbert Tennent, supporting log colleges and

revivals, was dissatisfied with what he considered insufficient investigation into the piety of ministerial candidates. He and his supporters pushed for the creation of a new presbytery, New Brunswick, in which they were the majority.

In retaliation, the Presbytery of Lewes (Delaware) moved that the synod create two standing committees, one for the north and one for the south of Philadelphia. These two synod committees would remove from the presbyteries the task of examining candidates. Presbyterians who held strongly to the traditional educational requirements (concentrated around the Presbytery of Philadelphia) were becoming suspicious that the Presbytery of New York (formed in 1738 when the Presbytery of Long Island merged with the Presbytery of East Jersey) were too lax, accepting insufficiently educated men into the ministry, which in their view resulted in weak theology, with an accompanying openness to revivalism.

The wording of the overture from the Presbytery of Lewes is instructive, lamenting that "[this] Part of ye world where God has ordered our Lot labours under a grievous Disadvantage for want of ye opportunities of Universities and Professors skilled in the several Branches of useful Learning." The overture then observed that students were not able "to spend a Course of years in the European or New-England Colleges—which discourages much and must be a Detriment to our Church." To prevent this "Evil," the overture proposed the appointment of a standing committee that would set a course of study "in the several branches of philosophy and Divinity and the Languages." The Synod would then administer exams which, upon successful completion, would "in some measure answer the Design of taking a Degree on College."

This overture sought to define what ministerial candidates should know and create a structure to obtain that knowledge "without putting them to further Expences." The synod would also control the content of theological education by requiring that "young men be first examined respecting their literature by a committee of Synod, and obtain a testimonial of their approbation before they can be taken on trial before any Presbytery."

It would be the synod, not the proprietor of a log college, who would "Prevent Errors young Men may imbibe by Reading without Direction." By this plan the synod would "banish ignorance, fill our Infant Church with Men eminent for . . . Learning." The synod would also control the quality of ministers by eliminating examination by the presbyteries.

Resistance was immediate. After the synod adjourned, the Presbytery of New Brunswick licensed John Rowland. The Synod of Philadelphia objected to Rowland's licensing and revoked it in September 1739. The synod was uneasy that Rowland had attended Tennent's log college and claimed that his education did not meet the standards of the Presbyterian ministry. In retaliation, the Presbytery of New Brunswick ordained Rowland the next month, with William Tennent loudly proclaiming that Rowland's education was sufficient. The synod reacted by refusing to accept Rowland as a member.

During the latter part of 1739, George Whitefield made his second visit to the American Colonies, and his revivals discomforted many in the Synod of Philadelphia. The Tennents gladly identified themselves with Whitefield's revivals, and log colleges were fatally tainted by association. The tension came to a head at the 1741 synod meeting when those following the "Old Side" (aligned with

the Presbytery of Philadelphia) accused the "New Side" (usually aligned with the Presbytery of New York) of "enthusiasm," not enforcing educational standards, and favoring itinerancy. The church split when the synod expelled the Presbytery of New Brunswick, who formed the Synod of New York with the Presbytery of New York.[19]

Old Side, New Side

At first glance, the controversy would seem to be about the theology of revivalism, but the issues went deeper than that. The church was beginning to recognize the challenge of deism. In general, deism denies the Trinity, the authority of the Bible, and miracles. According to deists, God created natural laws so the world would run on its own, without divine intervention. Thus natural reason alone is sufficient to establish religion, and there is no need for revelation or individual salvation from a personal God. Deism, with its emphasis on reason and education, attracted people of the upper classes throughout the Colonies.[20]

The New Side sought to attack deism on the flank, arguing that the emotionalism inherent in revivals was the antidote to the cold rationality of the deists. Mere education and simple subscription to the Westminster Confession was insufficient to combat the irreligion of deism. William Tennent cried out for a "converted ministry" while Jonathan Dickinson, a New Side leader from Massachusetts, maintained that "acknowledgement of the Lord Jesus Christ for our common head," acceptance of the Scriptures as a "common standard in faith and practice, with a joint agreement in the same essential and necessary articles of Christianity, and the same methods of worship and discipline"—these were more vital to a competent ministry than a traditional education.[21] In contrast, the Old Side held that only an educated clergy could confront the skepticism of the time head-on. The Presbytery of Lewes, when it called for teachers "skilled in the several Branches of useful Learning"[22] in 1738, articulated the Old Side position. Even eighty years later, the 1810 Report of the Presbyterian General Assembly argued that a seminary was needed to combat deism and to address the shortage of ministers in a growing church.[23]

The Old Side–New Side split persisted for seventeen years, from 1741 to 1758, and education remained in the foreground for both parties whatever their theological differences. Neither side questioned the need for educational standards and the basic curriculum for ministerial candidates, only the degree of education that should be required for ministerial candidates. Both the Old Side and New Side parties, however, came to understand that the days of finding candidates who were trained in a Scottish divinity school were over.

The Old Side attempted to establish at least three academies to educate their ministers and remain "stedfast" to traditional educational requirements. "For our Vacancies were numerous and we found it hard in such Trouble to engage Gentlemen either from New-England or Europe to come among us."[24] These schools mostly floundered due to lack of resources, and so there were proposals to send students to Yale to get their degrees. Yale was acceptable to the Old Side because its administration was theologically acceptable; Yale had expelled David Brainerd and fined other students for participating in revivals.[25]

At the Synod of Philadelphia's 1746 meeting, when Gilbert Tennent heard that the synod intended to send students and money to Yale, he "cried out" and accused the synod of ignoring his school. In turn, many accused Tennent of dividing the church: "Mr. Gilbert Tennent grew hardy enough to tell our Synod he would oppose their Design of getting Assistance to erect a College wherever we should make Application and would maintain young Men at his Father's School in opposition to us." Before the synod could dismiss him, Tennent withdrew.[26]

