

---

---

**The Bond of Union': The Old School Presbyterian Church and the American Nation, 1837-1861**

**Peter J. Wallace**

**Publication Date**

13-04-2004

**License**

This work is made available under a All Rights Reserved license and should only be used in accordance with that license.

**Citation for this work (American Psychological Association 7th edition)**

Wallace, P. J. (2004). *The Bond of Union': The Old School Presbyterian Church and the American Nation, 1837-1861* (Version 1). University of Notre Dame. <https://doi.org/10.7274/db78tb11n3k>

This work was downloaded from CurateND, the University of Notre Dame's institutional repository.

For more information about this work, to report or an issue, or to preserve and share your original work, please contact the CurateND team for assistance at [curate@nd.edu](mailto:curate@nd.edu).

“THE BOND OF UNION”:  
THE OLD SCHOOL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH  
AND THE AMERICAN NATION, 1837-1861  
VOLUME III

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate School  
of the University of Notre Dame  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Peter J. Wallace, B.A., M.Div.

---

James C. Turner, Director

Graduate Program in History

Notre Dame, Indiana

April, 2004

## CONTENTS

### VOLUME III

APPENDIX 1: OLD SCHOOL PERIODICALS .....	780
APPENDIX 2: OLD SCHOOL RULING ELDERS .....	812
APPENDIX 3: SEMINARIES AND THEIR STUDENTS .....	825
APPENDIX 4: ACADEMIES AND COLLEGES .....	828
Part 1. Old School Presbyterian Colleges .....	834
Part 2. Academies of the Presbyterian Church .....	837
Part 3. Other Academies .....	844
APPENDIX 5: ETHNIC CHURCHES IN 1860 .....	859
APPENDIX 6: CHURCH FINANCE .....	865
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	871

## FIGURES

### VOLUME III

A1.1. Paid Subscriptions, Philadelphia <i>Presbyterian</i> , 1835-1836 .....	785
A1.2. Circulation of Northern Methodist Periodicals, 1856 .....	786
A1.3. Cost of Production of a Weekly Newspaper, 1851 .....	787
A1.4. Old School Editors .....	789
A1.5. Agents of the <i>Watchman of the South</i> , 1837-1840 .....	792
A1.6. Subscriptions to the <i>True Witness</i> and <i>Presbyterian Sentinel</i> , 1859-1860 .....	796
A1.7. Subscriptions to Kentucky Newspapers, 1838 vs. 1849 .....	799
A3.1. First Seminary Attended by Old School Ministers, 1838-1869 .....	826
A3.2. Annual Old School Seminary Attendance, 1836-1870 .....	827
A4.1. Southern Support for Presbyterian Academies in 1860 .....	829
A6.1. Giving to the Boards of the Church by Region, 1836-1869 .....	870

## APPENDIX 1: OLD SCHOOL PERIODICALS

This dissertation relies heavily upon the periodical literature of the Old School. I have uncovered more than eighty titles edited by Old School Presbyterians between 1837-1869. A complete list can be found at the end of this appendix. The weekly religious newspaper was the place where minister and layperson (including a few women) regularly exchanged ideas, learned what was going on in the regional church, and engaged with the larger society. And since the weekly was viewed as transient and ephemeral, they generally did not write for posterity. The articles and editorials frequently bear the signs of hasty composition and hence provide a snapshot of current thinking rather than the more weighty quarterlies.

Determining the circulation of a newspaper can be a daunting task. While a few editors were so kind as to report how subscriptions had fared at the end of each year, others refused to divulge such information. Of the latter, some published receipts in the newspaper, which enables some reconstruction of its circulation, while others printed lists of agents (which at least gives an idea of the geographical area that it served). In random studies of those papers that printed receipts in the newspaper itself, together with anecdotal reports by editors, it appears that nearly half of newspaper subscribers failed to pay their subscription each year. Many delinquents would pay eventually (some seem to have been

in the habit of paying every 2-5 years), but the editor's scorn frequently fell upon that class of Presbyterian who seemed to think that newspapers should be free of charge! Circulation estimates, therefore, must be taken as tentative.

While the subscriber might not always be the primary reader of the paper, it is worth noting that only 10% of subscribers were ministers. Another 25-30% were women. Indeed editors frequently commented that their female subscribers paid most regularly, and often appealed directly to women, asking them to take the initiative in increasing subscriptions—noting that things moved more quickly when women got involved.<sup>9</sup> After sporadic contributions in the 1830s and 1840s, by the 1850s women were writing regularly for the newspapers (usually a children's column, poetry and occasional letters to the editor).<sup>10</sup>

The papers are generally described as elephant folios, ranging in size from five to eight columns per page. Prior to the 1850s all followed a standard single sheet (four page) format, but thereafter several papers experimented with double sheet style (eight smaller pages). Generally up to one quarter of the newspaper consisted of advertisements.<sup>11</sup> Editors

---

<sup>9</sup>E.g., Watchman and Observer 3.1 (August 19, 1847), 3.39 (May 6, 1848). Gildersleeve—who had been editing Presbyterian papers in the South for more than twenty years—noted the rise of female subscribers as a recent development.

<sup>10</sup>Since contributors usually published anonymously (their identity only known to the editor), it is quite possible that women contributed even more to the weeklies. Unfortunately, I have been unable to uncover the identities of all of the pseudonyms used.

<sup>11</sup>A study of the changing nature of advertising in religious newspapers would be interesting. There is a stark contrast between the strictly informative ads of the 1830s and 1840s and the much more enticing approach of the 1860s. One of the earliest of these ads is for the American Agriculturalist, found in the Presbyterian Herald of January 24, 1861:

“You want it, Your wife wants it, Your Children want it, It will certainly pay, and you would have it, if you only knew how USEFUL, how INSTRUCTIVE, and how ENTERTAINING it is.”

frequently apologized for the amount of advertising, but insisted that it was the only way to keep prices down.

These periodicals self-consciously attempted to speak on behalf of the regional church and to provide a forum for that region to discuss the major issues of the day. Editors regularly engaged each other in debate, generally (though not always!) printing each other's replies in order to allow their readers to hear both sides of an issue.

Editors generally attempted to keep a respectful tone in their papers, but especially as the decade of the 1850s moved towards its close, tempers could fray—especially towards editors of other papers (after all, there was no one to edit the editor's comments!). During one particularly heated winter, the Central Presbyterian remarked jocularly that

we really have thought as we looked over our Old School exchanges for a week or two, that the adversary has been very busy of late. The 'accuser of the brethren' could not want much finer sport than to see the New York Observer berate the Presbyterian for 'arrogance, bigotry, sectarianism, &c., &c.' in a style that would not discredit other newspaper notabilities in the great metropolis, whilst the Presbyterian, in reply, gives his New York brother a *quid pro quo*, and rather an ugly quid it is to be fastened on so respectable a newspaper as the Observer. We hope that some exorcism may eject this accuser of the brethren from our worthy cotemporaries.

Nor has the East a monopoly of this agency. The Presbyterian of the West comes out in an insane assault on the action of our Church in regard to slavery, and brings a railing accusation against it, and with an infatuation that it is hard to account for on merely natural principles, proposes to begin an agitation of this question in our Assembly, such as we thought every sensible man in the country, out of New England, was now sick of, and admitted was not only useless but injurious to every interest concerned. Whereupon the St Louis Presbyterian applies a castigation to Dr. Monfort that will either exorcise or exasperate him,

---

Around the same time editors started to utilize the sales technique of offering free goods, or reduced rates on other products, to encourage new subscriptions.

either drive these spirits out or put some worse ones in. We hope it may leave him in his right mind.<sup>12</sup>

Old School Presbyterians believed that these newspapers were crucial for the dissemination of the gospel and the edification of the church. One writer mourned that of the estimated 1600 ruling elders in the five southern synods supporting the Watchman and Observer in 1846, probably only a third subscribed to a religious paper. This was considered by some to be a sign of religious decline: “While such an example is set by many of the rulers in the house of God, it is not to me at all surprising that the Church is in a languid and declining state—especially as it relates to its benevolent operations. I have further noticed, that when the Church is truly revived by the spirit of God, there is a desire to know what can be done for the promotion of his glory, and the sources of information are sought with avidity.”<sup>13</sup>

While Old School papers were reluctant to give political commentary (both out of principle and for the practical reason that their constituency was divided between the various parties), they frequently referred to political events. Practically every paper published the President’s annual address to the American people, and most papers had a column or two devoted to foreign and domestic political news. The few times that editors weighed in with political commentary reflects the intensity of those moments.

In 1840, as the political campaign began heating up, Benjamin Gildersleeve encouraged his South Carolina readers to vote, but urged them to “abstain from

---

<sup>12</sup>“What Is Among the Editors?” CP 2.7 (Feb 14, 1857) 26.

<sup>13</sup>“Ruling Elders,” Watchman and Observer 1.27 (February 19, 1846) 107.



participating in the excitement which contested elections are apt to produce.”<sup>14</sup> William Engles waited until after the 1844 election to deliver his opinion (he feared he would be accused of party bias if he spoke before the election) that “the recent canvass has been attended with great and flagrant sins which might well call down national judgments.” It was not so much the accusations of the candidates against each other, but the “prostitution of the press to purposes of the lowest and vilest abuse. . . . [P]rofessing Christians have seemingly neglected the most sacred duties of their calling to promote the success of their favorite candidates,” and (what was worse!) betting on the outcome.<sup>15</sup>

Such complaints grew more numerous during the 1850s. Exactly ten years later Engles referred to nine New York City sermons on the 1854 election, commenting with horror that two pastors (not Old School, he assured his readers) even degraded themselves so far as to speak at a political meeting: “If they are to leave the pulpit to drag their garments in the mire of politics, we fear there will be a gloomy day both for the Church and for the State.”<sup>16</sup>

## **1. Regional Survey**

### *A. The Northeast*

The New York Observer (1823-1912) and the Philadelphia Presbyterian (1831-1923), ensured that the story of northeastern Old School newspapers was relatively uneventful. No paper ever tried to challenge the New York Observer, and the two that

---

<sup>14</sup>editorial, “The Presidential Election Campaign,” CO 14.12 (May 9, 1840) 46

<sup>15</sup>Presbyterian 14.45 (Nov 9, 1844) 178.

<sup>16</sup>Presbyterian 24.45 (Nov 11, 1854) 178.

tackled the Presbyterian found the field decidedly barren and moved elsewhere. Both of these papers jealously guarded their subscription information, but it was generally known that they enjoyed wide circulation throughout the entire church. The New York Tribune claimed that the New York Observer had 18,000 subscribers in 1852, and 11,200 in 1856. I have been unable to find even an estimate for the Presbyterian during the years 1837-69, but William Engles' handwritten records from 1831-1836 indicate a circulation of around 3,500-4,000 in the year 1835-36.

<u>State</u>	<u>Subscribers</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Subscribers</u>
PA	1174	VA	104
NJ	205	NC	53
NY	162	AL	37
MD	87	GA	16
DE	25	SC	15
New England	4	<i>Southeast</i>	225
<i>Northeast</i>	1661	KY	74
OH	160	TN	27
IL	25	MS	13
IN	19	LA	13
MI	2	<i>Southwest</i>	127
<i>Northwest</i>	206		
<i>Foreign</i>	13	<i>Total</i>	2132

Source: List of Subscribers, Presbyterian, 1831-1836, Manuscript, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA

**Figure A1.1. Paid Subscriptions, Philadelphia *Presbyterian*, 1835-1836**

If the Presbyterian had the universal problem of a 40-50% delinquency rate, then the 2,132 paid subscribers probably reflect a total circulation of at least 3,500.

The first challenge to the Presbyterian was ostensibly based on price. The question of how to extend circulation interested editors a great deal. Most Old School newspapers seem to have had subscriptions of anywhere from 2,000-5,000. Several Presbyterians commented on the successful approach taken by the Methodist newspapers. They transformed every preacher into an agent by giving him ten cents per subscriber. Payment was received strictly in advance, and if the renewal was not received on time, the paper would be canceled. Presbyterian papers had to factor a 40-50% delinquency rate in receiving payments, so their papers generally cost twice as much (\$2 or \$2.50 per year) as Methodist papers (normally \$1). David McKinney, a pastor from western Pennsylvania, overtured the General Assembly to start a cheap paper on the Methodist plan to reach the whole church, but after a storm of protest from the regional papers, complaining about the unfair competition of having the General Assembly operate a newspaper, the plan fizzled out. So in 1852, McKinnney decided to try it himself. The Presbyterian Banner was launched from Philadelphia at \$1.25 in advance (clubs of 10 subscribers paid \$10). By the end of his first year, McKinney had reached 11,000 subscribers—nearly equaling the New York Observer, and by the end of his second year, with a subscription of 15,000 (a third of which claimed that they had never taken a religious paper before), McKinney dropped the subscription price to \$1 for everyone.

<i>(weeklies)</i>	
Christian Advocate and Journal	29,875
Western Christian Advocate	28,718
Northern Christian Advocate	15,000
Northwestern Christian Advocate	10,033
Pittsburgh Christian Advocate	8,000
<i>(other)</i>	
Sunday School Advocate	114,672
Missionary Advocate	34,000
Christian Apologist (German)	6,697
Quarterly Review	2,721
National Magazine	15,875
Ladies Repository	29,580
total	285,461
Source: <u>Presbyterian Banner</u> May 24, 1856	

**Figure A1.2. Circulation of Northern Methodist Periodicals, 1856**

Items	weekly cost	yearly cost
composition 100,000 ems at 33	\$33.00	\$1716.00
press work at \$2.50 per 1,000 copies	\$2.50	\$130.00
Wrappers, folding, mailing, etc.	\$2.50	\$130.00
Paper, 2 1-10 reams, a \$4	\$8.40	\$426.80
Cost of first thousand		\$2412.80
Cost of each thousand after		\$696.80
edition of 6,000 costs \$6,000		
a circulation of 16,000 would cost \$13,000--leaving \$3,000 for editor and office costs (at \$1 strictly in advance)		
Source, Circular of 1851 (bound with <u>Presbyterian Banner</u> , vol 1, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA)		

**Figure A1.3. Cost of Production of a Weekly Newspaper, 1851**

But McKinney was unable to match the other Old School papers in content, and his readership soon began to dwindle.<sup>17</sup> In 1855 he returned to Pittsburgh, buying out the Presbyterian Advocate from William Annan, and consolidating the two papers. But the result was that he was forced to raise his prices to \$1.50 (a price matched only by the Presbyterian of the West in Cincinnati).

The second challenge to the Presbyterian came in 1860, and was rumored to be motivated by political concerns. Alfred Nevin founded the Presbyterian Standard in 1860, a paper which devoted itself to defending the General Assembly's realignment with the Republican party against the more conservative Presbyterian. Nevin claimed that the paper was prosperous, and the regular expansions of the paper (which cost only \$1.25 in 1862

---

<sup>17</sup>McKinney claimed that his editorial policy differed from the Presbyterian in that he would encourage free discussion, as over against the Presbyterian's tendency to reject articles that the editors considered injurious to the interests of the church. Presbyterian Banner 2.20 (Feb 11, 1854). But due to his attempt to make the paper popular, the Banner wound up being relatively uninteresting.

and \$1.50 in 1863) would seem to substantiate his claims. Nonetheless, when he sold out to the Northwestern Presbyterian in 1866 after an abortive effort to move to Chicago, the new editors claimed that his subscription list had never risen above 2,200.

Both the New York Observer and the Philadelphia Presbyterian maintained a conservative reputation throughout the Old School era. Samuel Irenaeus Prime, an editor of the Observer from 1840, had originally gone with the New School, but as a Princeton graduate he remained generally in its orbit, and by 1850 he had joined the Old School Presbytery of New York. The Observer self-consciously avoided calling itself an Old School newspaper, but it was considered as such by virtually everyone else. In most matters the Philadelphia to Albany corridor spoke with one voice.

Hodge, of course, was the editor of the Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, the leading Presbyterian quarterly review since 1828. The Princeton Review, as it was popularly known, devoted a large proportion of its pages to theology and church matters, but readers knew that the latest scholarship in the sciences, literature and history would be examined—as well as occasional commentary (especially from Hodge) on political and social concerns. The weekly papers frequently summarized its contents for their readers, especially those editors who had themselves studied at Princeton.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>While half of all Old School ministers studied at Princeton, Princeton alumni made up 62% (sixteen out of twenty-six) of all those who edited Presbyterian journals for at least five years. The following list shows that twelve of the first fifteen long-term Old School editors were Princetonians. In 1840, seven of the eight Old School papers were edited by Princeton Seminary alumni (the one exception was Engles of the Presbyterian, who was elected to the seminary's Board of Directors in 1842). In 1860, only nine of the seventeen Old School editors were from Princeton.