Nevertheless, the Old Side and the New Side never disagreed on the ideal or the necessity of an educated ministry. The disagreement was over *how* to educate Presbyterian clergy. While it is true that the log colleges had few resources, they did fill a need. Before the Presbyterian Church divided in 1741, the Presbytery of Philadelphia had received five men from Tennent's school. In all, twenty-one men went into the Presbyterian ministry from the school at Neshaminy before Tennent died in 1746.[27] The irony of the log-college controversy was that by 1746, standards had fallen so low in the old country that no one took a divinity degree in Scotland that year. Log-college graduates were as well or better prepared than Scottish students of the time.[28] Yet, in the view of the Synod of Philadelphia, Tennent's graduates drew the church away from Calvinism and closer to the revivalist theology of New England.[29]

The College and Tutors

It is paradoxical that while the Old Side accused the New Side of ignoring education in favor of revivalism, those of the New Side were the ones who focused their energies and resources to establish the College of New Jersey in 1746. Although favorably disposed toward revivals, the New Side also keenly felt the need for an educated ministry. Unlike the limited curriculum of the log college, this new college would employ "the Usual Course of Study in the Arts and Sciences now used in the British Colleges." After graduating, ministerial candidates would spend "at least one Year, under the Care of some Minister of an approved Character for his Skill in Theology. And under his Direction shall discuss difficult Points in divinity, study the sacred Scriptures, form Sermons, Lectures & such other useful Exercises as he may be directed to the Course of his Studies."

The Old Side–New Side split ended when the Synods of New York and Philadelphia reunited in 1758 and created the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, with Gilbert Tennent as moderator. Whatever the theological differences between the former adversaries, the shortage of ministers remained a primary concern, and the new synod threw all its support behind the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). But the reunited synod kept to tradition and would not tolerate an inferior education:

> No Presbytery Shall licence, or Ordain to the Work of the Ministry, any Candidate, until he give them competent Satis[fac]tion as to his Learning, and experimental Acquaintance with [Re]ligion, and Skill in Divinity and Cases of Conscience, and declare [his] Acceptance of the Westminster Confession of

> Faith, and Catechisms, [as] the Confession of his Faith, and promise Subjection to the Presbyterian Plan of Gover[n]ment in the Westminster Directory.[30]

Although it had an expanded curriculum beyond what any log college could offer, the College of New Jersey did not educate ministers. The curriculum prepared undergraduates to receive training from a tutor after graduation. The use of the tutors in an apprentice-type model of education was logical to the colonial mind because all professionals learned on the job. From the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630 until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the tutor was the bedrock of the educational system. Indeed, in the eighteenth century the tutor represented the only way to obtain any kind of education. For the church, the goal of undergraduate education was to increase the numbers of qualified ministerial candidates, who would then be assigned tutors. These tutors would prepare their students to pass the ordination exams and fill vacant pulpits. The church, however, quickly realized that relying on tutors for graduate theological education was insufficient in a growing country. Consequently the role of the tutor changed from that of general educator to professional specialist. The careers of Samuel Davies (1723–61) and Moses Hoge (1752–1820) illustrate how the use of tutors evolved in theological education.

Samuel Davies and Moses Hoge

Samuel Davies was born to a farming family in New Castle County, Delaware. Since there was no school in the vicinity, Davies was taught by his mother until he was ten years old, when he went to a boarding school for two years. He returned home to be tutored by a minister for another year, and next attended Samuel Blair's (1741–1818) log college at Fagg's Manor in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Davies studied under Blair for a little over a year and was licensed by New Castle Presbytery on February 19, 1747.[31] Then he was sent to preach to a congregation in Hanover County, Virginia.

Samuel Davies's experience was typical. With a sparse population unable to support many educational institutions, learned persons (usually ministers) taught individual students or small groups in impromptu schools. Tutors with professional experience taught protégés as apprentices. Drury Lacy (1758–1815), one of the most influential ministers of his time, was taught at home, attended a boarding school for two years until his father died, and began to read theology under John Blair Smith, professor at Hampden-Sydney College and future president of the College of New Jersey.[32] Benjamin Holt Rice, brother of John Holt Rice, never attended college or seminary; he was tutored by Archibald Alexander before Alexander became the founding professor of Princeton Seminary in 1812.[33]

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the tutor's role had undergone a metamorphosis. Elementary education was still conducted by a tutor, but higher education conducted in an institution was now the norm. The education of Moses Hoge, who was president of Hampden-Sydney College for twelve years and the professor of theology who founded what was to become Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, represents the change in

the tutor's position. Born on February 15, 1752, in Frederick County, Virginia, Hoge had only a total of seven weeks of formal education before the age of twenty-five. His father, although only self-educated, taught his son, encouraged his love of books, and allowed him to read constantly. Hoge's parents taught him the Westminster Confession and were strict when it came to religious matters.

Although he was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church, Moses Hoge's father withdrew from the Presbyterians around 1758 for unknown reasons. While the rest of the family continued to worship at the local Presbyterian church, father and son joined an Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church (from the Scottish Covenanters) in Pennsylvania and traveled more than a hundred miles round trip for the Lord's Supper once a year. Moses Hoge joined the Associate Reformed Church when he was twenty.[34]

In 1777, when Moses Hoge was about twenty-five years old, he entered a grammar school in Culpeper, not far from his home in Frederick County, but was there for less than a year before he volunteered for the Revolutionary militia. It is not documented whether Hoge saw any action, but in November 1778, Hoge entered Liberty Hall (now Washington and Lee University) to study theology under William Graham (1745–99), the rector. Hoge graduated with a solid reputation in May 1780, and on October 25, 1780, the Presbytery of Hanover examined Hoge and received him. The presbytery licensed him in November 1781;[35] he was ordained on December 13, 1782, and called to a church in what is now Hardy County, West Virginia. Like many ministers of the time, Hoge opened a grammar school to supplement his income.

Five years later Hoge was called to Shepherd's Town, Virginia (now in West Virginia), and there he began to build his national reputation. In 1793 he published a defense of Calvinism titled *Strictures on a Pamphlet by the Rev. Jeremiah Walker, entitled The Fourfold Foundations of Calvinism Examined and Shaken*.[36] In 1797, Hoge published a widely read pamphlet, *The Christian Panoply*, in response to Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*, published two years earlier. He pointed out that Paine had no answer for the problem of evil or the question of existence. "[Will] trigonometry, will astronomy, or natural philosophy . . . resolve the most important problem of human existence?"[37]

When the Presbytery of Winchester was established in 1794, Hoge preached the first sermon and was elected its first moderator. His wife died in 1802, and in November 1803 he married again, to a widow he had met only a month earlier at a Synod of Virginia meeting. He opened his own "classical school" in Shepherd's Town in 1805; two years later Hoge was called to be the president of Hampden-Sydney College, with the understanding that he would tutor ministerial candidates. He moved to the college in October 1807.

By accepting the call to Hampden-Sydney College, Moses Hoge was fulfilling a lifelong dream. Those who knew him remarked that he had an enduring love of teaching. In both of his previous calls he had opened schools, and he dreamed of establishing a college where all, rich and poor, could receive an education.[38] He was well aware that Scottish universities and log colleges could not meet the growing need for qualified ministers. Hoge saw the opportunity to make Hampden-Sydney College into a seminary.

A Shortage of Ministers

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, it was clear that the College of New Jersey could never produce enough ministers to meet the unrelenting growth of the Colonies. In 1660 there were five Presbyterian churches in the Colonies; by the time of the first Presbytery meeting in 1706, there were twenty-eight.[39] Beginning in 1707[40] and for virtually every year throughout the century, the minutes of the Presbyterian Church contain petitions from congregations and presbyteries pleading for ministers. At least every other year, the Synods of Philadelphia and New York wrote to presbyteries in Scotland or Ireland, begging for ministers to come to the New World. By 1740 there were 160 congregations; in 1761 the synod lamented: "The Church suffers greatly for want of a Opportunity to instruct Students in the Knowledge of Divinity." Between 1716 and 1766, some 200,000 Scotch-Irish immigrated, primarily from Ulster, with the majority settling in the Shenandoah Valley.[41]

The meeting of the first post-Revolutionary Presbyterian General Assembly, in 1789, counted 215 congregations with ministers and 204 without. Recognizing the shortage of ministers, the assembly called for each synod to recommend two members as missionaries to the frontier.[42] The call was repeated at the 1790 meeting.[43] At the 1794 assembly, the church acknowledged the lack of qualified ministers: "We hear with pain that you are peculiarly exposed to visits from men unauthorized by the churches, unsound in faith, and of unholy and immoral lives, who call themselves preachers."[44] The assembly then identified 209 churches with ministers and 126 vacant pulpits (many churches apparently did not report or had closed).[45]

Presbyterians may have argued over the finer points of the Westminster Confession of Faith, but there would be no deviation from educational requirements for ministers, even if it meant a shortage. In 1756 the Hanover Presbytery—in the second year of its existence and deluged with petitions for ministers—examined John Martin. He "delivered a discourse upon Eph. 2:1 which was sustained as a part of Tryal; and he was also examined as to his religious experiences, and the reasons of his designing the ministry; which was also sustained." He was likewise examined in the Latin and Greek languages, and briefly in "Logick, ontology, Ethics, natural Philosophy, Rhetoric, geography and Astronomy; in all which his Answers in general were satisfactory." The Presbytery appointed him "to prepare a Sermon on I Cor. 22–23, and an Exegesis [in Latin] on this question, *Num Revelation Supernaturalist fit Necessarius* [Is supernatural revelation needed?], to be delivered at our next committee."

At the next meeting John Martin preached his sermon and presented his exegesis. "The committee proceeded to examine him upon ye Hebrew, and in sundry extempore Questions upon ye Doctrines of religion and in some cases of Conscience." Martin was then appointed to give a lecture on Isaiah 61:1–3 at the next meeting of the presbytery. After sustaining his trial, the presbytery asked him to preach for the next meeting on 1 John 5:10 and further examined him in "various branches of Learning and Divinity; and reheard his religious Experiences; and upon a review of ye sundry trials he has passed thro; they judge him qualified to preach ye Gospel; and he having declared his Assent to

and approbation of ye Westminster Confession of Faith, Catechisms and Directory, . . . ye Presbytery do license and authorize him to preach as a Candidate for the ministry of ye Gospel." The following year, Martin opened presbytery with a sermon and prepared a Latin thesis on *An Mundus Fuit Creatus*[46] (whether the world was created [pure], from Calvin's commentary on Ps. 51:3–6).

In 1782 the Synod of Philadelphia heard a request to relax the educational standards for one candidate, but John Witherspoon (1723–94) took the lead in opposition, and the request was denied. In 1783 the Presbytery of Philadelphia heard an overture "that inasmuch as the shortage of ministers was so serious" and the prospects of securing more clergymen so low, that laymen might lead worship by reading printed sermons. The presbytery, and then the Synod of Philadelphia, could not bring themselves to allow laymen to read printed sermons until 1786. Educational requirements for ministers would not be compromised. In 1785 the synod rebuked the Presbytery of New Brunswick for allowing a candidate to do part of his exegesis in English instead of Latin. At this same meeting, the synod was overtured: "Whether in the present state of the church in America, the scarcity of ministers to fill our numerous congregations, the Synod, or Presbyteries, ought therefore to relax, in any degree, in the literary qualifications required of entrants into the ministry?" The overture was rejected by a huge majority.[47]

The Plan of Government (1789) of the newly formed Presbyterian Church in the United States of America was uncompromising: every candidate for ministry should have a college diploma, "or at least authentic testimonials of his having gone through a regular course of learning." Two years of theological study under the direction of some approved divine were required. As a result, presbyteries and synods began designating certain men to teach candidates and compensating them for their time.[48]

The Plan of Union

Throughout the eighteenth century the Presbyterian Church relied on its own resources to increase the number of ministers. The results of all the squabbles, divisions, and overtures, however, did not solve the problem. It was no longer practical to import candidates from overseas, log colleges had failed, and there were not enough college graduates studying under tutors to fill pulpits. The church needed a new approach. Perhaps combining with another denomination could fill the need. The Plan of Union (1801) is traditionally seen as a model of ecumenical cooperation, yet its genesis came from the shortage of ministers.