Editor's Name	Periodicals	Years	Seminary training
Benjamin Gildersleeve	CO/W&O	1819-1856	PTS 1818
Thomas D. Baird	PittsChrHerald	1829-1837	Private 1812
Charles Hodge	BRPR	1829-1868	PTS 1819
Samuel C. Jennings	Pbn Preacher	1832-1838	PTS 1827
John T. Edgar	American Pbn	1834-1839	PTS 1816
William M. Engles	Presbyterian	1834-1867	Covenanter 1818
Robert J. Breckinridge	BLRM/SXC	1835-1843	PTS 1832
	DQR	1861-1864	
Nathan L. Rice	WP/P&H	1835-1841	PTS 1832
	Pbn of the West	1846-1853	
	St. Louis Pbn	1854-1856	
	Pbn Expositor	1857-1861	
William S. Plumer	WS	1837-1845	PTS 1827
William Annan	Pbn Advocate	1838-1855	PTS 1827
Samuel Irenaeus Prime	NYO	1840-1885	PTS 1833
William D. Smith	Pbn of the West	1841-1846	Private 1830
J. A. Dunlap	Pbn of the West	1841-1846	PTS 1835
William Wallace Hill	Pbn Herald	1842-1862	PTS 1838
William A. Scott	NOPbn/PacEx	1846-50, 59-61	PTS 1834
Washington Baird	Southern Pbn	1847-1854	Unknown, 1835
Cortlandt Van Rensselaer	PbnTr/PbnMag	1848-1860	PTS/UTS 1833
S. A. Hodgman	Pbn Casket	1849-1854	Unknown
David McKinney	Pbn Banner	1852-1864	PTS 1824
Richmond McInnis	True Witness	1854-1862	Oakland C Theol Dept 1839
Stuart Robinson	PCMR	1854-1856	UTS/PTS 1841
	TrueP/FreeChC	1862-1869	
Joseph G. Monfort	PW/Presbyter	1855-1869	NATS 1837
Thomas V. Moore	Central Pbn	1856-1860	PTS 1842
Moses D. Hoge	Central Pbn	1856-1860	UTS 1843
George McNeill	NC Pbn	1858-1865	UTSNY/PTS 1849
Abner A. Porter	Southern Pbn	1860-1865	CTS 1842

**Figure A1.4. Old School Editors**

But Hodge's views were not always received kindly by the church. Especially as regional differences grew more stark, the Princeton Review could become a target for attack.<sup>19</sup>

Southern editors frequently complained that both the New York Observer and the Philadelphia Presbyterian were widely taken in the South—in many cases to the exclusion

---

<sup>19</sup>When Hodge dissented from the General Assembly's stance on loyalty oaths during the Civil War, opposition to Hodge became so strong that many westerners called for Hodge's removal from Princeton Seminary. Alexander Sterrett, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Evansville, Indiana, declared, "If I were a member of the next Assembly I would have no more compunction of conscience in moving to vacate his chair and put some good loyal and orthodox man in his place, than I would of cracking a nut." A. S. from Evansville, "Princeton Logic," Presbyter (October 18, 1865).

of Southern newspapers. Both papers attempted to maintain a balanced treatment of potentially divisive issues, which some northerners took to be simply catering to the slave power. As the 1850s wore on, however, many southerners became increasingly dissatisfied with both northeastern papers, complaining that northern editors did not really understand the situation in the South.

The various denominational publications of the Old School also came out of Philadelphia and New York. The Foreign Missionary Chronicle had originally been published in Pittsburgh (1833-37) as the organ of the Western Foreign Missionary Society (under the control of the Synod of Pittsburgh), but the Chronicle moved to Philadelphia when the General Assembly took control of Presbyterian foreign missions in 1837. By 1840 it had reached a circulation of 5,000. In the 1840s this monthly periodical added the Domestic Missionary Chronicle to its pages—edited by the secretary of the Board of Domestic Missions, but in 1850 it was renamed The Home and Foreign Record and included sections on foreign missions, home missions, education, publications, and (by 1854) church extension. It was offered free of charge to all ministers, and by 1857 it had peaked at a circulation of over 19,000 (including 15,000 paid subscriptions). The Board of Foreign Missions continued to publish a separate monthly informational magazine, the Foreign Missionary (1842-68) which was designed to be accessible to children (its circulation topped 30,000 in 1860). Also for children was the Sabbath School Visitor, started in 1851 as a supplement to assist Sabbath School teachers. Within three months it had a circulation of 15,000, and it continued to grow until it reached 75,000 in 1861.

*B. The South and Southwest*

After the General Assembly of 1837, Old School Presbyterians recognized that Virginia was one of the borderline synods that would cast the determining votes when members of the excised New School Synods tried to claim their seats at the 1838 General Assembly. While most of the other Presbyterian newspapers in the South were generally favorable to the excision, Amasa Converse's Southern Religious Telegraph, located in Richmond, Virginia, had long opposed the Old School measures. Therefore, with encouragement from his Princeton professors, Richmond pastor William Swan Plumer (a western Pennsylvanian by birth) quickly launched the Watchman of the South to defend the General Assembly's decisions.

The paper was an immediate success. Plumer used his Princeton contacts to maintain a regular flow of original articles (Archibald Alexander's Thoughts on Religious Experience, and several other works were first published here in serial form). Over the next seven years, the other four southern Old School Presbyterian newspaper found it impossible to compete and sold out to the Watchman.

1838	<u>Southern Christian Herald</u>	(Cheraw, South Carolina)
1839	<u>American Presbyterian</u>	(Nashville, Tennessee)
1840	<u>New Orleans Observer</u>	(New Orleans, Louisiana)
1845	<u>Charleston Observer</u>	(Charleston, South Carolina)

The final merger also resulted in Plumer's resignation from the editor's chair. Benjamin Gildersleeve took over the editorial reigns of the renamed Watchman and Observer, but Plumer's success is evident in Gildersleeve's removal to Richmond. Plumer's list of



	10/26/37	1/10/39	11/21/39 5/18/43	12/17/40	
Maine	0	1	1	1	0
Connecticut	0	6	7	5	2
New York	4	8	7	2	2
New Jersey	1	3	3	1	1
Pennsylvania	5	11	10	7	1
Maryland	0	4	4	6	1
District of Columbia	2	2	3	3	3
Virginia	110	164	160	149	83
North Carolina	36	64 (SoChrHer)	64	58	40
South Carolina	7	51 (SoChrHer)	50	49	18
Georgia	4	13 (SoChrHer)	16	18	8
Alabama	9	41 (SoChrHer)	43	52 (NO Obs)	12
Florida	2	3	3	5	1
Mississippi	3	22 (SoChrHer)	25	34 (NO Obs)	9
Louisiana	0	4	5	8 (NO Obs)	4
Arkansas	0	3	6	5	0
Missouri	0	13	14	12	3
Tennessee	1	18	69 (AmPbn)	76 (NO Obs)	32
Kentucky	3	9	19 (AmPbn)	18	2
Ohio	3	8	8	6	3
Indiana	3	6	8	9	2
Illinois	0	2	4	4	1
Texas	0	0	0	3	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>456</b>	<b>529</b>	<b>531</b>	<b>228</b>

Source: WS (dates as given above)

**Figure A1.5. Agents of the *Watchman of the South*, 1837-1840**

agents suggests the spread of the Watchman from 1837-1843 (the decline in the number of agents in 1843 was due to his attempt to reduce the amount of postage he was paying).<sup>20</sup>

It is no accident that the early 1840s also saw some discussion of merging the two southern seminaries, Union (Hampden-Sydney, Virginia) and Columbia (Columbia, South Carolina). But the financial complexities added by the seminaries' endowments prevented

---

<sup>20</sup>At this time editors paid postage for every bill received. Postage laws changed several times throughout the antebellum era.

any swift action, and regional identities swiftly produced a second attempt at regional newspapers by the mid-1840s.

This time, however, most of the Presbyterian efforts at newspaper editing took the form of anti-catholic journals. As reported in chapter four, in 1844-45, Old School Presbyterians in the South and West created no less than five anti-catholic newspapers. Neither the Jackson Protestant or the Western Protestant survived a year of publication, as A. A. Campbell's death ended his enterprise, and Nathan L. Rice merged his paper with the True Catholic after nine months. The other three originally attempted to engage the editorial labors of ministers from other denominations, but only the True Catholic (1844-1847) was able to sustain the effort as an interdenominational Protestant paper. The Herald of Religious Liberty and the New Orleans Protestant gradually became denominational papers, and were renamed the St. Louis Presbyterian (ca. 1849) and the New Orleans Presbyterian (1847) respectively.<sup>21</sup>

In 1847, two years after the merger that took the Charleston Observer to Richmond, the deep South reentered the newspaper scene with the Southern Presbyterian (originally published in Milledgeville, GA, before moving to Charleston, South Carolina, and then Columbia). This quickly became the leading paper in South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Around the same time, South Carolina ministers became convinced that a southern quarterly was necessary to counteract Princeton's commanding presence in the

---

<sup>21</sup>In the 1830s the two most famous Old School anti-Catholics devoted their periodicals to anti-papist literature: Robert Jefferson Breckinridge's Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine (Baltimore, 1835-41), retitled The Spirit of the XIXth Century (1842-43); and Nathan Lewis Rice's Western Protestant (Bardstown, 1835-38). It is significant that these periodicals were located in two of the first four Roman Catholic episcopal seats.

Princeton Review. From 1847-1889 the Southern Presbyterian Review provided a distinctively southern commentary on theology and culture (with considerably less interest in the scientific and literary pursuits maintained at Princeton), providing a forum for southern Presbyterians such as James Henley Thornwell, John B. Adger and James Lyons.

After a brief attempt in the 1840s to provide a paper for the whole South, the Watchman and Observer gradually receded in scope until it returned to its original plan as a paper for Virginia and North Carolina. Renamed the Central Presbyterian in 1856 by its new editors, Moses D. Hoge and Thomas V. Moore, the paper self-consciously attempted to articulate a central stance between Philadelphia and South Carolina that would help keep the Union together.<sup>22</sup> Two years later the North Carolina Presbyterian was founded due to the Central Presbyterian's perceived lack of interest in North Carolina matters. While the North Carolina Presbyterian drew off a substantial number of North Carolina subscribers, the Central Presbyterian remained the leading southern Presbyterian paper in places that did not have a regional paper.

Further west, New Orleans' Presbyterians continued to pursue the elusive goal of a stable weekly newspaper. After the demise of the New Orleans Presbyterian around 1850, H. J. Bardwell established the Mississippi Presbyterian in Kosciusko, Mississippi, in 1853, only to die halfway through his first year as editor. But members of the Synod of Mississippi were convinced that Bardwell had the right idea: start the paper in Mississippi

---

<sup>22</sup>"Our New Enterprise" CP 1.1 (Jan 5, 1856) 2. The editors claimed that "Our political and geographical position, central between the extreme North, and extreme South, creates peculiar responsibilities and duties. In the threatening aspect of political affairs, and the peril, to which no sane man can close his eyes, that now menaces the permanence of our Federal Union, it is very important that we should have an organ of communication with our people, that will be under our control, watchful of our interests, and faithful to those great conservative principles that underlie all our institutions."

to build up subscription in the countryside, and then move to New Orleans to gain the urban audience. The following year, Richmond McInnis started the True Witness in Jackson, Mississippi, before moving to New Orleans in 1857.

Tennessee also remained hopelessly committed to the newspaper project. In 1845 Archy B. Lawrence launched the Bible Witness in Nashville, but after six months he sold out to Louisville's Presbyterian Herald. The following year saw the beginning of the longest running Old School paper in Tennessee, Nashville's Presbyterian Record (1846-51), but it too met the same fate. But it does not seem accidental that while the first Tennessee paper sold out to Virginia, these latter two sold out to Kentucky. In the 1840s and 1850s Kentucky was being drawn away from its earlier Ohio River connection with the Northwest, and was more and more closely connected to its southern neighbor. The last Tennessee paper, the Memphis Presbyterian Sentinel (1859-60) developed a significant constituency in Tennessee and northern Mississippi before merging with the True Witness to form a truly southwestern Presbyterian paper in New Orleans. The timing could not have been worse. By early 1862 the Federal Army controlled the city and the True Witness and Sentinel was closed down permanently.

1859-1860	True Witness	Presbyterian Sentinel	Total (though some duplicates)
MS	596	453	1047
TN	14	436	450
LA	442	3	445
AR	22	118	140
TX	86	11	97
AL	42	21	63
Other South	28	38	66
Other North	19	24	43
Foreign	1 (Scotland)	0	1
Total	1270	1104	2374

Subscription was usually nearly twice the number that paid each year, so it is likely that the total subscription was at least 4,000

**Figure A1.6. Subscriptions to the *True Witness* and *Presbyterian Sentinel*, 1859-1860**

After the war, the Presbyterian Index (1866-68) published out of Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans, but only with the Southwestern Presbyterian (New Orleans, 1869-1909), edited by Henry Martyn Smith, did the southwest finally get a permanent newspaper. John H. Rice, editor of the Presbyterian Index, complained that the Central Presbyterian was too popular in Alabama after the war for his paper to successfully compete.<sup>23</sup>

### *C. The Northwest*

In the 1840s the Synod of Kentucky was intimately connected to the synods of Cincinnati and Indiana in the operation of New Albany Theological Seminary, and the Louisville Presbyterian Herald had a significant patronage on the north bank of the Ohio River. The Indiana and Cincinnati synods had originally been carved out of the Synod of Kentucky (in 1826 and 1829 respectively), and Kentucky remained more closely

---

<sup>23</sup>CP 1.41 (April 25, 1866). The editor, William Brown, apologized, and urged Presbyterians in the Southwest to take the Presbyterian Index first, and only take the Central Presbyterian as a second paper.

connected to the Northwest than the Southwest. Likewise, the Synod of Missouri also had a share in NATS and the St. Louis Presbyterian had a large number of Illinois subscribers. At least until 1850 Kentucky and Missouri were frequently considered to belong to the Northwest. But by the 1850s Chicago was replacing Cincinnati and St. Louis as the center of the Northwest, and the perception of Kentucky and Missouri as slave states made a significant dent in the relations between these two synods and their northern brethren, resulting in an increasing divide between the New Northwest and the Upper Southwest. Many southwestern emancipationists tried to preserve the unity of the western states, but with less and less sympathy from north of the Ohio. The establishment of Danville Theological Seminary in Kentucky in 1853 revealed the isolation of Kentucky, as few northerners or southerners came to Kentucky's aid in the funding of the seminary. The founding of the North West Theological Seminary in 1857-59 also showed the depth of the chasm—as the Synod of Missouri was (perhaps unintentionally) excluded from the government of the seminary, resulting in a rancorous debate between Nathan L. Rice (editor of the St. Louis Presbyterian) and Joseph G. Monfort (editor of the Cincinnati Presbyter).

The final divide between the border states and the Northwest may be seen in the two “loyal” Presbyterian papers founded in 1865. The loyalist Kentucky paper took the name, Western Presbyterian, with the hope of rebuilding the western consensus (echoing the original name of the Kentucky paper, the Western Presbyterian Herald). Subscription information indicates that a better name would have been the “Kentucky Presbyterian” (between 80-90% of subscribers were from Kentucky). Shortly thereafter, a Chicago paper

was started as the Northwestern Presbyterian, a title that indicated the editors' conviction that Chicago was at the center of a new Northwest. While maintaining a friendly stance toward Kentucky's Western Presbyterian, the Northwestern Presbyterian did not view Kentucky as a part of the Northwest.

In 1837 three Old School papers dominated the northwest: Thomas Dickson Baird's Pittsburgh Christian Herald, William L. Breckinridge's Western Presbyterian Herald (Louisville, KY), and Nathan Lewis Rice's anti-Catholic oriented Western Protestant (Bardstown, KY). In 1838 Baird sold out to William Annan who renamed his paper the Presbyterian Advocate, and Breckinridge and Rice combined forces to co-edit the Protestant & Herald. Pittsburgh would remain a fairly stable market for Annan and his successor McKinney, but the western field would see considerable change.

The Western Presbyterian Herald had begun as the Standard (published out of Cincinnati and South Hanover, IN 1831-35), and as the only weekly Old School paper west of Pittsburgh, it retained a considerable patronage from Ohio and Indiana. But with the growth of Presbyterianism in Ohio, Cincinnati developed its own paper out of Simeon Brown's monthly Calvinistic Monitor (Fredericksburg, 1839-40) and semi-monthly

Family Monitor (Marion OH, 1840-41). But when the Presbyterian of the West (Cincinnati 1841-1859) finally managed to put together a weekly paper in 1845, Ohio patronage for the merged Protestant & Herald began to dry up. Especially after two Tennessee papers sold out to the renamed Presbyterian Herald in 1846 and 1851, the Kentucky paper developed a much stronger connection to the growing Southwest. Nonetheless the

<u>Western Presbyterian Herald</u>	<u>Pbn Herald</u>
Paid subscriptions 1837-38	1848-49
KY 406	963
OH 215	33
IN 119	156
IL 45	104
IA 1	41
MO 17	97
TN 8	101
MS 9	102
AL 7	55
Northeast 18	7
Northwest 3	3
Southeast 4	9
Southwest 2	21
Other 0	2
<u>Total: 854</u>	<u>1692</u>

**Figure A1.7. Subscriptions to Kentucky Newspapers, 1838 vs. 1849**

Herald retained strong connections with Indiana and Illinois throughout the 1850s (though Missouri and southern Illinois tended towards the St. Louis Presbyterian after 1850).