In 1801 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the state associations of nearly all the New England Congregational Churches adopted an agreement to fill the pulpits of the rapidly growing west. This agreement was designed to be a blueprint that their respective missionaries would follow in evangelizing new settlements in the Northwest Territory. In a series of military campaigns from 1778 to 1779, George Rogers Clark had driven out the French, British, and Native Americans from what would become Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and parts of Minnesota. By 1800, thousands of settlers were pouring into this huge expanse. Both denominations wanted a presence

in the region and took advantage of the Land Ordinance (1785) and the Northwest Ordinance (1789), which granted land to organized churches within the township system.[49]

The Northwest Territory increased the size of the United States by almost 70 percent.[50] Since most of the families moving into the territory claimed either Presbyterian or Congregational membership, cooperation seemed logical.[51] New England Congregationalists and Presbyterians had worked against the establishment of a colonial bishop between 1767 and 1776, and they shared a strong commitment to Calvinism. Consequently, it was almost natural for each church to adopt common policies for evangelization and to recognize each other's ministers and sacraments. They formalized their cooperation in the Plan of Union in 1801.[52]

Under the Plan of Union, it did not matter if a particular evangelist were a Presbyterian or a Congregationalist. He was to establish a new church in each frontier community and then allow the congregation to decide for itself which denomination it preferred. Once a congregation joined one or the other denomination, their minister, regardless of his previous denominational affiliation, was eligible for membership in the governing body of the denomination to which the congregation belonged. John Holt Rice was enthusiastic over the prospects of the Plan of Union: "I am very greatly pleased with it. I do delight greatly in witnessing the union and co-operation of Christians in building up the kingdom of our common Lord."[53]

Virginia's Unique Position

Although the College of New Jersey and fraternal relations leading up to the Plan of Union increased the supply of ministers to the north, southern churches continued to face a shortage in their pulpits. In 1775 the Hanover Presbytery included what is now Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and most of Maryland.[54] The presbytery's minutes are filled with requests for ministers. In 1779, for example, the presbytery informed a commissioner from Kentucky that there were not enough ministers, and the presbytery would send pulpit supplies as soon as possible.[55] There is no record of anyone being sent. In 1780 the Hanover Presbytery asked the Connecticut Association (Congregational) if they could help fill vacancies in Virginia. In response, two ministers came from Connecticut in 1782, but they did not stay long.[56] As late as 1792, the Synod of Virginia reported that only sixteen of twenty-five congregations were supplied.

The first post-Independence Presbyterian General Assembly in 1789 recognized the growth of the new country and divided the Synod of New York and Philadelphia into four new synods: New York and New Jersey, Philadelphia, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Hanover Presbytery was put under the Synod of Virginia, and its boundaries were limited to the Commonwealth of Virginia. The General Assembly called for missionaries for the frontier, but two years later the Synod of Virginia reported a bleak picture. The synod concluded that the congregations within their bounds were "perishing for lack of knowledge."[57] The synod further reported that three missionaries had "very extensive circuits assigned to them of seven hundred miles" in the Shenandoah Valley.[58]

The reasons for the scarcity of ministers and the lack of educational infrastructure were the results of geography, politics, and culture. Until the 1730s, the concerns of the Synod of Philadelphia followed population patterns and political realities. Colonial immigration followed specific patterns: New England was primarily Congregational; South Carolina and Virginia were overwhelmingly Anglican. Presbyterians tended to cluster in the Mid-Atlantic region: Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Maryland. These congregations occupied the synod's concern because they were close and contained the majority of American Presbyterians.

Virginia was the largest colony and the largest state until the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, but the Anglican Church was more firmly established in Virginia than in any other colony. As a result, it was difficult for Presbyterians and other dissenters (non-Anglicans) to build churches, worship without interference, and not pay taxes to the local parish.[59] The Scotch-Irish migrated westward across Pennsylvania and south through the Shenandoah Valley by 1725. These Presbyterians wanted their own churches with their own ministers; often they joined Episcopal parishes, becoming the majority in those congregations because there was no other church to join.[60] In addition, small Presbyterian communities grew outside of Tidewater (the area between Richmond and Norfolk) during the 1740s, increasing the call for Presbyterian ministers in Virginia.[61] The minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia, the Presbyterian General Assembly, the Synod of Virginia, and the Hanover Presbytery up to the 1820s show repeated requests for ministers.[62]

Whereas other colonies largely accepted the right of denominations to coexist, Presbyterians had to establish their very right to exist in Virginia. On May 26, 1736, eleven years before the arrival of Samuel Davies (who was the first non-Anglican minister licensed to preach in Virginia), John Caldwell of Cub Creek requested the Synod of Philadelphia to petition the colonial governor of Virginia to allow Presbyterians to worship under the Toleration Act of 1689. The Toleration Act exempted dissenters from attendance at the parish churches, provided they took an oath of allegiance to the Crown, continued to pay their tithes to the local Anglican church, and attended their own religious services with the regularity prescribed by law. Furthermore, their ministers were required to be "regularly" ordained, accept certain articles of the Church of England, and preach only in registered "places of meeting." In 1699 the Virginia legislature applied the Toleration Act to the colony, exempting dissenters from any penalties as long as they attended their own worship "once in two months." The act did not specifically protect dissenting ministers. In 1711 the English Parliament passed a supplementary act, which allowed properly qualified dissenting ministers "to officiate in any congregation in any county" provided the meeting place was duly certified and registered.[63]

In its 1738 meeting, the Synod of Philadelphia complied with Caldwell's request and petitioned Governor William Gooch to apply the Toleration Act to Virginia. The petition was submitted on behalf of "a considerable Number of our Brethren who are . . . in the remote Parts of Your Government," who are of the "same Perswasion with the Church of Scotland" and have "manifested an unspotted fidelity to our gracious Sovereign King George." The synod read Gooch's reply at its next meeting in 1739. The governor was clear: "You may be

assured yt [that] no Interruption shall be given to any Minstr. of your Profession . . . so long as they conform themselves to the Rules prescribed in the Act of Toleration."[64]