The Presbyterian of the West found a ready market north of the Ohio River, and though it never printed receipts in the paper, agent lists suggest that Ohio, Indiana and Illinois were the main regions of circulation. Editors J. A. Dunlap & W. D. Smith claimed to have the cheapest weekly religious paper in the United States in 1845 at the low price of \$1.50, with less than 5,000 subscribers, but were forced to raise rates to \$2 by the second volume. In 1846 Kentuckian Nathan Lewis Rice took over the editor's chair, and for the next seven years the Ohio-based Presbyterian of the West would be more outspoken in its criticism of abolitionism than its Kentucky neighbor. After seven years Rice departed for St. Louis (where he would edit the St. Louis Presbyterian), leaving ruling elder John D. Thorpe as both publisher and editor of the Presbyterian of the West (the only ruling elder



known to edit an Old School paper). Eighteen months later the Presbyterian of the West was transferred to Joseph G. Monfort, who quickly became Rice's nemesis. Within months the paper shifted from Rice's conservative anti-abolitionist position to Monfort's vigorous anti-slavery rhetoric. For the next fifteen years (1855-69) Monfort's editorials made him infamous throughout the Old School as the token "abolitionist" editor. For those northwestern Presbyterians who were frustrated with the passivity of their church with respect to slavery, Monfort championed their cause with eager zeal.<sup>24</sup>

Rice, on the other hand, found a friendly home in Missouri, and his attacks in the St. Louis Presbyterian on Monfort and his colleague, Erasmus Darwin MacMaster (professor of theology at New Albany Theological Seminary) echoed throughout the church. The Missouri paper had limited circulation outside of its home state, but other editors frequently published excerpts. While perhaps most thought that Rice tended to get too shrill in his fifteen year crusade against MacMaster, they tended to agree with Rice that Monfort and MacMaster were radicals. After four years in St. Louis, the last three at the helm of the St. Louis Presbyterian (1854-57), Rice took a call to Chicago to pastor the North Church and edit a new paper, the Presbyterian Expositor (1857-61).

Chicago had become the economic center of the Northwest, and Cyrus McCormick, inventor of the reaper, was determined to see it become the religious center as well. McCormick had chosen Chicago as the base of his production facility precisely

---

<sup>24</sup>Back in 1845, T. E. Thomas had edited the Christian Monthly Magazine as an explicitly anti-slavery journal designed to provide a forum for communication between anti-slavery Presbyterians. No significant documentation has been found for circulation information. Only two of the seven issues located at the Presbyterian Historical Society contain any receipts—one month for 60, the other for 21.

because of its ability to reach the whole West. As a native Virginian, McCormick was deeply concerned by the radical tendencies that he saw in much of the Northwest. Now he hoped to see Chicago become the center of a conservative movement that would hold the Union together and prevent the balkanization of the West. Rice was precisely the man that McCormick wanted in Chicago. The most famous Old School pastor in the West, Rice had successfully debated Alexander Campbell several years earlier and had frequently engaged with Roman Catholics, Universalists, Abolitionists, and other radicals in his defense of Protestant and Presbyterian orthodoxy.

Chicago had never had a Presbyterian paper of its own before. The Presbyterian Banner, while publishing in Philadelphia, had added a Chicago editor in January of 1855, in an attempt to bolster circulation in the Northwest. “R” applauded this step since the North-West “have felt that, in many respects, they were a peculiar people in their church-relations, as Presbyterians and in the circumstances of their position, differing in some respects from any other portion of our Zion.” Wishing to communicate more clearly these distinctives to the rest of the church, yet unable to support a paper of their own, “R” stated that “We believe ourselves to be thoroughly and truly conservative, in the proper sense of that term, and thoroughly desirous of the true welfare of the Church and country. But we do not think that there has always been that freedom and fullness of expression in existing papers in regard to many questions, which their nature and bearing required.”<sup>25</sup> It is not entirely clear which questions “R” wished to speak with greater freedom and fullness of expression. But it is worth pointing out that prior to 1855 every Old School paper in the

---

<sup>25</sup>R, “The Banner for the North West” Presbyterian Banner 3.15 (Jan 6, 1855).

Northwest was edited by conservatives—whereas a sizeable portion of Old Schoolers in the Northwest were moving towards the emerging Republican party. With the accession of the more radical J. G. Monfort to the editorship of the Presbyterian in the West in 1855, the Chicago editor of the Presbyterian Banner disappeared.

Two years later, when Nathan L. Rice moved to Chicago, the prospects for a Chicago paper were no better, but since the Presbyterian Expositor was funded by Cyrus McCormick's deep pockets, it moved from a monthly (1857-59) to a weekly (1860-61) without concern for the number of subscriptions. McCormick and Rice combined forces to bring the Northwest Theological Seminary to Chicago (with Rice as professor of theology), which cemented their plans to make Chicago the center of a conservative Presbyterianism that would save the Union. With the outbreak of the war, Rice's purpose for being in Chicago was ended. The triple burden of pastor, professor and editor finally wore him down and he resigned to take a call to Fifth Avenue and Nineteenth Street Presbyterian Church in New York City (a much friendlier place than Chicago for a reputed southern sympathizer).<sup>26</sup>

During the war the divide between the border states and the Northwest became evident. At the beginning of the war, Robert J. Breckinridge, professor of theology at Danville Seminary, began editing the Danville Quarterly Review (1861-64) as a means to promote his Unionist politics. The weekly Presbyterian Herald was bought out by Breckinridge's chief antagonist, Stuart Robinson, who renamed it the True Presbyterian (1862-64), devoted to the absolute spirituality of the church; he therefore

---

<sup>26</sup>See chapter 8 for a full discussion of this episode.

refused to declare loyalty to the Federal Government. Robinson's continued attacks on the loyal Breckinridge (who was considered as a possible Republican candidate for the United States Senate in 1864) earned him exile to Canada and the suspension of his newspaper. After the war, Robinson and his colleagues restarted their paper as the Free Christian Commonwealth (1865-69). Due in part to his prompting, the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri both split after the war, with a majority objecting to the actions of the northern General Assembly. But the larger portion of that majority did not wish to enter the southern General Assembly either. A minority signed the "Declaration & Testimony," a severe criticism of the General Assembly's actions, and urged immediate union with the PCUS. In 1869 the independent Synod of Kentucky merged into the southern General Assembly. The Synod of Missouri was somewhat more moderate. Their organ, the Missouri Presbyterian, was renamed the Old School Presbyterian from 1870-74 because during those years they were the only body of Old School Presbyterians who had not reunited with the New School. But finally in 1874 they too voted to join the southern General Assembly. Predictably, nearly 90% of its circulation was contained within the state of Missouri.

## **2. The War and the Newspapers**

While the war caused some hardships for northern papers, generally causing prices to rise, the effect on southern papers was nothing less than devastating. Initially Presbyterians fared better than other denominations. In May of 1862 the Central Presbyterian reported that three-fourths of all Baptist papers in the South had closed, along

with most southern Methodist papers, but only the True Witness had failed of the Presbyterian papers—and that was due to the capture of New Orleans.<sup>27</sup> Presbyterians had a higher proportion of the well-to-do in their ranks, which may explain the relative stamina of their papers during the early stages of the war. But runaway inflation caused the Central Presbyterian to raise prices every few months, from \$2.50 in 1860 to \$20 in 1865 (\$10 for six months), and for much of the war it published only a half sheet in order to conserve paper.<sup>28</sup> Nonetheless the Central Presbyterian was able to continue publishing almost every week during the war (the last religious weekly in Richmond)—in part due to those who purchased subscriptions for the army which maintained a circulation in the vicinity of 3,000.<sup>29</sup> The burning of Richmond on April 3, 1865, though, put the Central Presbyterian out of commission for four months—the shortest hiatus of any southern Presbyterian paper. The price was gradually reduced until it reached \$3 in 1868—at which time circulation was nearly 4,000.

---

<sup>27</sup>CP 7.21 (May 22, 1862).

<sup>28</sup>CP 9.50 (Dec. 8, 1864). The cost of paper was thirty times higher than it had been at the beginning of the war.

<sup>29</sup>CP 10.1 (Jan. 5, 1865). Also see August 13, 1863. At the same time, the Philadelphia Presbyterian was sending 10,000 copies each week to the Northern armies. The Presbyterian Standard 4.1 (March 31, 1864) could only send a few hundred—suggesting that among those Old School Presbyterians in the North who could afford to give the paper to the soldiers, the loyal but conservative Presbyterian still held their allegiance over the more overtly Republican Standard.

## Old School Periodicals: 1837-1869

### 1. OLD SCHOOL WEEKLY & MONTHLY NEWSPAPERS (weekly unless otherwise noted)

<b>New York Papers:</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Editors</b>
New York Observer	1823-1912	Sidney E. Morse (-1840) Samuel Irenaeus Prime (1840-49, 1851-85) <sup>30</sup> Thomas Ruggles Gold Peck (associate ed 1854)
Western Presbyterian (Buffalo)	1841	John C. Lord
<b>Philadelphia Papers</b>		
Presbyterian	1831-1923	John Burt (1831-32) J. W. Alexander (1832-33) William M. Engles 1834-67 <sup>31</sup> Samuel Irenaeus Prime (1850-51) John Leyburn (1852-61) Alexander Blyth Bullions (1860-61) Matthew B. Grier 1861-99
Presbyterian Treasury (monthly)	1848-1849	Cortland Van Rensselaer
Presbyterian Magazine (monthly)	1851-1860	Cortland Van Rensselaer <sup>32</sup>
Presbyterian Banner	1852-1855	David McKinney <sup>33</sup> (moved to Pittsburgh)
Presbyterian Standard (Philadelphia & Chicago)	1860-1866	Alfred Nevin & Alfred Taylor (1860-65) Alfred Nevin & F. Senour (1865-66) <sup>34</sup>
<b>Pittsburgh Papers:</b>		
Pittsburgh Christian Herald	1829-1837	Thomas D. Baird (became Presbyterian Advocate)
Presbyterian Preacher	1832-1838	Samuel C. Jennings
Presbyterian Advocate	1838-1855	William Annan <sup>35</sup>
Presbyterian Banner	1855-1937	David McKinney <sup>36</sup> (1855-64) James Allison and Robert Patterson (1864-1889)
Family Treasure (monthly)	1864-1869	David McKinney <sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup>NY Tribune claims NYO has 18,000 in 1852; 11,200 in 1856

<sup>31</sup>10,000 sent to Union troops during war

<sup>32</sup>3,000 after first year (Jan 1852)

<sup>33</sup>1853–10,000 (highest circulation of any OS paper), of which 3,000 had never received a religious paper. Reduced price to \$1 after third year when subscriptions peaked at 15,000.

<sup>34</sup>Sold to the Northwestern Presbyterian, which claims that Standard's highest circulation was 2,200 (Dec 9, 1865), but Nevin claims that it was self-supporting at one point (when price was \$1.50).

<sup>35</sup>1838–started with 1900; by 1855–5,000.

<sup>36</sup>14,000 subscribers in 1855; Had largest circulation of all Pbn weeklies. (Pbn Herald says 12,000–Sept 27, 1855)

<sup>37</sup>3,000 subscribers (moved to Cincinnati and becomes Our Monthly)

**Old School Periodicals: 1837-1869 (continued)**

<b>Ohio Papers:</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Editors</b>
Standard (Cincinnati)	1831-1835	John Burt (1832-5?) (Moved to KY as Pbn Herald)
Western Peacemaker (Oxford)	1837?	Robert H. Bishop & John W. Scott <sup>38</sup>
Calvinistic Monitor (Fredericktown)	1839-1840	Simeon Brown (became Family Monitor)
Family Monitor (Marion)	1840-1841	Simeon Brown and J. A. Dunlap (became PW)
Presbyterian of the West (Springfield)	1841-1845	J. A. Dunlap & W. D. Smith <sup>39</sup>
(Cincinnati)	1845-1858	J. A. Dunlap & W. D. Smith (1845-46)
		N. L. Rice (1848-53) & S. R. Wilson (1846-48)
		Willis Lord & Simeon Brown (1853-54)
		John D. Thorpe (elder) & anon (1854)
		J. G. Monfort (1855-59) & F. P. Monfort (1855)
Presbyter (Cincinnati)	1859-1869	J. G. Monfort <sup>40</sup>
Western Protestant (Cincinnati)	1845	Nathan L. Rice (merged with True Catholic) <sup>41</sup>
Christian Monthly Magazine	1845-?	Thomas E. Thomas
Family Quarto (Zanesville-monthly)	1848-1850	Simeon Brown (sold to Presbyterian of the West)
Reunion Presbyterian (Cincinnati)	1865-?	McP. Thompson (NS), N. C. Burt, and J. G. Monfort
Our Monthly	1870-	W. McKinney
<b>Chicago Papers:</b>		
Presbyterian Expositor (monthly)	1858-1860	N. L. Rice
Presbyterian Expositor (weekly)	1860-1861	N. L. Rice <sup>42</sup>
Presbyterian Era	February, 1864	E. Erskine (only one issue due to lack of support)
Northwestern Presbyterian	1865-1869	E. Erskine & Alfred Hamilton (1865-69)
		Alfred Hamilton (1865-67)
		David McKinney (1866-69) <sup>43</sup>
		J. B. McClure (1867-69)

**Old School Periodicals: 1837-1869 (continued)**

---

<sup>38</sup>Mentioned in Philip R. Shriver and Edith Foth Puff, A History of Presbyterianism in Oxford, Ohio, 1818-1825-2000 (Oxford Presbyterian Church, 2000) 24.

<sup>39</sup>The Calvinistic Monitor had been a monthly, but the Family Monitor was semi-monthly, as the early Presbyterian of the West. On Jan 2, 1845 it became a biweekly, finally going weekly after the close of vol 4 in Sept of 1845. On January 18, 1844 circulation was around 3,000, but it dwindled until ruling elder John D. Thorpe took over as published in 1847. In 1852 claims: "widely circulated in the Synods of Oh, Cincy, Indy, and Illinois." Steadily increased under Rice. Added corresponding editors: W. C. Anderson of Oxford OH, J. A. McClung of Indy IN, J. D. Smith of Columbus OH, and N. C. Burt of Springfield OH during Lord and Brown's tenure. By end of vol 8, circulation is at its highest level ever... 1855--well supported

<sup>40</sup>The Presbyter merged with Christian Herald and Presbyterian Recorder in 1869 after the reunion.

<sup>41</sup>A semi-monthly published from February through November.

<sup>42</sup>Circulation was around 1700 when sold to the Presbyterian Standard in 1861.

<sup>43</sup>With the addition of the Standard, 4,000 circulation (but Standard customers not paying--by Nov 1866, list is under 4,000, but Dec 1, 1866, notes that it is the largest circulation of any Old School paper in the West).

	Years	Editors
<b>Missouri Papers (St. Louis unless otherwise noted)</b>		
Western Emigrant (Booneville)	1838-?	
Western Casket (monthly)	1849-1855	S. A. Hodgman <sup>44</sup>
Herald of Religious Liberty	1844-1849	Hiram Chamberlain (1844-45) Association of different denominations (1845-46) Alexander Van Court, Dr Potts & Mr Eustace
St. Louis Presbyterian	1849-1860	Joseph Templeton & Samuel Pettigrew Templeton & D. S. Morrison (1852) <sup>45</sup> E. Thompson Baird (1852-54) N. L. Rice (1854-57) <sup>46</sup> James A. Paige (1857-59) J. H. Van Court (1859-60)
The Presbyterian of Our Union	1860-1862	Schenck & Co. (1860-62) <sup>47</sup>
Missouri (St. Louis) Pbn	1866-1870	Robert P. Farris <sup>48</sup>
Old School Presbyterian	1870-1874	
<b>Kentucky Papers:</b>		
Western Luminary (Lexington)	1824-1835	John Breckinridge (1824-26) <sup>49</sup> J. Cabell Harrison (1824-25) Thomas T. Skillman (1826-29) Oramel S. Hinckly (1829-1831) John F. Coons (1831-35) <sup>50</sup>
Western Protestant (Bardstown)	1835-1838	Nathan L. Rice (merges with Presbyterian Herald)

---

<sup>44</sup>Sometimes titled Presbyterian Casket of Sacred and Polite Literature

<sup>45</sup>Circulation is 1195 in June, 1852

<sup>46</sup>January-March, 1855—MO 178 (outside StL), IL 30, IA 6, TN 6, MS 3, IN 2, LA 2, VA 2, MI 1, PA 1, Scotland 1; by June 25, 1857 there are 12 agents in MO and 4 in IL. Rice claims that he leaves the paper self-sustaining on October 8, 1857.