Gooch's policy was tested five years later. According to what could be called Presbyterian hagiography, Samuel Morris, James Hunt, and two other Hanover residents refused to worship in the established church in Hanover in 1743 (four years prior to Davies's arrival). The local priest reported their nonattendance to the magistrate, who found them guilty, and they were summoned to Williamsburg to appear before the governor. They had first decided to call themselves Lutherans because they had read some of Martin Luther's works. It is said that one of the party stayed at the home of a Scotsman in Williamsburg, who lent him a copy of the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland. After reading it, this man showed it to the others, and they decided they agreed with it. When Governor Gooch asked them to identify themselves, they simply handed him the book.[65] Gooch, an Anglican but also a Scotsman, declared them Presbyterian and therefore tolerated.[66]

In 1751 the Synod of New York (New Side), after reporting that the College of New Jersey was graduating candidates for the ministry, sent Nehemiah Greenman to investigate the "distressing Circumstances of Virginia." Four years later, the synod created the Presbytery of Hanover.[67] The Synod of New York (New Side) clearly expected the new presbytery to support the College of New Jersey, no doubt with the belief that the college would supply Virginia with all the ministers their pulpits required. At its first session in 1755, the Hanover Presbytery heard an appeal from the synod "to all congregations within its bounds to raise a collection for the College of New Jersey." Hanover replied that because of "the present impoverished state of the colony in general and our congregations in particular," any fund-raising effort was "quite impracticable."

On July 12, 1758, seven former New Side ministers and three former Old Siders met in the Cumberland Church to form a new, united presbytery and decided to keep the name Hanover Presbytery.[68] Although Virginia's Presbyterians were now unified they still did not send money to Princeton, and there was still a shortage of ministers. In 1762 the Synod of New York and Philadelphia sent Enoch Green and William Tennent Jr. to Hanover Presbytery to supply churches for six months. Hanover Presbytery asked for more "Supplies" in 1763 and again in 1774. In response, the synod sent John DeBow (under the care of the New Brunswick Presbytery) and Samuel McCorkle (under the care of the New York Presbytery) to the Presbyteries of Hanover and Orange to serve as supplies for one year.[69]

Immigration continued, congregations formed, and the shortage of ministers continued. On the eve of the Revolution, there were thirty Presbyterian churches in the Shenandoah Valley alone.[70] At its October 1778 meeting, Hanover Presbytery, recognizing "the danger of the [extermination] of our churches, unless some speedy and effectual means be adopted to prevent the evil," considered a motion "to shorten and reform the mode of education so as to afford a longer time for cultivating the study of theology, and to make the pulpit more accessible to pious youth who are advanced in years before they have entered on a course of learning." No action on the motion was recorded,[71] but the anxiety was palpable.

Virginia churches needed a reliable supply of qualified ministers. At first they put their hopes on the church's college. At their first meeting in October 1789, the Synod of Virginia "very strongly recommended to each Presbytery . . . that they should do their utmost to promote collections for the New Jersey College,"[72] and the synod appointed agents to solicit subscriptions. There are no records of any funds being remitted to the college.

Virginia Goes Its Own Way

The fund-raising efforts for the College of New Jersey must have seemed too little and too far away for most Virginia Presbyterians. In October 1770, a motion was made to establish an undergraduate school within the bounds of Hanover Presbytery (in Augusta County), but there is no record of any action taken.[73] The discussion concerning a "literary institution" within their bounds and under their care, however, continued through the meetings of October 1771,[74] April 1772, and June 1773. The presbytery made its decision on October 16, 1773: "The Presbytery agrees to fix the public Seminary for the liberal education of youth in Staunton, Augusta."[75]

From its inception in 1755, Hanover Presbytery was concerned with the lack of ministers, and it was clear to all that the College of New Jersey could not supply the presbytery's pulpits. The Synod of Virginia and the presbytery searched for "some plan calculated to educate persons designed for the Gospel ministry."[76] Their solution was to establish two undergraduate schools, one to the west of the Blue Ridge and one to the east. A rector would supervise the education of undergraduates and would also be the theology teacher for ministerial candidates.

Augusta Academy was founded as a "classical school" in 1749 in Augusta County. Educational terms in the eighteenth century were vague. A "classical school," "college," or "seminary" could denote virtually any kind of institution of higher education, such as a preparatory school or college in the modern sense, or a professional institution to train young men for ministry.[77] In 1776, Augusta Academy was renamed Liberty Hall by its Scotch-Irish patrons, to show their support of the American Revolution. In May 1780 Hanover Presbytery moved the campus twenty miles south to Timber Ridge (in Lexington) due to a gift of forty acres, and appointed William Graham as rector.[78] Graham struggled to make Liberty Hall more than just another log college, but his school languished for lack of resources. Although two buildings at Liberty Hall were finished by January 1, 1794, the school's finances were never secure. In some years, Graham went without pay; when it was clear that additional money was not forthcoming, he resigned in 1796. Two years later in Ohio, he died penniless.[79]

In 1790 the Presbyterian General Assembly suggested a three-year theological course for ministerial candidates. While the Virginia presbyteries refused to make this a requirement, it spurred the Synod of Virginia to rethink theological education.[80] In 1791, for the first time, a synod committee recommended something like a seminary education, proposing that two schools be opened "for all youths desiring to study for the ministry." One school would be located in Rockbridge, at the already-established Liberty Hall, under William Graham;

and the other in Washington County, Pennsylvania, under John McMillan. The Presbyteries of Hanover and Lexington were to be trustees of the "Seminary" in Rockbridge.[81] Hampden-Sydney College, founded in 1775, was not mentioned at this meeting.

On October 1, 1791, Hanover Presbytery called William Graham as president of the proposed seminary in Rockbridge. The Synod of Virginia wanted Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries to unite in support of this seminary,[82] but Hanover never really backed Graham's enterprise. On September 27, 1793, the synod praised the Presbytery of Redstone (formed in 1789 in southwestern Pennsylvania, which belonged to the Synod of Virginia at the time) for their fund-raising efforts on behalf of "educating indigent and pious youths."[83] In contrast, the synod criticized Hanover for being behind on their subscriptions.[84] At the presbytery meetings of November 2, 1795; April 21, 1796; October 14, 1796; and April 14, 1797, there were continued calls to support the education of poor and pious youth.[85]

Yet the idea of separating graduate theological education from the undergraduate curriculum had taken hold. While the words academy, college, and seminary were used interchangeably, it is clear from the minutes of the Synod of Virginia and Hanover Presbytery that Graham understood he would teach undergraduates and ministerial candidates in separate courses. The synod was thinking of something new: an undergraduate curriculum followed by a year or two of study under an "institutional" tutor. The institution to educate ministers, however, would stand alone.[86] There would be one board of trustees for the college, and the Presbyteries of Hanover and Lexington would be the trustees for the theological school. The presbyteries would provide funds to make theological education available, examine students, and provide supplies. "In one or other of these institutions [Rockbridge, Virginia, and Redstone, Pennsylvania] it is the desire of the Synod that all youths who intend to engage in the ministry of the Gospel within our bounds shall be instructed."[87]

In truth, the schools in Lexington, Virginia, and Washington County, Pennsylvania, amounted to little more than an addition of religion to an undergraduate curriculum. While the presbyteries did examine Liberty Hall students once or twice and raised a small amount of money, the synod soon lost interest in the project: there is no further mention of the proposed two schools after Graham's resignation in 1796.[88] But the lack of ministers was still urgent, and one school, located in southside Virginia, had ties to the College of New Jersey and was in relatively good shape: Hampden-Sydney College.

Hampden-Sydney College

Although Hanover Presbytery had called on their churches to support "the public Seminary for liberal education of youth in Staunton, Augusta" at their October 1773 meeting, it was not until 1774 that congregations were asked to pledge for it. The presbytery intended the subscriptions to be paid by December 25, 1775. Yet by October 1774 plans had changed; the presbytery reported that Samuel Stanhope Smith, "a Probationer of the New Castle Presbytery, . . . a gentleman who has taught the Languages for a considerable time in the

New Jersey College with good approbation, . . . may be enduced to take the Superintendency of a public seminary in Prince Edward in the upper end of the Cumberland."

By February 1, 1775, ten months before subscriptions for the school in Augusta were due, it became obvious that Hanover Presbytery would never support the school in Rockbridge. Instead, the presbytery reported that "subscriptions needed for establishment of a seminary in Prince Edward have succeeded beyond expectations," with £1300 already subscribed and £400 to be spent on books. The next day, members of the presbytery went to a hundred-acre site at Hudson's Branch in Prince Edward County and agreed to build classrooms, a dwelling for the Superintendent, and other necessary houses. On February 3, 1775, the day after the presbytery voted to construct the buildings, the presbytery called Samuel Stanhope Smith as rector and authorized one assistant.[89] Hanover Presbytery now had their "seminary in Prince Edward: Hampden-Sydney College.

Virginia Presbyterians wanted ministers, but only qualified ministers. The one constant throughout this period, whether in Philadelphia, New York, or Virginia, was the strict educational requirement for ministry. Whether earned in a Scottish university, log college, church college, or from a tutor, the education of a minister was expected to conform to the curriculum set out in the Book of Discipline. The colleges would ensure that candidates had studied dialectics, mathematics, physics, economics, and moral philosophy. Tutors would teach Greek and Hebrew, theology, church history, and polity. And presbyteries would examine candidates to make sure they could apply what they had learned.

The uniformity of educational expectations can be seen in presbytery examinations during the eighteenth century. In 1706, as previously noted, John Boyd "performed tryals," preached a "popular sermon" on John 1:12, defended his "thesis," and answered questions in Philadelphia.[90] In 1777, in Bedford County, Virginia, John Blair Smith presented an exegesis on "judgment" (in Latin), then preached on Romans 3:25, and lectured on Daniel 9:24–27. One year later he preached on 1 John 3:1 and was then approved for ordination.[91] Presbytery examinations were surprisingly uniform: Latin exegesis, a lecture on a passage of Scripture, a lecture on a contemporary topic, and a sermon, usually a year later. In 1789 Hanover Presbytery began to accept a Hampden-Sydney College diploma as part of the exam.[92] Although Liberty Hall and Hampden-Sydney had both been offering classes in theology since 1776 (even though theology was not an official part of the curriculum), Hanover Presbytery's preference for Hampden-Sydney was clear from the beginning.

Hanover Presbytery's confidence in Hampden-Sydney College was due to the reputation of its first president, Samuel Stanhope Smith (1751–1819). Smith was born in Pequea, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. His father, the Reverend Robert Smith, had immigrated from Londonderry and was the founder of the Pequea Academy. Smith began attending his father's school when he was around six. His father allowed only Latin to be spoken at school, and his son enjoyed reading theological books. He entered the college at Princeton in 1766, when he was sixteen years old, and graduated after two years. Smith taught at his father's academy after graduation and returned to Princeton in 1770 to teach. It was while

teaching at Princeton that he began "pursuing a course of theological study with reference to ministry," by studying under John Witherspoon.[93]

The Presbytery of New Castle licensed Smith in 1773. He immediately requested to go south in an effort to improve his poor health. The presbytery sent him to Virginia, and he became the president of Hampden-Sydney in 1775. Smith, however, did not stay at Hampden-Sydney for very long; he became more and more frustrated with the nonchalance Virginians displayed in their approaches to religion. He returned to the college at Princeton in 1779 to teach and succeeded John Witherspoon as president in 1794.

In his short time at Hampden-Sydney, Samuel Stanhope Smith shaped Virginia Presbyterianism through his vision of education. Moses Hoge always remembered a remark made by Smith when he heard Smith speak at Culpeper Academy: "While sanctified learning is the greatest blessing, unsanctified learning is the greatest curse."[94] Smith resolved that his new school would offer sanctified learning on a specific plan. On September 1, 1775, in an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*, he stated that the curriculum of the as-yet unnamed "Academy in Prince Edward" would be like that of the College of New Jersey.[95] The College of New Jersey had established a theology department in 1748,[96] and Smith intended for his school to follow that pattern.