<sup>47</sup>On August 16, 1860 the editor claimed that it was “The Largest Religious Newspaper and, with one exception, the oldest published in the West,” causing some consternation among Old School editors. It was published out of St. Louis, New Orleans and New York, and the editors claimed that the New York City subscription alone was 2/3 of the previous list for St. Louis Presbyterian. It was sold to the True Presbyterian in 1862. Joshua Butts (1860-62) California editor

<sup>48</sup>From March-December, 1866 paid subscriptions included: MO 647, IL 17, KY 13, CA 6, AL 6, VA 5, OH 5, MD 5, TN 5, IA 4, NY 4, LA 4, NH 3, PA 3, NJ 2, NE 2, WV 2, AR 2, GA 2, MD 2, MN 1, NC 1, TX 1, KS 1, MS 1, MT 1, France 1 Of these, 23% were women and 10% ministers. It would appear that it had only slightly more than 1,000 paying subscribers.

<sup>49</sup>Subscription of 575 at the start; 900 by end of first year; near 2,000 by 1831 throughout the South and West.

<sup>50</sup>Sold out to Cincinnati Journal



**Old School Periodicals: 1837-1869 (continued)**

	<b>Years</b>	<b>Editors</b>
Western Pbn Herald (Louisville)	1836-1838	William L. Breckinridge & J. G. Monfort (1836-37) <sup>51</sup> William L. Breckinridge (1837-38) <sup>52</sup>
Protestant and Herald (Louisville, Bardstown, and New Albany) (Paris) (Frankfort/Louisville)	1838-1845	W. L. Breckinridge and N. L. Rice (1838-39) N. L. Rice (1839-41) <sup>53</sup> & S. S. McRoberts (1840-41) S. S. McRoberts (1841-42) W. W. Hill (1842-45) <sup>54</sup>
Presbyterian Herald (Louisville)	1845-1862	W. W. Hill (1845-62) & A. B. Lawrence (1845-47) & Robert Morrison (1854-56)
True Presbyterian (weekly/bi-monthly)	1862-1864	Rev. Stuart Robinson & Robert Morrison
Western Presbyterian (Louisville)	1864-1865	J. L. McKee & Thomas Cleland (Monthly)
Western Presbyterian (Danville) (Louisville) (Louisville & St. Louis)	1865-1870	Edward P. Humphrey & Stephen Yerkes (1865-66) <sup>55</sup> Heman H. Allen (1866) Heman H. Allen & S. J. Nicchols (1866-1870)
Free Christian Commonwealth	1865-1869	Anonymous Association (led by Robinson, 1865-66) Rev. Stuart Robinson (1866-68) Rev. J. V. Logan (1868-69) <sup>56</sup>
True Catholic (monthly–Louisville)	1844-1847	William L. Breckinridge & Edward P. Humphrey <sup>57</sup> Nathan L. Rice (1846) Archy B. Lawrence 11/46-2/47

---

<sup>51</sup>In November of 1837 it utilized 48 agents in Kentucky, 31 in Ohio, 22 in Indiana, and thirteen others in the west, along with five in the northeast and three in the south.

<sup>52</sup>Receipts for Nov 1837-Nov 1838 showed: KY 406, OH 215, IN 119, IL 45, MO 17, PA 12, MS 9, TN 8, AL 7, NY 5, VA 4, WI 2, LA 2, MI 1, NJ 1, IA 1. It merged with the Western Protestant.

<sup>53</sup>On December 3, 1840, Rice reported only around 2,000 subscribers. On March 24, 1842, he noted that he was owed \$5,000 just in bills from the last two years. Receipt and agent patterns continue to suggest that half of subscribers were in Kentucky, followed by Ohio and Indiana.

<sup>54</sup>Hill says there were 1,400 subscribers when he took over; by Sept 14, 1843 there were 1,700 paying subscribers. On September 28, 1848 he reports around 3,000. After the Cincinnati Presbyterian of the West draws away much of the Ohio readership, the 1849 receipts reveal 961 subscribers in Kentucky, 152 in Indiana, 106 in Tennessee, 104 in Illinois, 102 in Mississippi, 96 in Missouri, 55 in Alabama, 41 in Iowa, and 33 in Ohio (along with 41 others scattered around the country and one in Scotland), for a total of 1692 paid subscribers. After the merger with the Tennessee Presbyterian Record in 1851 the southwestern shift is obvious: in seven months in 1851-52 the Presbyterian Herald received 314 Tennessee and 110 Mississippi subscriptions, but northwestern interest also increased as 239 Indianans subscribed. By 1856 the Kentucky paper sent 40% of its circulation to Kentucky, 20% to Tennessee, 20% to Indiana and Illinois, and another 12% to other southwestern states. Naturally, when the southern mails stopped in 1861, the Herald suffered, and was finally sold to the True Presbyterian in 1862.

<sup>55</sup>Seems to be about 75-80% KY; Dec 6, 1866–claims to have doubled subscriber list since moving to Louisville.

<sup>56</sup>Sold to Christian Observer, 1869.

<sup>57</sup>Along with two Baptists and two Methodists.

### Old School Periodicals: 1837-1869 (continued)

	Years	Editors
Presbyterian Standard (Paducah)	1854-1855	An Association of Ministers and Elder (monthly)
The Rechabite (Maysville-monthly)	1843-??	R. C. Grundy, R. H. Stanton, & Wm W. Richeson
<b>Tennessee Papers:</b>		
American Presbyterian	1834-1839	John T. Edgar (sold to Watchman of the South)
Jackson Protestant	1844-?	A. A. Campbell (d. 1846)
Bible Witness (Nashville)	1845 (6 mo)	A. B. Lawrence (Merged into Presbyterian Herald)
Presbyterian Record (Nashville)	1846-51	(Sold to Presbyterian Herald)
Presbyterian Sentinel (Memphis)	1859-1860	F. A. Tyler <sup>58</sup> (& Ed. E. Porter, April-July 1859) <sup>59</sup>
<b>Baltimore Papers (all monthlies):</b>		
Baltimore Lit. & Rel. Magazine	1835-1841	R. J. Breckinridge and Andrew Cross
Spirit of the XIXth Century	1842-1843	R. J. Breckinridge <sup>60</sup>
Presbyterial Critic & Monthly Review	1854-1856	Stuart Robinson & T. E. Peck
<b>Richmond Papers:</b>		
Watchman of the South	1837-1845	William S. Plumer <sup>61</sup>
Watchman and Observer	1845-1856	Benjamin Gildersleeve <sup>62</sup>
Central Presbyterian	1856-1909	TV Moore & MD Hoge (1856-60) <sup>63</sup> William Brown (1861-79) & P. B. Price (1865-?)
<b>North Carolina Papers:</b>		
N.C. Presbyterian (Fayetteville)	1858-1899	George McNeill & Bartholomew Fuller, Esq. (1858-1865) & Willis Miller B. Fuller, Esq. & William McKay (1866-1868) John M. Sherwood (1868-1872)

---

<sup>58</sup>1,000 opening subscribers (CP Dec 25, 1858). April 1859-April 1860—MS 453, TN 436, AR 114, AL 21, SC 17, TX 11, NY 7, NC 6, GA 5, VA 5, KY 4, Choctaw Nation 4, NJ 3, LA 3, CT 3, MO 3, IN 2, IA 2, OH 2, IL 2, WA 1, PA 1, FL 1, MI 1 (1103 paid)

<sup>59</sup>Merged into True Witness

<sup>60</sup>Subscription averaged around 800, peaked at 1,000, and ended just under 800 ("Close of the Work" (December 1843) 663.

<sup>61</sup>Aug 1837–700; Feb 1838–2200; Aug 1838–2700; Aug 1839–4000; 1842 (somewhat less than 1841); peaked at nearly 5,000, but dropped under 2,000 by 1845. (merged with Charleston Observer) "A Brief Retrospect of the Southern Religious Press" CP 3.3 (Jan 16, 1858) 10.

<sup>62</sup>Dec 1848—around 1600

<sup>63</sup>Dec 1859—over 3200. Gildersleeve continued as the managing editor, writing some editorials, but leaving most of that to Moore and Hoge. May 1863—subscription lists "stronger than ever" but rising costs; by 1865, 1/3 of "good" circulation is among the soldiers. Suspended April-July 1865. Circulation "larger than before" in 1866 (around 2900). July 1867–3500 ("the best ever"). It merged with *Southern Presbyterian* of Atlanta and *SouthWestern Presbyterian* of New Orleans, 1909.

**Old School Periodicals: 1837-1869 (continued)**

	<b>Years</b>	<b>Editors</b>
<b>South Carolina/Georgia Papers:</b>		
The Missionary (Mt Zion, GA)	1819-1820?	Benjamin Gildersleeve
Charleston Observer (Charleston)	1827-1845	Benjamin Gildersleeve <sup>64</sup>
Southern Christian Herald (Columbia)	1835-1836	R. S. Gladney
(Cheraw, SC)	1837-1838	Dr. M. MacLean <sup>65</sup> (ruling elder)
Southern Presbyterian (Milledgeville)	1847-1909	Washington Baird (1847-54) <sup>66</sup>
(Charleston, SC)		J. L. Kirkpatrick (1854-57)
		H. B. Cunningham (1857-60)
(Columbia, SC)		A. A. Porter (1860-1865) <sup>67</sup>
		James Woodrow, et al (1865-91)
Pastors and People Journal (Macon)	1857	R. L. Breck & William Flinn
<b>New Orleans/Mississippi Papers:</b>		
New Orleans Observer	1837/8-1840	Benjamin Chase/A. B. Lawrence <sup>68</sup>
New Orleans Protestant	1844-1846	1 <sup>st</sup> Pbn & J. B. Warren (became NO Pbn)
		John Holt Rice (1846-47) <sup>69</sup>
New Orleans Presbyterian	1846-1849	W. A. Scott
	1850-	W. A. Scott & Rev. Beadle
Mississippi Presbyterian (Kosciusko, MS)	1853	H. J. Bardwel (died, 1853)
True Baptist (Jackson, MS)	1854	A. Newton (with Meth, CumbP)
True Witness (Jackson, MS)	1854-1857	Richmond McInnis <sup>70</sup>
(New Orleans)	1857-1860	Richmond McInnis <sup>71</sup>
True Witness & Sentinel (New Orleans & Memphis)	1860-1862	McInnis & F. A. Tyler (1860-62)
Presbyterian Index (Mobile & NO)	1866-1868	John H. Rice & H. H. Smith (of New Orleans)
Southwestern Presbyterian	1869-1909	Henry M. Smith (1869-91)

---

<sup>64</sup>Merged with Watchman of the South

<sup>65</sup>Sold to Watchman of the South

<sup>66</sup>Moves to Charleston in 1853

<sup>67</sup>Suspended during war 1863, 65

<sup>68</sup>Sold to Watchman of the South

<sup>69</sup>William A. Scott was the moving force behind its formation; first issue on October 1, 1844; Warren died in August of 1845, after which Scott served as editor until 1850.

<sup>70</sup>Dec 12, 1854–1200-1300 subscribers. Nov 1856–has 18 agents in MS, 4 in LA. (About 75% of subscribers are in MS, 10% in LA). May 14, 1857–nearly half of subscribers are females.

<sup>71</sup>corresponding editors, J. N. Waddel (LaGrange, TN) 1858-59 and P. J. Sparrow (Pensacola, FL) 1859-60; (& Elisha B. Cleghorn 1858-61). Adds 100 subscribers in TX within weeks of move to NO (Syn TX makes it official organ). 1859–MS 596, LA 442, TX 86, AR 22, AL 42, TN 14, KY 4, MO 6, PA 2, GA 5, NC 5, FL 4, IL 4, SC 4, IN 3, MD 2, CT 3, MA 2, NH 1, OH 1, IA 1, Ireland 1. Of these, women were 25%, ministers 9%. In March and April of 1861 Tennessee was a larger market than before: MS 167, LA 64, TN 42, AL 26, AR 24, TX 24, MO 5, NC 3, OH 2, NJ 2, ME 1, MD 1, SC 1, NY 1.

### Old School Periodicals: 1837-1869 (continued)

	Years	Editors
<b>Western Papers (monthlies):</b>		
The Panoplist and Pbn of Texas	1855-	Jerome Twitchell
The Watchman (San Francisco)	1850-?	Albert Williams (1850-?) <sup>72</sup>
Oriental (San Francisco)	1855-	William Speer <sup>73</sup>
Pacific Expositor (San Francisco)	1859-1862	William A. Scott (1859-61) <sup>74</sup> George Burrowes (1861-62)
Trinidad Enterprise (Trinidad CO)	1863-71	Jacob Winters
<b>2. QUARTERLY REVIEWS</b>		
Biblical Repertory	1829	An Association of Gentlemen
Biblical Repertory & Theological Rev.	1830-1836	An Association of Gentlemen
Biblical Repertory & Princeton Rev.	1837-1878	Charles Hodge (1837-1868)
Southern Presbyterian Review	1847-1889	J. H. Thornwell, et al. (1847-1862)
Danville Quarterly Review	1861-1864	R. J. Breckinridge, et al.
<b>3. DENOMINATIONAL PUBLICATIONS (Monthly)</b>		
Foreign Missionary Chronicle (Pittsburgh)	1833-1838	
(Philadelphia)	1838-1849 <sup>75</sup>	
Foreign Missionary (New York)	1842-1868 <sup>76</sup>	
The Home and Foreign Record (Philadelphia)	1850-1869 <sup>77</sup>	
(Children's)		
Sabbath School Visitor (Philadelphia)	1851- <sup>78</sup>	
Children's Friend (Richmond)	1862- <sup>79</sup>	
Southern Boy's and Girl's Monthly	1867-	E. Thompson Baird & Prof Wm Logan Baird
(Annual)		
The Education Annual	1832, 1835	
Home, The School and the Church (Philadelphia)	1851-1860	Cortland Van Rensselaer

---

<sup>72</sup>(Nothing known but 1.1 in April)

<sup>73</sup>weekly in English, every three weeks in Chinese; Speer had been a missionary in China.

<sup>74</sup>Agents: Martien of Phila; Carter of NY; Schenck of StL; W. A. Bartlett of NO; Dr. J. Carter of Mobile AL. Lost 200 subscribers through cutting off of the southern mails.

<sup>75</sup>1837—under 2,000; 1840—5,000; 1848—8400 (sent free to every minister, licentiate and student who wants it)

<sup>76</sup>1840—15,500; 1852—21,500; 1860—30,000 (+4250 for pamphlet edition)

<sup>77</sup>1852—11,264; 1854—15,000; 1855—16,500; 1857—19,000; 1867—10,000 (3,000 free)

<sup>78</sup>15,000 after three months in 1851; March 1852—30,000; Oct 1852—40,000; 1860—60,000; 1861—75,000

<sup>79</sup>Started at 3,000; up to 10,000 by May, 1863

## APPENDIX 2: OLD SCHOOL RULING ELDERS

Ruling elders played an important role at every level of Presbyterian church government. They formed the majority of the session, and in theory were to form half of each presbytery, synod and General Assembly. Every pastor was to attend presbytery and synod, along with one ruling elder from each congregation; while General Assembly was comprised of an equal number of ministers and elders from each presbytery. The reality, however, varied from time to time and place to place. In presbyteries and synods that were short on ministers, the elders could easily outnumber the ministers, but more commonly the ministers outnumbered the elders. But during the 1830s and 1840s ruling elders were coming to greater prominence in the church.<sup>80</sup>

Most histories of presbyterianism have tended to ignore the ruling elders. It is generally assumed that they did not play a significant role in shaping the doctrine and practice of the church, but were shaped by their ministers and simply voted along with those ministers with whom they agreed.<sup>81</sup> Not all Old School Presbyterians would have concurred with this portrait. There were many ruling elders who shaped the direction of

---

<sup>80</sup>One ruling elder claimed that it was becoming less common for ministers to treat elders as their assistants rather than their equals. A Ruling Elder, "Ruling Elders. Their Condition as It Is, and as It Should Be," Spirit of the XIXth Century 2.5 (May, 1843) 293-302.

<sup>81</sup>One valuable exception is Julius Melton, "A View from the Pew: Nineteenth-Century Elders and Presbyterian Worship," American Presbyterians 71:3 (Fall 1993) 161-174.

the church through their speeches and writings.<sup>82</sup> With the decline of the status of ministers, many men who might have been attracted to the ministry in previous generations were now choosing secular callings, but still desired to be involved in the church. Further, the actions of even those quiet ruling elders who merely came and listened to the debates and voted in the church courts could have a significant impact. The Presbyterian observed in February of 1837, prior to the division, that “the continued existence of the Presbyterian Church, *will depend upon the votes of a few Elders*. This opinion is based upon the fact that the two parties in the church are so nearly equal in numerical strength, that the majority on either side will be very small, so that a few votes will control the house.” Therefore, the author insisted that orthodox presbyteries needed to make sure that their elders would stay for the whole assembly—especially the southern and southwestern presbyteries, who frequently did not send any ruling elders.<sup>83</sup>

The very fact that Presbyterian church government included ruling elders as equal parties with the ministers in the rule of the church provided a significant role for the laity in shaping the direction of the church. Presbyterians regularly objected to any hierarchical approach to the church which gave the clergy absolute authority over the laity.

Presbyterian public space would include both clergy and laity. But while ruling elders

---

<sup>82</sup>The most powerful speech of the 1837 Assembly, which was still remembered 20 years later as one of the most significant events of that Assembly, came from Samuel C. Anderson, a ruling elder from Virginia.