The College of New Jersey had a huge impact in colonial Virginia. The Scotch-Irish in the Shenandoah Valley had migrated from Pennsylvania and New Jersey,[97] and transportation routes through the valley allowed them to keep close commercial ties to those areas.[98] As a consequence, they tended to support the College of New Jersey as their own.[99] Of the first six ministers in Hanover Presbytery, five were graduates of the College of New Jersey. Four graduates were on the first board of trustees at Hampden-Sydney College,[100] and two graduates were the first presidents of Hampden-Sydney College. It is no wonder that Samuel Stanhope Smith boasted that Hampden-Sydney's curriculum "will resemble that which is adopted in the College of New Jersey, save that a more particular attention shall be paid to the cultivation of the English language than is usually done in places of public education." The College of New Jersey and Hampden-Sydney College represented an improvement in the education offered to eighteenth-century students, and both schools would face an increasingly hostile culture.

A Culture of Skepticism

Hampden-Sydney College faced an ambivalent, if not antagonistic, culture. The antireligious attitude in Virginia was in part a reaction against living under an established church. Most Hampden-Sydney students came from gentry backgrounds where faith meant performing the required rituals but required no commitment. These students tended to regard "religion and religious persons with contempt and ridicule."[101] In 1795, Archibald Alexander, Hoge's immediate predecessor at Hampden-Sydney, wrote: "Most of our educated men have become Deists or worse."[102]

With memories of an established church still strong in people's minds, Hampden-Sydney College had to walk a careful nonsectarian line. When

Hanover Presbytery announced their new institution, they were careful to calm public fears about the school's goals: there was no mention of training ministers. In 1775, after all, Presbyterians were seen as dissenters, so the less said about religion, the less opposition the new college would arouse. Samuel Stanhope Smith emphasized that "all possible Care shall be taken that no undue Influence by any member of this Pby [presbytery], the Rector, or any Assistant to Byas [bias] the Judgement of any; but that all of every Denomination shall fully enjoy his own religious sentiments."[103]

Yet the college was an institution of the church; the education received at Hampden-Sydney would prepare candidates to study theology under a tutor. In a sermon, the manuscript of which still exists, Smith advocated learning in various branches—languages, science, history, eloquence, all included in the projected curriculum—to equip a minister "to answer the challenges posed by educated and informed critics and foes of the Christian religion" and, more positively, to "open the passage to the heart as well as to the understanding." The challenge posed by deism would be answered by a converted, educated ministry.

In post-Revolutionary Virginia, Hampden-Sydney College had to be intentionally nonsectarian to be accepted, and Smith faced the hostility head-on. He decried any "ambition to distinguish myself as a sectary." In letters to Thomas Jefferson concerning his plan for public education in Virginia, Smith deplored sectarianism, disclaiming "any ambition to be the leader of a sect," and declared that it was "time to heal these divisions, for the honor of religion and to promote the noblest design to which this or any other country has given birth."[104]

Almost immediately after Hampden-Sydney College announced its opening, a letter signed by "Luther" appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* on November 18, 1775. Although Luther acknowledged that "public schools under proper regulations are extremely advantageous," he felt that the "worthy gentlemen-contributors [to Hampden-Sydney] are not sufficiently aware of the evil consequences which may arise from the way and manner it is intended to be conducted." Luther then charged that it is "inconsistent with prudence and good policy to let Dissenters teach in public schools, much less act as president, both of which are intended for Prince Edward academy." He objected to Presbyterian doctrines as "repugnant to the doctrines of the Church of England" and "subversive of morality." He went on to declare, "Every parent with the spiritual interest of his child at heart should determine whether the education of his child should [be entrusted] to those who believe such doctrines."[105]

Luther feared that dissenters would try to replace the established church with their own establishment and urged Anglican subscribers to Hampden-Sydney College to withhold payment of their subscriptions until the school was put under teachers who were members of the Church of England. "If the school has the success Mr. Smith intimates," he wrote, "we may reasonably expect to see in a few years our senate-house and pulpit filled with Dissenters" who might secure a religious establishment in their favor.[106]

Anglicans had reason to be suspicious and bitter. Between 1776 and 1799 Virginians, with Presbyterians and deists in the lead, had struggled over disestablishment—the elimination of the Anglican Church as the official church of the Commonwealth of Virginia, with special privileges and tax exemptions. When disestablishment was effected in 1802, the selling of glebes hit Virginia

Anglicans hard. Glebes were church-owned lands (including the rectory where the priest and his family lived) that had been granted by the colonial government. In many cases these lands had been in the possession of a parish for two hundred years, and they now disappeared overnight. Since glebes were often rented out to support the priest and pay the expenses of the church, priests' families became destitute with disestablishment, and smaller parishes closed. The easy access to influence and the enormous prestige of the Anglican Church evaporated. In reaction, the dispossessed Anglicans vowed that Presbyterians would not establish their own church. In turn, Presbyterians had to prove they were not in favor of any established religion.[107]

Samuel Stanhope Smith took pains to show that his new school was no threat. He reassured *Gazette* readers that Hampden-Sydney and the Presbyterians did not intend to establish a church. He pointed out that although Presbyterian ministers conceived the idea of the academy and cultivated it, they "yield the power of visitation and managing the general concerns to trustees who are chiefly members of the Church of England."[108]

In addition to the fear of an established church, Virginia culture was hostile to any kind of faith that fell under the suspicion of "enthusiasm." Being accustomed to the established church as little more than a cultural decoration, the upper classes of Virginia recoiled at the demands of supporting a church and the perceived excesses of "evangelical" faith. William Hill was a student at Hampden-Sydney College in 1785 and later a major figure in New School Presbyterianism in 1837. He lamented that "among the 80 Students then in college, there was not one who gave the least evidence of seriousness or respect for religion." He felt out of place and miserable because of his faith. "Among such a number of young men from among the most wealthy & respectable families in the community, . . . anyone who shd [should] evince serious impressions on this subject wd [would] be necessarily exposed to incessant sneers of contempt & ridicule." Hill had not read a Bible since he had left home and "could not hear of one in all the College."