<sup>83</sup>Witherspoon, “The Eldership and the Next General Assembly,” Presbyterian 7.8 (Feb 25, 1837). After the division, the Watchman and Observer observed that the ministers in one synod voted to leave the Old School in 1838, but the synod was retained by the Old School through the vote of the ruling elders, 10-1. L. L., “Should the Synod of Virginia Be Divided?” W&O 1.30 (March 12, 1846) 116. L. L. comments: “We see from this fact that the dignity, stability and purity of Synod, may depend in particular cases upon the presence of lay members.”

were democratically elected, only those could stand for election who had been approved by the session. While Presbyterians desired to see the laity involved in the rule of the church, they were convinced that only those who had the proper spiritual qualifications should exercise that public role.

Who were these elders? While a complete list of Old School Presbyterian ruling elders is not yet available, the following biographical chart includes over one hundred—including some of the most prominent men in national politics and business. Many of these men would take two or three weeks out of their busy schedules to attend, deliberate and vote at the annual General Assembly. For instance, the 1856 Assembly included Judges John Fine of New York, James M. Porter of Pennsylvania, D. C. Campbell of Georgia, and Humphrey H. Leavitt of Ohio (who would rule against his fellow Old School Presbyterian Clement Vallandigham during his infamous Civil War treason trial),<sup>84</sup> along with Kensey Johns, the Chancellor of Delaware.<sup>85</sup> Some of these men were regular participants in the Assembly. Fine attended seven General Assemblies, including five years consecutively from 1853-1857. Leavitt attended ten Assemblies between 1838 and 1868, and also served for more than fifteen years on each three of the

---

<sup>84</sup>Leavitt was also the U.S. Circuit Court Judge from the District of Ohio who ruled in the case of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, when it attempted to gain a portion of the funds of the Western Book Concern in 1849. His ruling in favor of the northern Methodist church was based upon the principle of the decision in the Old School/New School property case of 1840, that “any individual or section may withdraw from the church but can take with them no right to share in the property they enjoyed as members.” Quoted in Richard Carwardine, “Trauma in Methodism: Property, Church Schism, and Sectional Polarization in Antebellum America,” God and Mammon: Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 204.

<sup>85</sup>“The Late General Assembly,” PH 25.41 (June 12, 1856). The Kentucky correspondent commented: “It seemed almost incredible, among all the political strifes and fierce encounters of the day, to see a body of men from every section of the country. . . moving on from day to day in undisturbed tranquility of temper and harmony of sentiment. Where on earth shall we find another like it?”

Assemblies boards. Hamilton R. Gamble, the former governor of Missouri, attended the 1844 General Assembly and served on several of the church's boards. Robert C. Grier, a justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1846-1872 attended both the 1845 and 1846 Assemblies, and served on special committees for the Assembly in the 1850s. James Lenox, one of New York's wealthiest businessmen, attended the crucial Assemblies of 1835, 1836, and 1837, and continued as an active member of several denominational boards, as well as president of the American Bible Society. Former United States Senator Walter Lowrie left his prestigious position as secretary to the United States Senate in order to become the secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1839—a position he filled for thirty years, serving as a commissioner to fourteen General Assemblies (more than any other Old School elder).

Every major nineteenth-century American denomination could no doubt claim a similar list of leading citizens. But Presbyterians prided themselves on being the only denomination that gave these laymen an equal voice with the ministers in the government of the church. These men were not merely members of the church, but active participants in shaping the direction of the church.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup>At this time there was not a single model for electing ruling elders. In some congregations all baptized members could vote, while in others it was limited to communicant members, or to those persons to who contributed to the support of the church. The 1822 and 1830 General Assemblies declared that it was desirable to have only communicants voting, but did not require that practice. In 1855 the Assembly went a step further and declared that it was most consonant with the Form of Government to allow only communicants to vote. And, as the 1859 Assembly affirmed, there were no age limits in voting. The call of a minister was a somewhat different procedure. Since there was a financial commitment involved, the Form of Government gave a vote to all those who attended regularly and promised to support the church financially—a right which the Assembly affirmed as late as 1867. (See William E. Moore, The Presbyterian Digest (Philadelphia: PBP, 1873).



Why did these prominent citizens take part in the government of the church? At least in part because they believed that the church had a crucial role in shaping the nation. When some Presbyterians objected to placing a new seminary next to Thomas Cooper's South Carolina College in 1829, two elders, Joseph Cumming and Bayard E. Hand, convinced the synod to locate the seminary at Columbia, insisting upon "the power of the gospel in *pulling down strong holds*."<sup>87</sup> Similar confidence was exhibited thirty years later by ruling elder and wealthy Chicago businessman Cyrus McCormick when he single-handedly funded an Old School seminary, newspaper and two churches out of the conviction that the preaching of the gospel was the best hope for the maintenance of the Union (see chapter eight).

The following is not a list of the "best" elders in the Old School, but of those who were also influential in business, law, medicine, politics or education. Many of the finest elders in the church were humble farmers or clerks. At the same time, this is not a list of the most eminent laymen in the church. While presidents John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, and Abraham Lincoln were all pew holders or members of Old School churches, they are not found in this list because they were not ruling elders. General Assembly attendance and participation, along with service on the boards of General Assembly or other Presbyterian institutions are the main ecclesiastical criteria, while political, civic, intellectual or economic contributions are considered as social criteria. I have attempted to include representatives from various parts of the country.

---

<sup>87</sup>"The Seminary at Columbia," Southern Presbyterian 7.41 (July 27, 1854) 162.

### Leading Ruling Elders:

Special abbreviations for this chart: FM=Board of Foreign Missions; Pub=Board of Publication; DM=Board of Domestic Missions; Edu=Board of Education; ChExt=Church Extension Committee; (EC)=executive committee; (ECL)=executive committee in Louisville, a special committee of the Board of Home Missions; Dir=Director; Tr=Trustee; Supt=superintendent

Name	Occupation	Church	Presbytery	GA's attended	Boards	Political Party
<b>James Adger</b>			<b>Charleston</b>	<b>None</b>	<b>FM 1838-59</b>	
<b>Stephen Alexander (1806-83)</b>	<b>Professor, CNJ</b>	<b>Princeton</b>	<b>New Brunswick</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>Pub, 1859-70</b>	
	b. Schenectady NY; Union C; PTS; professor CNJ Mathematics 34-40, 45-54; Astronomy 40-45, 54-77					
<b>John Allen</b>	<b>Judge PA Supreme Court</b>		<b>Susquehanna</b>	<b>55, 56, 59</b>		
<b>Solomon Allen (1784-1846)</b>	<b>Businessman, Phila</b>	<b>6<sup>th</sup> &amp; 10<sup>th</sup></b>	<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>FM 1838-46; DM 28-46 (EC); Pub 38-46 (EC); Edu 36-46</b>	
	b. Northampton MA; moved to Philadelphia in 1810s; especially generous to Board of Publication;					Tr 33-46
<b>Samuel C. Anderson (1788-1865)</b>	<b>Lawyer, Hampden-Sydney, VA</b>	<b>College (1834)</b>	<b>West Hanover</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>HSC 1827-1865</b>	
	b. Cumberland Co, VA; gave the most powerful speech at 1837 General Assembly					
<b>Hugh Auchincloss</b>	<b>dry goods importer, NYC</b>	<b>5<sup>th</sup> Ave (1819)</b>	<b>New York</b>	<b>38, 40, 43</b>	<b>FM 1838-56 (EC); Pub, 1838-56</b>	
<b>Elias Ayers (1791-1842)</b>		<b>New Albany (1821)</b>	<b>New Albany</b>	<b>No</b>		
	Donated \$15,000 to NATS in order to train ministers after his 8 children died in childhood					
<b>Francis Gelson Bailey (1797-1870)</b>	<b>Merchant, Pittsburgh</b>	<b>Pittsburgh 1<sup>st</sup> (1841)</b>	<b>Ohio</b>	<b>45, 56, 61</b>	<b>WFMS 31-?? WTS 42-70</b>	
<b>Ephraim Banks (1791-1871)</b>	<b>Lawyer</b>	<b>Lewiston (1824)</b>	<b>Huntingdown</b>	<b>35, 48, 55</b>	<b>SS teacher</b>	
	b. Mifflin Co. PA; PA legislature 26-28; PA constitutional convention 37; PA auditor general 50-56; associate judge Mifflin Co 66-71;					
<b>Edward Bates (1793-</b>			<b>St. Louis</b>			<b>Whig/Republican</b>
	Republican candidate for President in 1860; attorney general under Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865)					
<b>Samuel Bayard (17??-1840)</b>						
	authored "Letters on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper"					
<b>Ormond Beatty (1815-???)</b>	<b>Prof, Centre C, Danville KY</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> (1844)/2nd (??)</b>	<b>Transylvania</b>	<b>55, 66, 67</b>	<b>Delegate to Presbyterian Alliance 1877, 1880</b>	
	b. KY; Centre C; Yale C; professor of natural science 36-47, 52-70; mathematics 47-52; President 1870-???					
<b>Matthew L. Bevan (1777-1849)</b>	<b>Merchant, Philadelphia</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> ()/Central ()</b>	<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>FM 1839-49 (VP); DM 37-41; Edu 29-49 (Pres); Trust, 33-49</b>	
	b. PA; raised Quaker					
<b>David H. Bishop</b>			<b>St. Louis</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>ChExt 1855-62 (Sec)</b>	
<b>Andrew Blair (1789-1861)</b>	<b>Businessman, Philadelphia</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> (1825)/2nd (1833)</b>	<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Pres Philadelphia Bd of School Directors 1833-1861</b>	
	b. PA					
<b>James Blake (1791-1870)</b>	<b>Dry Goods, Indianapolis</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> (1830)/3d (1851)</b>	<b>Indianapolis</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>Edu, 1851-63; NWTS Dir 1857-??; HanoverC;</b>	
	b. PA; business associate with James M. Ray					President, Indianapolis Benevolent Soc 35-70
<b>Benjamin Rush Bradford (1813-??)</b>	<b>resided Mercer Co</b>	<b>Beaver Falls (1848)</b>	<b>Beaver</b>	<b>49, 55, 60</b>	<b>WTS 49-??</b>	<b>American/Prohibition</b>
	b. PA to Thomas Bradford and Elizabeth Rush; inherited large estate; nominated for Governor on American ticket in 1854 and Lt Gov on Prohibition ticket ??					
<b>Thomas Bradford, LLD</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>Edu 1829-52 (VP/EC)</b>	
<b>J. Harmon Brown</b>			<b>Baltimore</b>	<b>49, 68s, 70s</b>	<b>FM 1849-69</b>	
<b>J. N. Brown</b>		<b>1<sup>st</sup> ()</b>	<b>Baltimore</b>	<b>47, 63</b>	<b>Edu, 1864-70</b>	
<b>William C. Brooks</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>DM 1854-66 (ECL)</b>	
<b>D. C. Campbell</b>	<b>Judge</b>		<b>Flint River/Hopewell</b>	<b>38, 56</b>	<b>FM 1838-44; DM 1838-40; Pub 1838-63</b>	
<b>Hugh Campbell</b>	<b>Physician</b>		<b>Redstone</b>	<b>35, 38, 54</b>	<b>none</b>	
<b>William B. Canfield (1809-83)</b>	<b>Jewelry Store, Baltimore</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> (1848)</b>	<b>Baltimore</b>	<b>52, 58, 62, 68, 70</b>	<b>FM 1862-70; 1864-70; MD Bible Soc 50-83 (VP 59-83)</b>	
<b>Robert Carter (1807-???)</b>	<b>Publisher, New York City</b>	<b>Scots ()</b>	<b>New York, 2d</b>	<b>51, 53, 55, 59, 63-4, 68-70</b>	<b>FM 1843-70 (EC); Edu 1868-70</b>	
	b. Scotland; U Edinburgh; came to NY in 1831; started bookstore in 1834					

## Leading Ruling Elders:

Name	Occupation	Church	Presbytery	GA's attended	Boards	Political Party
Samuel Cassedy			Louisville	53, 58, 67s, 69s	DM 1845-65 (ECL)	
Joseph Charless (??-1859)	Banker, St. Louis	Pine Street	St. Louis	52		
	b. ?; had edited the antislavery <u>Missouri Gazette</u> in the 1820s; later served as Alderman, Director of the Public Schools, President of the Bank of the State of Missouri, and Mechanics Bank; murdered by a man he had testified against in court					
Jeremiah Watkins Clapp (1814-1898)	Judge/Legislator		Chickasaw	59	none	
	VA; MS secession convention 61; Rep Confederate Congress 62-64					
Hovey Kilburn Clarke (1812-????)	Lawyer, Detroit	Westminster	Michigan	60-63, 66-7, 70	DM, 1860-70; Pub 1867-70; NWTS Dir 65-69	Republican
	b. MA; served as a prosecuting attorney, in the MI house, and on the Board of Control of RR Land Grants 61-65; was ordained as elder in Reformed church of Allegan MI; also NS churches in Marshall and at 2 <sup>nd</sup> Pbn Detroit before coming to Westminster OS church in 1857; wrote essays on systematic benevolence and church order					
Lincoln Clark (1800-1886)	Lawyer, AL, IA, IL	Tuscaloosa	Cedar/Dubuque/Chi	54, 60, 66	ChExt, 1864-70; NWTS Dir -69, Tr 1869	Democrat
	b. MA; Amherst C 1825; lawyer Pickensville, AL 31-35; Tuscaloosa 36-48; AL house 34, 35, 45; attorney general 39-?; circuit judge 46-48; Dubuque 48-60; US house 51-53; lawyer Chicago 60-69 (apptd US register in bankruptcy 66)					
Stephen Colwell (1800-18??)	Iron Manufacturer, Philadelphia		Philadelphia	No	DM 1841-45; Edu 1837-70 (VP); Pres Trs	
	b. VA; Jefferson C 1818; lawyer in western VA, OH and PA 21-36; wrote New Themes (1851), <u>Politics for American Christians</u> (1852), <u>Charity and the Clergy</u> (1853), <u>The Position of Christianity in the US</u> (1854), and several economic treatises.					
Jeremiah Cowper/Cooper	Physician		Albany/Mohawk	46, 53	DM 1846-66	
Jasper Corning (1792-1869)			New York	52	FM 1852-70 (EC/VP)	
Joseph Cumming	??		SC			
Silas C. Day			New Albany	59	DM 1859-67 (ECL)	
Harmer Denny (1794-1852)	Lawyer/Railroads, Pittsburgh	1 <sup>st</sup> (1829)	Ohio	38	FM 1838-50 (VP); DM 29-3?, 48-52; Pub 38-52	Whig
	b. PA; Dickinson College 1813; lawyer Pitts 16-24, 38-52; PA house 24-29; US house 29-37; commissioner of PA RR 1846; pres Pitts & Steubenville RR 51-2; Tr WUP; dir WTS					
James N. Dickson			Philadelphia	43, 47, 54-5	FM 1839-67; Edu 1837-62 (Ch/VP/Pres); Pub 1841-67 (EC)	
Capt. Edward M. Donaldson			Carlisle/Donagall/Philadelphia	39, 41, 44, 47, 52	DM 1846-53 (EC)	
James Donaldson			No		FM 1846-70 (EC)	
Charles Daniel Drake (1811-92)	Judge, St. Louis/DC	2 <sup>nd</sup> (56)/NY Ave (70)	St. Louis	57, 69	Pub 1869-70; FM 49-50 (Treas)	Republican
	b. OH; St Joseph C KY 22-23; Patridge's Mil Acad CT 24-25; US Navy 25-29; lawyer StL 34-59; MO house 59-60; US Senate 67-70; chief justice Court of Claims 70-85; LLD					
William Dulty			Philadelphia	42	FM 1842-46; DM 1841-53, 1861-70 (EC); Pub 1841-53	
James Dunlap, Esq.			Philadelphia	43, 45, 60	DM 1842-57; Edu 1842-66 (EC/VP); Pub 1843-66 (EC/Tr/VP)	
Thomas L. Dunlap	Physician		Bethel/Chickasaw/NMiss	36, 53, 56, 61	None	
	Friend of JHThornwell					
Williamson Dunn (1781-1854)	Judge, Hanover Indiana	Hanover (1820)	Madison	34, 36, 45	NATS 1840-?; HanoverC; Wabash C	
	b. KY; judge 1811; IN house 1816-20 (speaker 18-20); IN senate 1837-38; probate Judge 1846-52; participated in founding both Hanover & Wabash colleges; organized Crawfordsville church					
A. G. Edwards			No		ChExt 1862-70	
James Elder (-1877)	Banker		Chickasaw/Memphis	No	None	
Howell Evans			No		DM 1852-70 (EC)	
Joseph P. Engles (1793-1861)	Teacher, Philadelphia	Scots ch (1830s)	Philadelphia	No	FM 1839-51; DM 1837-41; Edu 52-61 (EC); Pub 39-61 (EC)	
	b. Philadelphia; U Pennsylvania 1811; taught at the UPA prep school 1813-1844?; publishing agent for the Board of Publication 45-61					

# Leading Ruling Elders:

Name	Occupation	Church	Presbytery	GA's attended	Boards	Political Party
<b>Francis A. Ewing (1806-57)</b>	<b>Physician, Trenton</b>	<b>Trenton (40)</b>	<b>New Brunswick</b>	<b>42, 47, 54</b>	<b>Pub 1842-58</b>	
b. NJ; son of NJ Chief Justice Charles Ewing						
<b>Nathaniel Ewing</b>	<b>Judge</b>		<b>Redstone</b>	<b>36, 37, 39, 61, 70</b>	<b>FM 1839-55 (VP) ; DM 1847-59; Pub 1838-59; Edu 1839-70</b>	
b. PA; appointed President Judge of 14 <sup>th</sup> Judicial District by Governor of PA in 1838						
<b>James Field</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>DM 1839-59, 1861-65 (EC); ChExt 1845-54</b>	
<b>John K. Findlay</b>			<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>Edu 1868-70 (EC)</b>	
<b>John Fine (1794-1867)</b>	<b>Judge, Ogdensburg NY</b>	<b>Ogdensburg (1821)</b>	<b>Ogdensburg</b>	<b>40, 50, 53-57</b>	<b>FM 1853-67</b>	<b>Democrat</b>
b. NY; Columbia C 1809; lawyer Ogdensburg 1815-21, 49-67; treas St. Lawrence Co. 21-33; judge of County Court of Common Pleas 24-39, 43-47; US house 39-41; NY senate 48; functioned as supt of missions for central NY						
<b>Edward H. Fitzhugh (1816-??)</b>	<b>Lawyer, Wheeling &amp; Richmond VA</b>	<b>Wheeling (50)/1st (67)</b>	<b>Washington/E Hanover</b>	<b>58, 68C</b>	<b>PCUS Pub&amp;EduCom 67-??</b>	<b>Democrat</b>
b. VA; moved to Richmond in 1861; elected Judge of Chancery Court in Richmond 70-83.						
<b>William A. Forward</b>	<b>FL Supreme Court 1860-65</b>		<b>Florida</b>	<b>61C</b>		
<b>Thomas Foster</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>Pub 1847-70</b>	
<b>Samuel H. Fulton</b>			<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>Edu 1860-64 (EC)</b>	
<b>Moses M. Fuqua</b>			<b>St. Louis/Palmyra</b>	<b>50-1, 54, 57-59</b>	<b>None</b>	
<b>Archibald Gamble (1794-1866)</b>	<b>Judge, St. Louis</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> (49)/Park Ave (64)</b>	<b>St. Louis</b>	<b>58, 62</b>	<b>ChExt 1855-67 (Tr)</b>	
b. VA; clerk in Bank of MO 16-19; clerk Circuit Court 19-32; Judge St. Louis county court 34-37; Postmaster under Taylor/Fillmore; influential in public schools; retired in 50s to focus energies on the church; moderate supporter of Declaration and Testimony in the 60s						
<b>Hamilton Rowan Gamble (1789-1864)</b>	<b>Lawyer, St. Louis</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> (35?)/2<sup>nd</sup> (38)</b>	<b>St. Louis</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>FM 1844-48; DM 1863-64; ChExt 1855-64; NWTS 1859-</b>	
b. VA; HSC; lawyer in Missouri 18-24; MO Secretary of State 24-25; started 2 <sup>nd</sup> Church in 1838 with brother; presiding judge of MO supreme court 51-55; Gov of MO 61-64						
<b>William Garvin (1795-1868)</b>	<b>Merchant</b>		<b>Louisville (1<sup>st</sup> ch)</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>DM 1845-65 (ECL)</b>	
b. Ireland; from salesman to merchant prince; lost over \$1 million in 1861, but survived						
<b>James F. Gayley</b>	<b>Physician</b>			<b>No</b>	<b>Edu 1863-70* (EC)</b>	
<b>William Fell Giles (1807-1879)</b>	<b>U. S. District Court Judge Balt, 53-79</b>	<b>Baltimore ??</b>	<b>Baltimore</b>	<b>59, 61</b>		<b>Democrat</b>
b. MD; Bel Air Acad; Baltimore lawyer 1829-38; MD house 38-40; US Rep 45-47; officer of Colonization Society for more than thirty years; twenty years as a state commissioner for colonization						
<b>Henry W. Green</b>	<b>Judge</b>	<b>? (66)</b>	<b>New Brunswick</b>	<b>68, 70</b>	<b>Edu 1856-70; Tr since 1833</b>	
<b>Henry D. Gregory</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>DM 1858-70 (EC); Edu 1863-70* (EC/VP)</b>	
<b>John C. Grier (JCG from Luzerne in '51)</b>			<b>Peoria</b>	<b>59, 66, 69</b>	<b>none</b>	
<b>Michael C. Grier</b>			<b>Northumberland</b>	<b>49, 54, 62, 66, 69</b>	<b>none</b>	
<b>Robert Cooper Grier (1794-1870)</b>	<b>US Supreme Ct 1846-70</b>		<b>Ohio/Allegheny</b>	<b>45-6</b>	<b>FM 1844-48</b>	
b. PA; Dickinson C 1812; lawyer Danville, PA; Pa state court judge Allegheny Co 1833-46; appointed by Polk to Supreme Court						
<b>Wilfred Hall</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>Edu 1850-70 (EC)</b>	
<b>Bayard E. Hand</b>	<b>??</b>		<b>SC</b>			
<b>Samuel Hanna (1797-1866)</b>	<b>lawyer</b>	<b>Fort Wayne</b>	<b>Fort Wayne</b>	<b>45, 57</b>		<b>Republican</b>
b. KY; IN house 26-27, 31-32, 40-41; IN senate 32-35; delegate RNC 1856; Freemason						
<b>John M. Harper</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>DM 1850-68 (EC); Pub 1867-69</b>	
<b>Charles W. Harris</b>	<b>Physician</b>		<b>Concord</b>	<b>40, 47-8</b>	<b>none</b>	
<b>John Harris</b>	<b>Physician</b>			<b>No</b>	<b>Edu 1861-65 (EC)</b>	

# Leading Ruling Elders:

Name	Occupation	Church	Presbytery	GA's attended	Boards	Political Party
William H. Harris	Physician		SC/Harmony	42, 53	FM 1839-51; Edu 1837-61 (EC/VP)	
Thomas Henderson			Marion/Miss	39/49	DM 1838-50; Edu 1840-64; Pub 1838-44, 1852-64	
Alfred Hennen (1786-1870)	Lawyer, New Orleans	1 <sup>st</sup> (1828)	New Orleans	No	none	
Alexander Henry (1766-1847)	Merchant, Philadelphia	2 <sup>nd</sup> (18)/Central (32)	Philadelphia	no	FM 1839-48 (VP); Edu 1825-48 (Pres); Pub 1842-48	
b. Ireland; came to Philadelphia 1783; clerk in dry goods trade; President of House of Refuge, Magdalen Society and American Sunday School Union 24-47						
T. Charlton Henry			Philadelphia, 2d	61, 64	Edu 1857-65 (EC)	
Samuel Hepburn, Esq.			Carlisle	40, 48, 51	FM 1848-52; Edu 1840-64	
Silas Holmes		Brick ch	New York	41, 48, 54	Edu 1855-61; Pub 1852-60	
The major donor behind parochial schools.						
William G. Holmes (1824-80)	Bookseller		Chicago	62, 65	NWTS Dir 1859-73, Tr 1867-69	
Samuel Howe (1812-72)			Chicago	63	NWTS Dir 1863-69, Tr 1857-	
Kensey Johns, Jr. (1791-1857)	Chancellor of DE 1832-57	New Castle	Phila/Newcastle	43, 53-4, 56	FM, 1853-57 (VP)	Dem?
b. DE; CNJ 1810; Congress 1827-1831						
Job Johnstone	Chancellor of South Carolina		South Carolina	61C		
Joel Jones (1795-1860)	Judge/Mayor Philadelphia	2 <sup>nd</sup> (??)	Philadelphia	No	Pub 1839-60 (EC)	
b. CT; Yale C 17; lawyer Easton PA; president judge Philadelphia; president Girard C; Mayor of Philadelphia; retired to study and church life; expert in theology and law; also rabbinical literature, millennial controversies; oriental, classical and modern languages; called the "most learned layman" in the church with a European reputation.						
Benjamin Junkin			Allegheny/Clarion	35, 38, 44, 50		
David Keith, Esq.			St. Louis	48, 68, 70	DM 1848-70; ChExt 1857-70 (Tr)	
Charles A. B. Kemper			Cincinnati	48, 52	FM 1848-60	
John Kiddoo	Judge		Atlanta	'61Cs	none	
Thomas Kiddoo			Ohio	35, 37, 40, 63	none	
Victor King			Madison	35, 38, 44, 55, 57, 59	Pub, 1838-64; NATS 1840-58-??	
Humphrey Howe Leavitt (1796-1873)	Judge District Court OH 34-71		Steubenville/Cincy	38-9, 45, 50, 52, 56, 62-3, 65, 68	FM 50-70; Edu 39-55; Pub 38-70	Dem/Rep
b. CT; acad WPA; lawyer Cadiz OH 16-19, Steubenville 19-23; prosecuting attorney Jefferson Co 23-29; OH house 25-26; OH senate 27-28; US house 30-34 (Jacksonian); moved to Cincy in 55						
James Lenox (-1880)	Merchant, New York City	1 <sup>st</sup> (18??)	New York	35-7	FM 39-70 (Pres); DM 35-70; Pub 38-70; Edu 38-70; ChExt 55-70	
b. NYC; CNJ & Columbia; retired in 1840; Pres AmBibSoc 1866-72; organizing member Association for the Improving of the Conditions of the Poor 43-?						
Robert Lenox (1759-1839)	Merchant, New York City	1 <sup>st</sup> (1809)	New York	No	none	
b. Scotland; West Indies trade; one of the city's five wealthiest men (gave \$2 million to various Presbyterian causes); president of the St. Andrew's Society 1798-1814; president NY chamber of commerce 27-39; father of James Lenox.						
Walter Lowrie (1784-1868)	Secretary BFM 36-67	Butler (12)/NY 1st	Allegheny/Ohio/NY	37, 38, 39-40, 45, 48-51, 53, 55, 58, 60-1	FM 1838-69 (Sec)	Crawford Republican
b. Scotland; acad WPA; surveyor/farmer; PA house 11-12; PA senate 13-19; US senate 19-25; secretary US senate 25-36; a Crawford Republican in the '20s						
Charles Macalester (1798-1873)	Merchant, Philadelphia		Phila/PhilaCentral	56, 59, 61	DM 1853-61 (EC)	
b. Philadelphia; U Pennsylvania; businessman, Cincinnati 21-27; moved to Philadelphia; retired in 1849 with a large fortune; Tr of the Peabody Education Fund; President of the St. Andrew's Society and the Orthopaedic Hospital; also director of Fidelity Insurance, Trust and Safe Deposit Co., the Pbn Hospital, and the Insurance Co. of the State of PA; in 1873 he donated the land for Macalester College in Minneapolis, MN.						
J. H. McCampbell			New Albany	58, 66, 69	DM 1857-62 (ECL); NWTS 1857-	
(James McCampbell ?? from Crawfordsville '49)						

## Leading Ruling Elders:

Name	Occupation	Church	Presbytery	GA's attended	Boards	Political Party
<b>John D. McCord</b>			<b>Ohio</b>	<b>60, 65</b>	<b>DM 1865-70 (EC); Pub 1869-70*</b>	
<b>Cyrus H. McCormick (1809-84)</b>	<b>Manufacturer of Reaper</b>	<b>Chicago North</b>	<b>Chicago</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>NWTS T1859-84</b>	<b>Democrat</b>
<b>William McElwain/McIlvain</b>	<b>Physician</b>		<b>Blairsville/Saltsburg</b>	<b>53, 69</b>	<b>FM 1838-68</b>	
<b>Daniel McIntire</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>Edu 1850-55 (EC)</b>	
<b>Archibald McIntyre (A. S.?)</b>			<b>New Lisbon</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>Pub 1844-70*</b>	
<b>A. B. McKee</b>			<b>Vincennes</b>	<b>44, 51, 58, 67</b>	<b>none</b>	
<b>Henry McKee(n)</b>			<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>FM 1849-69; Edu 1831-35; Pub 1843-70</b>	
<b>Thomas McKeen</b>			<b>Newton</b>	<b>35, 39, 47</b>	<b>FM 1840-60; Edu 1831-59; Pub 1838-60</b>	
<b>John McMullin</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>Edu 1821-44</b>	
<b>Robert McNeely (1767-1852)</b>	<b>Mayor, Trenton</b>	<b>Trenton (1817)</b>	<b>New Brunswick</b>	<b>no</b>	<b>none</b>	
	b. ?; 18 years mayor of Trenton; presidential elector in 1817					
<b>Dr. William M. McPheeters</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>ChExt 1855-61</b>	
<b>Alfred Martien</b>			<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>DM 1865-70 (EC)</b>	
<b>William S. Martien</b>			<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>48-9, 51</b>	<b>FM 1848-64; DM 1850-61 (EC); Pub 1843-61</b>	
<b>Glass Marshall</b>			<b>West Lexington</b>	<b>58, 66, 67s, 69s</b>	<b>none</b>	
<b>Roswell B. Mason (1805-92)</b>	<b>RR/mayor Chi 69-71</b>	<b>Chicago North</b>	<b>Chicago</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>NWTS T1858-92</b>	
<b>Samson Mason (1793-1869)</b>	<b>Legislator</b>		<b>Miami</b>	<b>48</b>		<b>Whig</b>
	b. NY; lawyer Springfield OH; prosecuting attorney Clark Co 22; OH senate 29-31; president judge court of common pleas 34; US house 34-43; OH house 45-46; US Attorney OH 50-53; OH senate 62-64					
<b>Stanley Matthews (1824-1889)</b>	<b>Judge</b>		<b>Cincinnati</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>FM 1864-70; DM 1864-70</b>	<b>Republican</b>
	b. OH; Kenyon C 1840; lawyer Maury Co TN 42-44; assistant prosecuting attorney Hamilton Co OH 45-46; editor Cincinnati Herald 46-49; clerk OH house 48-50; judge court of common pleas 50-52; OH senate 56-57; US district attorney southern OH 58-61 (Buchanan appointee); Lt Col OH vols 61-63; Judge superior court 63-64; US senate 77-79; US Supreme Court 81-89 (Hayes/Garfield)					
<b>David H. Maxwell (1786-1854)</b>	<b>lawyer</b>	<b>Bloomington</b>	<b>Vincennes</b>	<b>no</b>	<b>president Bd Trs of Indiana U 1820-1854</b>	
	b. KY; Brother-in-law of Williamson Dunn; organizing elder of Bloomington 1819; delegate to IN state const. conv 1816; IN house 21-25 (speaker 23-24); IN senate 26-30; mayor Bloomington 48-?					
<b>Samuel D. Maxwell (1803-1873)</b>	<b>mayor of Indianapolis 58-63</b>		<b>Crawfordsville</b>	<b>50</b>		
<b>William Maxwell (1784-1857)</b>	<b>Lawyer/Senator</b>		<b>East Hanover</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>FM 1838-45; DM 1837-45; Edu 1821-57</b>	
	LLD from ??; Pres HSC 1838-44; secretary Va Historical Society 1848-1857 (Norfolk)					
<b>Joseph A. Maybin (1795-1876)</b>	<b>Lawyer, New Orleans</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> (1828)</b>	<b>New Orleans</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>ChExt 1855-62</b>	
	b. PA; educated in the north; supporter of Public Schools; frequently taught in destitute churches					
<b>Alexander W. Mitchell</b>	<b>Physician</b>		<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>38, 40-1, 44, 46, 50, 53, 59</b>	<b>FM 1838-62; DM 1837-62 (EC); Pub 1838-62 (Tr/VP); Edu 1837-53; ChExt 1845-54</b>	
<b>Joseph B. Mitchell</b>			<b>Philadelphia/P2d</b>	<b>41, 59, 62</b>	<b>DM 1859-63; Edu 1829-57 (Tr/EC); Pub 1838-64 (EC/VP)</b>	
<b>William L. Mitchell</b>			<b>Hopewell</b>	<b>52, 61s, 63-5s</b>	<b>none</b>	
<b>Mollyneaux, Samuel Robert</b>	<b>farm/mill (Mayor)</b>	<b>Oxford</b>	<b>Miami</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Pub 1845-53</b>	
<b>William Nassau, Sr.</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>DM 1828-61 (EC)</b>	
<b>Eugenius A. Nesbit</b>	<b>Judge/Secessionist</b>		<b>Hopewell</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>FM 1840-44; DM 1852-64; Edu 1847-66</b>	
<b>William Nesbit/Nisbet</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>Edu 1841-65</b>	