Hill related that students would go to revivals for entertainment, and when a classmate, Cary Allen, made a statement of faith after hearing a Methodist circuit rider, Allen was afraid to make his new faith known. Hill then observed: "It is probable that neither Dr. Smith, nor any of the College professors had ever heard that any one in College felt any concern upon the subject of religion until Allens return & professed conversion."

William Hill, along with Cary Allen and his roommates, began to pray in Hill's room, with the door closed. But after they "began singing, tho' with suppressed voices, it was soon found out by the Students what we were about, & the whole College was soon collected at our door, & commenced thumping at our door, whooping & swearing until a perfect riot was raised. This entirely broke up our meeting, & they became so riotous as to require the professors in College to interfere to suppress the noise & riot."

After investigating this incident, Smith was pleased to hear that at least some students were praying, singing hymns, and reading the Bible and invited them to hold their next meeting in his parlor.[109] At the next meeting, Smith's house "was crowded in every part; . . . almost the whole of the students were assembled."

In 1796, soon after coming to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (near Raleigh), Joseph Caldwell complained:

> Religion is so little in vogue, and in such a state of depression, that it affords no prospects sufficient to tempt people to undertake its cause. In New Jersey it has the public respect and support. But in North Carolina . . . everyone believes that the first step which he ought to take to rise into respectability is to disavow as often and as publicly as he can all regard for the leading doctrines of the Scriptures. One of the principal reasons why religion is so slighted and almost scouted is that it is taught only by Methodists and ranters with whom it seems to consist only in the power of their throats, or wildness and madness of their gesticulations and distortions.[110]

Deism and agnosticism were fashionable and prevalent. As late as 1810, Bishop James Madison, the first Episcopal bishop of the Diocese of Virginia and eighth president of William & Mary, wrote: "Infidelity was rife in the State, and the College of William and Mary was regarded as the hotbed of French politics and religion. I can truly say, that then, and for some years after, in every educated young man of Virginia whom I met, I expected to find a sceptic, if not an avowed unbeliever."[111]

Even though Hampden-Sydney College was founded by the Presbyterian Church, its culture reflected the antireligious sentiments of the commonwealth.[112] Indeed, when Thomas Jefferson heard of the revival at Hampden-Sydney, he predicted that parents would have "no taste for religious phrensy" at the college.[113] Smith welcomed the revival, but his passion for religion, along with his absences for preaching engagements, evoked so much criticism that he resigned in 1779 and returned to New Jersey.[114]

The revival of 1787–89 changed the tenor of the college. Nash LeGrand (Class of 1786), "one of the wildest and most dissolute" students, was converted in a revival and spent over twenty years in the ministry. Yet in the eyes of many Virginians, the revival marked Hampden-Sydney as a hotbed of offensive religious enthusiasm and cost the college a number of students. By the 1780s the religious character of Hampden-Sydney College was obvious. According to the bylaws of June 23, 1784, students at Hampden-Sydney were required to attend public prayers every morning and every evening at 5:00 p.m., public worship on Sunday at any church within three miles of the college, and there would be no swearing and no liquor.[115]

This church-related institution, then, had to walk a fine line. Hampden-Sydney (and later Union Seminary) could argue for the philosophical imperatives of faith, but against the emotionalism of revivals. In an ostensibly anonymous 1823 essay, John Holt Rice argued that a Presbyterian revival must keep to "the rule of external decorum," be solemn, "be accomplished by argument and reason," and "must be attended by a conduct worthy of the dignity of man returning his allegiance to his Maker."[116]

When Samuel Stanhope Smith resigned in 1779, Hanover Presbytery called John Blair Smith, Samuel's brother and also a Presbyterian minister, to lead the college. John Blair Smith understood that Hampden-Sydney would be a training ground for ministers who must walk a fine line between revivals and skepticism and still remain able to defend and propagate Calvinism. On October 24,

1780, the presbytery intensified theological education by taking a young Moses Hoge under care and directing "that he shall prosecute the Study of Divinity under care of some of our members."[117]

In June 1783, the Virginia General Assembly granted Hampden-Sydney College a charter, thereby making the college independent of Hanover Presbytery.[118] Incorporation allowed the college to begin granting degrees; the first class of eight received them on September 22, 1786.[119] On April 25, 1789, Hanover Presbytery began to examine Nash LeGrand's knowledge of the "learned languages and the sciences." LeGrand produced his diploma from Hampden-Sydney, and the presbytery accepted it as a substitute for the exam in secular learning; this was the first time a diploma was accepted as a substitute for an exam.[120] In 1790, "Mr. William Hill . . . produced a Diploma from Hampden-Sydney College" and was licensed to preach by Hanover Presbytery after it "examined him in Divinity."[121] At its meeting at Winchester on September 29, 1791, the Presbytery of Hanover reported to the Synod of Virginia that they had "four candidates under trial." Of the four candidates (William Cahoon [Calhoun], James Turner, Samuel Brown, and Moses Waddle [Waddell]), Calhoun and Waddell were graduates of Hampden-Sydney.[122]

After a Century

Throughout the eighteenth century the Presbyterian Church confronted a shortage of ministers as immigration increased year after year. After independence, the new country acquired new lands to the west, and immigrants continued to pour into these new lands. The synods and presbyteries relied on the educational heritage from Scotland as the model of what a Presbyterian minister should know. When the universities of Scotland and Ulster could no longer fill the empty pulpits of British North America and then the United States, the church turned to log colleges, tutors, cooperative efforts with other denominations, and finally their own institutions of higher learning to educate their ministers. These educational models relied on tutors, yet it was becoming clear that a more systematic model of theological education was needed.

At the same time, a skeptical culture questioned the need for any kind of faith. New Side Presbyterians wanted to address the cold logic of deism through revivals, the Old Side through more intensive and rigorous education. After a century of failing to fill their pulpits, Presbyterians were ready to try something new.