## Leading Ruling Elders:

Name	Occupation	Church	Presbytery	GA's attended	Boards	Political Party
<b>Matthew Newkirk (1795-1866)</b>	<b>Dry goods wholesaler, Phila</b>	<b>Central (??)</b>	<b>Phila/PhilaCen</b>	<b>52, 55, 63</b>	<b>FM 40-68 (VP); DM 34-70 (EC); Edu 29-57 (EC); Pub 38-69</b>	
	b. NJ; started as a clerk in 1810; retired in 1839; Director US Bank; first President of Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore RR; President of Female Medical College of Pa; Tr of CNJ 34-68; Tr of General Assembly 33-66; President of Pennsylvania State Sabbath Association					
<b>Joseph Nourse (1754-1841)</b>	<b>Register of the Treasury (ca. 1790-1830)</b>					
	Served as president, vice president or director on many religious and charitable organizations					
<b>Alexander Osbourn</b>			<b>Steubenville</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>Edu 1848-56 (EC)</b>	
<b>James Patterson</b>			<b>New Castle/Huntingdon/Donegal</b>	<b>36, 44, 45, 63</b>	<b>none</b>	
<b>Joseph Patterson</b>					<b>FM 1840-68; DM 1840-52 (EC); Edu 1839-59 (VP)</b>	
<b>Morris Patterson</b>			<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>61, 65, 69</b>	<b>Edu 1855-70* (EC/VP); Pub 1857-70*</b>	
<b>Robert Patterson</b>			<b>Washington/Allegheny</b>	<b>43, 53, 60</b>	<b>none</b>	
<b>Ananias Platt (1762-1842)</b>	<b>Businessman, Albany</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> (1814?)</b>	<b>Albany</b>	<b>36, 37</b>	<b>FM 1841-45; DM 1829-44; Pub 1838-45</b>	
	b. ?; converted in 1801 from Deism; relinquished lucrative business at conversion to dedicate himself to church work; gave half of income to Christian benevolence					
<b>Ebenezer Platt</b>		<b>Rutgers Ch (1833)</b>	<b>New York</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>FM 1845-66; Pub 1852-66</b>	
<b>James Madison Porter (1793-1862)</b>	<b>Judge</b>	<b>Easton?</b>	<b>Philadelphia 2<sup>nd</sup></b>	<b>56</b>		
	PA; Col. in US Army during War of 1812; PA state court judge 39-40, 53-55; U. S. Secretary of War 43-44; PA house 49; founder Lafayette College					
<b>Henry Potter</b>	<b>Judge</b>		<b>Fayetteville</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>Edu 1828-59, 1860-64</b>	
<b>William Prather</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>DM 1853-65 (ECL)</b>	
<b>James M. Preston</b>	<b>Judge or Legislator</b>		<b>Ebenezer</b>	<b>45</b>		
<b>J. T. L. Preston</b>			<b>Lexington</b>	<b>60, 63s, 64s, 65s</b>		
<b>Thompson Price</b>			<b>New York</b>	<b>43-4, 50-1, 55</b>	<b>FM 1855-58</b>	
<b>Thomas Pringle</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>FM, 1841-61</b>	
<b>James O. Putnam</b>	<b>State Senator??</b>		<b>Buffalo City</b>	<b>56, 57</b>		
<b>James Rankin</b>			<b>Northumberland</b>	<b>53, 56, 66</b>	<b>none</b>	
<b>William Rankin, Sr.</b>			<b>Passaic</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>FM, 1852-60</b>	
<b>William Rankin, Jr.</b>			<b>Passaic</b>	<b>53, 64, 67-8, 70</b>	<b>FM, 1851-88</b>	
<b>James M. Ray</b>	<b>Dry Goods, Indianapolis</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> (1830)</b>	<b>Indianapolis/Muncie</b>	<b>44, 66, 68</b>	<b>Pub 1838-58; NATS 1840-57; NWTS 1857-63</b>	
<b>Robert Rentoul. Reed, MD (1807-64)</b>	<b>Physician, Washington</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> (1847)</b>	<b>Washington</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>Edu 1863-64</b>	<b>Whig</b>
	Washington PA; Washington C 1825; UPA MD 1828; US house 49-51; PA house 63-64; SS supt for church 38-64					
<b>J. D. Reinboth</b>			<b>Burlington</b>	<b>66, 70</b>	<b>Edu 1851-70 (EC)</b>	
<b>William Richardson</b>			<b>Louisville</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>DM 1845-63 (ECL)</b>	
<b>William Risley</b>			<b>St. Louis</b>	<b>55, 63</b>	<b>ChExt 1855-64</b>	
<b>James Russell</b>		<b>North ch</b>	<b>Philadelphia/New Lisbon?</b>	<b>57, 60, 66?</b>	<b>DM 1860-70 (EC); Pub 1838-70 (EC/VP)</b>	
<b>Samuel Russell</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>FM 1845-49; DM 1845-65 (ECL); NWTS 1859-61</b>	
<b>Cornwell Sage</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>ChExt 1860-70</b>	
<b>William Sampson (1818-66)</b>	<b>lawyer/judge</b>	<b>Glasgow</b>	<b>Louisville</b>	<b>No</b>		
	Unionist during Civil War--appointed Chief Justice KY Court of Appeals					
<b>Winthrop Sargent</b>			<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>42, 62</b>	<b>Pub 1842-44, 1853-70* (Supt/Tr)</b>	
<b>David A. Sayre</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>Pub 1850-70</b>	
<b>J. Schoonmaker</b>			<b>Ohio</b>	<b>48, 51</b>	<b>Edu 1855-70</b>	

# Leading Ruling Elders:

Name	Occupation	Church	Presbytery	GA's attended	Boards	Political Party
<b>George Sharswood (1810-83)</b>	<b>Judge, Philadelphia</b>		<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>Edu 1835-39, 53-70 (Ch/VP); Pub 52-70 (EC/VP); Tr</b>	
	b. Philadelphia; U Pa; lawyer; PA house 37-39; district court judge 45-67 (presiding 51-67); state supreme court 67-83; LLD from U City of NY and Columbia C; Professor of Law at U Pa 50-?; editor American Law Magazine 43-?; Vice Provost Phila Law Academy 35-54, Provost 54-?; His Annotated Blackstone was used in all US law schools; also wrote <u>Professional Ethics</u> (1854)					
<b>William Shear</b>			<b>Hopewell</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>FM, 1838-62</b>	
<b>J. G. Shepherd</b>	<b>Judge</b>		<b>Fayetteville</b>	<b>61C</b>		
<b>John M. Sherrerd/Sherrrod</b>			<b>Newton</b>	<b>53, 63</b>	<b>FM, 1844-70</b>	
<b>Pleasants S. Shields</b>	<b>Physician</b>		<b>New Albany</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>DM 1855-63 (ECL)</b>	
<b>John Sibley, Esq.</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>Pub 1856-70*</b>	
<b>Eustace H. Smith</b>			<b>St. Louis</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>ChExt 1862-70</b>	
<b>Peter Sken Smith</b>			<b>Georgia</b>	<b>40, 41</b>	<b>FM 1840-44; DM 1840-44</b>	
<b>Gilbert T. Snowden</b>			<b>Harmony/Charleston</b>	<b>36, 43-4, 46-9</b>	<b>FM 1841-53; DM 1836-53; Edu 1840-55</b>	
<b>James Ross Snowden</b>			<b>Philadelphia/PCentral</b>	<b>60, 68, 70</b>	<b>Pub 1858-70*</b>	
<b>Samuel L. Southard (1787-1842) US Senator</b>		<b>Trenton</b>	<b>New Brunswick</b>	<b>no</b>		<b>Whig</b>
	b. NJ; CNJ 1804; studied law in VA; lawyer Flemington NJ 11-15; associate justice NJ supreme court 15-20; US senate 21-23, 33-42; Sec Navy 23-29; NJ attorney general 29-33; NJ Gov 32-33;					
<b>James T. Soutter</b>			<b>New York</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>FM, 1848-64</b>	
<b>Robert Soutter, Sr. (1773-1842) Merchant, Norfolk VA</b>		<b>Norfolk 1" (1812?)</b>	<b>East Hanover</b>	<b>no</b>		
	b. Scotland; orphaned, moved to Norfolk, VA ca. 1800; acquired fortune					
<b>Robert Soutter, Jr.</b>				<b>No</b>	<b>DM 1846-50; Edu 1841-53 (Sec); Pub 44-66; ChExt 46-48</b>	
<b>Charles A. Spring</b>			<b>Rock River/Chicago</b>	<b>50, 55, 59, 61, 67</b>	<b>FM 1869-70; NWTs</b>	<b>Republican</b>
	served as an agent for the American Tract Society in Illinois in the early 1840s; president BdTrust Marengo Collegiate Inst 1857-?					
<b>John C. Stockton</b>			<b>Lancaster</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>Pub 1838-58</b>	
<b>James Stonestreet</b>			<b>West Lexington</b>	<b>44, 50</b>	<b>FM 1850-54</b>	
<b>Alexander Stuart</b>			<b>Sidney</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>FM 1862-66; ChExt 1861-70</b>	
<b>John Stuart</b>			<b>New York</b>	<b>54, 58, 63 none</b>		
<b>Robert L. Stuart</b>			<b>Detroit?</b>	<b>36, 37?</b>	<b>FM 1841-70 (EC); DM 39-59, 62-70; Pub 50-70; ChExt 54</b>	
<b>J. T. Swayne</b>	<b>Judge</b>		<b>Memphis</b>	<b>61C</b>		
<b>Alexander T. Symington</b>			<b>Philadelphia</b>	<b>35, 37-9, 46, 50</b>	<b>FM, 1841-52; DM, 1836-52 (EC); Pub, 1838-52 (EC/VP); Edu, 1836-51 (EC); ChExt 1845-51</b>	
<b>Grigsby E. Thomas, Esq.</b>			<b>Flint River</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>Edu 1840-56</b>	
<b>Henry E. Thomas</b>			<b>Louisiana?</b>	<b>49?</b>	<b>Pub 1863-70*</b>	
<b>George Thompson</b>			<b>Memphis/Nashville</b>	<b>51-52, 66</b>		
<b>John S. Thompson</b>			<b>Baltimore?</b>	<b>61?</b>	<b>ChExt 1857-69</b>	
<b>John D. Thorpe</b>			<b>Cincinnati</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>FM, 1845-70; NWTs 1859--60</b>	
<b>Henry Tunstall</b>			<b>Louisville/Muhlenburg</b>	<b>49, 61, 62</b>	<b>DM 1845-65 (ECL)</b>	
<b>George H. Van Gelder</b>			<b>Phila/WJersey/Burlington</b>	<b>49, 55, 57, 60, 62-3, 67</b>	<b>FM 1849-61</b>	
<b>Paul C. Venable</b>	<b>Physician</b>		<b>West Hanover</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>FM 1838-42; Pub 1838-58</b>	
<b>P. A. Walker</b>			<b>Louisiana</b>	<b>44, 47, 51</b>	<b>Pub 1838-58</b>	



# Leading Ruling Elders:

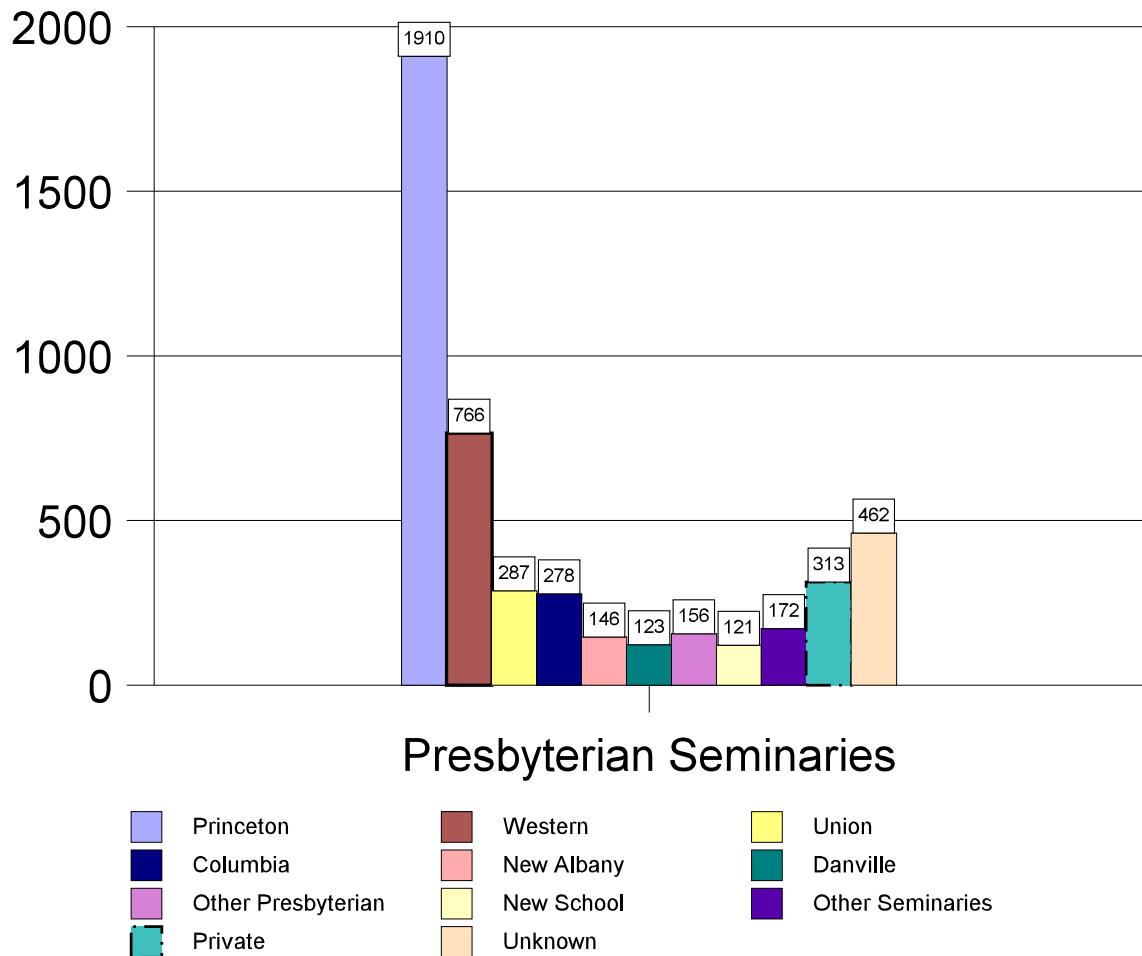
Name	Occupation	Church	Presbytery	GA's attended	Boards	Political Party
William Walker			New York	60, 64	Pub 1847-68	
Robert Wallace			Philadelphia, 2d	38	DM 1828-50	
William Wallace			NY, 2d (or Lancaster)	36 (37)	Edu 1857-65 (EC)	
Lebbeus Ward			New York	52, 65	FM 1852-70	
John William Clark Watson (1808-90)	Lawyer, Holly Springs	Holly Springs (46)	Chickasaw	62C, 83s	none	Whig
	b. VA; practiced law at Abingdon VA; settled in Holly Springs, Mississippi, in 1845; Southern Whig; opposed secession; CS senate 64-65; MS circuit judge 76-82; LLD from U Miss in 1878					
Jesse L. Williams (1807-86)	RR engineer		Fort Wayne	54, 59, 61, 66	FM 1861-69; DM 1846-70; Pub 1866-70 NWTS Dir 1857-	
William Wilson			New Brunswick/Raritan	37-8, 41, 43, 46, 48, 53, 55, 61, 64	Pub 1838-50	
Samuel Winfree			East Hanover	52	FM 1838-61	
J. M. Witherspoon	Physician		Tuscaloosa/Chickasaw	50, 57		
John R. Witherspoon			Tuscaloosa	39	Pub 1838-58	
Charles Woodruff			Salem	45	DM 1845-48 (ECL)	
James T. Young				No	Pub 1860-70* (EC)	

### APPENDIX 3: SEMINARIES AND THEIR STUDENTS

Two basic models of seminary management prevailed in the Old School: synodical control and General Assembly control. Princeton (New Jersey, 1812), Western (Allegheny, Pennsylvania, 1827), and Danville (Kentucky, 1853) seminaries were under the General Assembly, while Union (Hampden-Sydney, Virginia, 1823), Columbia (South Carolina, 1829), and Hanover (Indiana, 1830—later moved to New Albany, Indiana), were organized by synods and remained under synodical control. New School seminaries, such as Union Theological Seminary in New York and Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, were independent institutions operated by self-perpetuating boards. The only Old School seminary to follow this model (Cincinnati Theological Seminary, under the leadership of Nathan Lewis Rice and James Hoge) lasted for only three years, 1850-53, and was considered by its supporters as a temporary expedient.

I am in the process of compiling a database of all Old School ministers and congregations. While the database is still incomplete, I have identified 4,724 Old School ministers for the years 1837-1869. While students often attended more than one seminary, figure A3.1 reveals that 40% of all Old School ministers began their formal theological training at Princeton. A total of 47% (2,245) of Old School ministers studied at Princeton.

Since I have been able to look through the student rosters of many non-Old School seminaries, it is likely that almost all of the 462 “unknown” students studied privately. But by 1840, almost all students spent at least some time in seminary. Of the



**Figure A3.1. First Seminary Attended by Old School Ministers, 1838-1869**

864 men who entered the Old School ministry in the 1840s, only 80 (9.3%) had not attended seminary at all.

Seminary attendance also reveals the prominence of Princeton throughout most of the Old School period, as Figure A3.2 demonstrates.

		-----Northwestern-----			-----Southern-----					
	PTS	WTS	NATS	CinTS	DTS	CTS	UTS	PTS/others	South	NW
1836	136	38	12			18	28	^136/96	46	50
1837	142	37	15			17	31	^142/100	48	52
1838	135	42	20			19	19	^135/100	38	62
1839	98	42	30			30	19	98/121	49	72
1840	115	31	10*			24	24	^115/89	48	41
1841	110	20	14*			20	25	^110/79	45	34
1842	120	17	23			16	30	^120/86	46	40
1843	115	30	30			24	35	115/119	59	60
1844	119	54	31			28	32	119/145	60	85
1845	140	50	24*			23	26	^140/123	49	74
1846	149	56	18*			19	21	^149/114	40	74
1847	165	48	18*			25	18	^165/109	43	66
1848	147	48	22*			23	15	^147/108	38	70
1849	150	51	25*			27	16	^150/119	43	76
1850	136	46	19			27	13	^136/115	40	65
1851	150	52	23	5		33	12	^150/125	45	80
1852	133	50	22	14		31	12	^133/129	43	86
1853	120	52	14	11		37	11	120/125	48	77
1854	107	54	17		24	34	23	107/152	81	71
1855	109	52	19		37	32	28	109/168	97	71
1856	101	79	16		45	38	23	101/201	106	95
1857	110	81	13		36	38	25	110/193	99	94
1858	132	95	0		40	45	21	132/201	106	95
1859	185	129	NWTS		47	43	18	185/233	108	129
1860	180	140	13		53	62	36	180/304	151	153
1861	162	165	11		42	<b>67</b>	<b>39</b>	162/324	148	176
1862	170	158	11		11	<b>58</b>	<b>22</b>	170/260	91	169
1863	181	134	12		8	<b>29</b>	<b>4</b>	181/187	41	146
1864	186	114	14?		14	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	^186/152	24	128
1865	173	91	23		15	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	^173/135	21	114
1866	162	84	34?		6	<b>5</b>	<b>24</b>	^162/153	35	118
1867	135	73	38		0	<b>14</b>	<b>17</b>	135/152	31	111
1868	115	73	23		0	<b>23</b>	<b>24</b>	115/143	47	96
1869	105	74	30		12	<b>26</b>	<b>26</b>	105/168	64	104
1870	118	75	35		10	<b>32</b>	<b>35</b>	118/187	77	110

Sources: annual seminary reports to General Assembly, supplemented by seminary catalogs  
\*estimate due to lack of official report  
^14 of the 17 years between 1836-1852, and again from 1864-1866, PTS had more students than all other Old School seminaries combined. In 1861 WTS was briefly the largest Old School seminary.

**Figure A3.2. Annual Old School Seminary Attendance, 1836-1870**

#### APPENDIX 4: ACADEMIES AND COLLEGES

As told in chapter 4, the General Assembly of 1854 was the turning point for the parochial schools. Indeed, support for denominational education was stronger for academies and colleges than for parochial schools. While the consensus of the Assembly was still favorable towards denominational education, the zeal of the church was plainly turning away from schools towards presbyterial academies. Since parents could oversee the grammar school education of the young children, the need for Presbyterian schools was not felt as deeply as the need for academies for their teenagers.

Having been given general oversight of parochial education, the Board of Education provided regular encouragement to the project in its annual reports. In 1846 it warned that state schools could only provide a lowest common denominator morality—"the average of public morals or religion"—and therefore urged the church to follow in the footsteps of "Calvin, Knox, and Melville" who required presbyteries or sessions to examine and appoint schoolmasters.<sup>88</sup> Calling the Old School to imitate the Free Church of Scotland, Van Rensselaer urged the church to ensure that every Presbyterian family had access to a Presbyterian school. Likewise, in 1848, he pointed out that presbytery reports demonstrated that "religion is generally excluded from the [common] schools," and teachers were frequently incompetent. The need was especially

---

<sup>88</sup>Minutes (1846) 228.

great in the south and southwest.<sup>89</sup> Three years later he rejoiced to say that there were now 101 primary schools, 35 academies and eleven colleges.<sup>90</sup>

The geographical spread of these schools is significant, especially since it is often suggested that southern Presbyterians were opposed to church control over education. In

Synod	# of Presbyteries	# with Academies
Missouri	4	2
Kentucky	6	5
Virginia	6	4
North Carolina	3	3
South Carolina	4	2
Georgia	5	1 (plus three synodical female academies)
Alabama	3	2 (plus a synodical female seminary)
Nashville	4	2 (plus a synodical female college)
Memphis	4	3 (plus a synodical female institute)
Mississippi	6	4
Arkansas	3	1
Total	48	29

**Figure A4.1. Southern Support for Presbyterian Academies in 1860**

<sup>89</sup>Minutes (1848) 207.

<sup>90</sup>Minutes (1851) 167. The eleven colleges were Washington College in Tennessee, Centre College in Kentucky, Hanover College in Indiana, Oakland College in Mississippi, Lafayette College in Pennsylvania, Oglethorpe University in Georgia, Davidson College in North Carolina, McDonough College in Illinois, Des Moines College in Iowa, Carroll College in Wisconsin, and Austin College in Texas. In 1856 the number of grammar schools was about the same, but there were 58 academies and 18 colleges (plus four that were not directly under church control—Princeton, Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia, Washington College in Virginia, and Jefferson College in Pennsylvania). Minutes (1856) 550. The problem with the rapid multiplication of colleges was that few colleges had adequate libraries or endowments, and so many failed after only a few years. “Dr. Wood’s Visit to the West” Home and Foreign Record 9.12 (December 1858) 361. In 1859 a discussion in the True Witness regarding Oakland College reveals that there was little debate over the propriety of denominational education, and more focus on the best practical way to operate a college. M argued that while he approved of the requirement that all professors and directors should be Presbyterians, he thought that it would be sufficient that trustees be appointed by the Synod of Mississippi (the former policy of the college). If the college made “membership a requisite for trusteeship and you thereby cut one of the strands of sympathy that bind the college to the community in which it is located, a sympathy that has often sustained it when tottering, and has more than once replenished its exhausted treasury.” M, “Oakland College,” True Witness (Oct 8, 15, 1859). Observer replied that power and wealth alone could not run a college. Piety was also necessary. He argued that the old planter interest would hamper the college’s efforts to become more cosmopolitan. The new requirements would bring more of a town interest to power. (November 5, 1859). A Practical Observer pointed out that the planters were the reason why the college still existed. (November 12, 1859).

1848, during the first rush of enthusiasm for parochial schools, at least 39 schools had been founded. Of the twenty-one presbyteries involved, eight were in the South. More telling is the percentage of southern presbyteries that oversaw academies. Of the 46 presbyterial academies that existed in 1853, eighteen (39%) were in the south (and since only one-third of the membership of the Old School lived in the south, it had more than its share of denominational schools). Another eighteen were in the northwest.<sup>91</sup> By 1860 more than 60% of all southern presbyteries sponsored a Presbyterial academy.

The importance of these academies was widely acknowledged. While parochial schools could be difficult to finance due to the availability of free public education, academies drew wider support, both because few state schools offered secondary education, and also because parents were more concerned for the religious training of their teenage children.<sup>92</sup>

This concern extended to girls as well as to boys. For example, in 1839 Nathan Lewis Rice wrote “To the Presbyterian Ladies of Kentucky: An Appeal in behalf of Female Education,” urging the claims of systematic female education. Rice’s particular concern was for a normal school that could train women how to teach. He warned that Roman Catholics had started eight female schools and were teaching over 500 (mostly

---

<sup>91</sup>“Presbyterial Academies” Home and Foreign Record 4.9 (September 1853) 268. Since another one was in Oregon, that left only nine in the northeast, a region well-supplied with academies. The average number of pupils was 60-70, ranging from 24-200. The total number of students was nearly 3000. The largest were Geneseo Academy in New York, West Alexander Academy in western Pennsylvania, Greensboro Academy in Georgia, Marengo Academy in Illinois, and Waveland Academy in Indiana.

<sup>92</sup>Presbyterian of the West (Nov 15, 1855). Another reason for presbyterial oversight was in order to establish confidence in the community of the character and quality (not to mention permanence) of the school. The patronage of the presbytery provided oversight that could encourage parents to entrust their sons and daughters to a stranger. For evidence, simply read the advertisements in every issue of every Presbyterian newspaper.

Protestant) girls. He started the Bardstown Female Academy in 1834 in an attempt to counteract that influence, and placed it under the control of trustees appointed by the Louisville Presbytery. Calling upon the women of Kentucky to work to complete the school's endowment, he concluded: "This is the first effort in the State to place female education upon any thing like an equality with that of males. *Let the ladies see to it, that it shall not fail.*"<sup>93</sup> The desire for specifically Presbyterian schools for girls was due in part to the fact that women trained in Episcopal schools tended to migrate into the Episcopal church, and take their husbands with them. Graduates of Presbyterian female academies had a much stronger attachment to the Presbyterian church, and since women outnumbered men in the churches, the numerical growth of the church was dependent upon the success of its female academies.<sup>94</sup>

While most Old School Presbyterians were generally opposed to "promiscuous education," there were some significant exceptions. In 1847, Junius wrote that "A girl of good mind and studious habits, will stimulate a whole class of boys. They will be ashamed to be surpassed by her, and she will be correspondingly prompted to vigorous efforts to maintain her place with honour." Suggesting that girls could be just as rude as

---

<sup>93</sup>NLR, "To the Presbyterian Ladies of Kentucky: An Appeal in behalf of Female Education," Protestant & Herald 9.2 (Dec 12, 1839). Two weeks later, Rice reprinted an article from the Presbyterian Advocate of Pittsburgh, which insisted that there was no disparity in the minds of males and females. "Let the time come when your daughters as well as your sons shall prophesy in various ways, and make the world feel that they live in it, and not have their influence limited, as it generally is now (to speak figuratively) within a circle an inch in diameter." Mary, "On Female Education, from the Presbyterian Advocate," Protestant & Herald 9.4 (Dec 26, 1839). For a case study, see Florence Fleming Corley, "The Presbyterian Quest: Higher Education for Georgia Women," American Presbyterians 69:2 (Summer 1991) 83-96.

<sup>94</sup>Editorial, "Who Teaches Our Daughters," CP 1.37 (Sept 13, 1856) 146. The following week the editors called for a large Presbyterian female seminary in Richmond, and as if in response, Benjamin Gildersleeve, the former editor of the Richmond paper, declared his intent to do just that! The same argument was repeated in 5.40 (October 6, 1860).



boys, Junius played to the domestic ideology of his readers arguing that even if the girls were “always better than the boys, it is no advantage to bring them up in ignorance of the ruder and rougher nature of the male sex. . . . Besides this, promiscuous education is eminently calculated to give the female mind a vigor, a tact and independence, bordering pretty nearly on the same qualities in the opposite sex.” Junius argued that co-education could prove useful for both sexes.<sup>95</sup>

Others, though, feared that certain reforms in female education could lead to feminist conclusions.<sup>96</sup> For instance, allowing female students to read their own compositions to a mixed audience was fraught with peril. One author insisted that all good Presbyterian institutions, like Springfield Female Seminary in Ohio, had the principal read on behalf of the students. He expressed his astonishment at the idea that young ladies would “need not only to read their compositions on the stage, but be regularly tried in public declamation, and thus exhibit themselves at the examination before a large audience. It was very manifest that such education is an efficient auxiliary of the Bloomer school.”<sup>97</sup> But many disagreed. Two years later J. G. Monfort, editor of the Presbyterian of the West, noted that the commencement exercises at his own Glendale

---

<sup>95</sup>Junius, “Promiscuous Education,” Protestant and Herald 18.30 (April 19, 1847). A different perspective was offered a decade later in Virginia. “Reform in Female Education, from the Examiner,” CP 3.31 (July 31, 1858) 121. The author argued that female education should be founded upon a solid course of moral philosophy, along with English, natural philosophy, history, Biblical studies, rhetoric and grammar. But while complaining of the frippery of much female education, this author believed that “Mathematics are not fit for a girl. . . . The female mind, I have no doubt, is positively injured by such studies carried to any considerable extent.”

<sup>96</sup>One author chuckled at the notice that Oberlin College had constituted another set of “female bachelors,” finding the whole project ridiculous. Presbyterian of the West 1.2 (Oct 6, 1841).

<sup>97</sup>Presbyterian of the West (Aug 17, 1854).

Female College, as well as the Cincinnati Female Seminary, were performed by the girls themselves.<sup>98</sup> The same J. G. Monfort who promoted the Maine Laws as God's law also embraced an expanded role for women in public speaking.

The following lists include thirty-one Presbyterian colleges and 115 Presbyterian academies which were under the direct oversight of the church at one point in their history. These lists are followed by other colleges and academies with significant Presbyterian involvement.

Male and female academies were the foundation of the Presbyterian educational system. No complete study of these academies has ever been attempted, and the chart is hopelessly incomplete, but it provides a window into the world of the private and presbyterial academies of the antebellum era. There are two categories: 1) those directly under the oversight of a presbytery; 2) those either operated by a Presbyterian minister or advertised in Presbyterian newspapers. Naturally those states in close proximity to Presbyterian newspapers are likely to be better represented in this list. Dates in parentheses, e.g., (1850), refer to the earliest or latest date that the school was known to exist.

The college list is probably complete, but there are still gaps in the data regarding the colleges.<sup>99</sup>

---

<sup>98</sup>Presbyterian of the West 15.40 (June 26, 1856).

<sup>99</sup>See Howard Miller, The Revolutionary College: American Presbyterian Higher Education, 1707-1837 (New York: New York University Press, 1976); Donald G. Tewksbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932).

### Part 1. Old School Presbyterian Colleges

College	Location	Synod/Pby	Years	Attendance	Endowment	Presidents
Alexander C	Dubuque, IA	Syn Iowa	1852-	68/3 (1853); 108/? (1855)		Joshua Phelps
Aranama C	Goliad, TX	West Texas Pby	1853-	42 (1853); 40 (1859)		W. C. Blair (1859-?)
Austin C	Huntsville, TX	Brazos Pby	1849-	26 (1850)		Samuel McKinney (1852-53)
				100/39 (1855)	\$25,590 (1857)	Daniel Baker (1853-57)
						Rufus W. Bailey (1857-?)
Carroll C	Waukesha, WI	Wisconsin Pby	1846-	116/28 (1856)	\$50,000 (1857)	Amos Savage (1850-?)
				60 (1868)		W. L. Rankin (1868-)
Centre C	Danville, KY	Syn Kentucky	1819-present	72 (1829); 230/187 (1858)	\$85,000 (1855)	John C. Young (1830-1857)
City College	San Francisco	Syn California	1861-	50/0 (1860) 80/0 (1861)		George Burrowes (1859-)
City University	St. Louis, MO	St. Louis Pby	1859-186?			E. C. Wines (1859-)
Davidson C	Davidson, NC	Syn North Carolina	1838-present	100 (1851); 81 (1855)	\$100,000 (1854)	Samuel Williamson
Des Moines C	Des Moines, IA	Syn Iowa	1846-1853	75+ (1851) 40/? (1853)	\$40,000 (1851)	James C. Sharon (1853)
Hanover C	S. Hanover, IN	Syn Indiana	1827-present	230 (1835);		James Blythe (1832-36)
				91 (1843)		Erasmus D. MacMaster (1838-43)
	(Academy)					John F. Crowe (1844-1846)
	(College restored)					Sylvester Scovel (1846-1849)
				198 (1853)		Thomas E. Thomas (1849-1854)
					\$78,000 (1858)	Jonathan Edwards (1855-1857)
						James Wood (1859-1866)
						George D. Archibald (1868-1870)
						J. D. Paxton (1857-?)
Highland U	Highland, KS	Highland Pby	1857-	60 (1862)		
Jefferson C	Canonsburg, PA	Syn Pittsburgh	1802-1865	230 (1838); 253 (1855)		
Lafayette C	Easton, PA	Syn Phila	1850 1826-present	90 (1855); 106 (1858)	\$100,000 (1851)	D. V. McLean (1855)
						William C. Cattell (1869)
La Grange C	LaGrange, TN	Syn Memphis	1854-1861	170/109 (1859)	\$90,000 (1857)	John H. Gray (1857-1860)
						J. N. Waddell (1860-)
Louisville Pbn C	Louisville, KY	Louisville Pby		100 (1854)		
McDonough Acad/C,	Marengo, IL	Schuyler Pby	1836/1849-			James Stafford (1838-)
						R. Harris (1849-1851)
				100/7 (1853)		W. F. Ferguson (1852-1853)
				60 (1857)		Ithamar Pillsbury (1854-)

### Old School Presbyterian Colleges (continued)

College	Location	Synod/Pby	Years	Attendance	Endowment	Presidents
Madison U	Madison, IN	Syn Indiana (rejected)	1844	80 (1844)		Erasmus D. MacMaster (1844)
Oakland C	Oakland, MS	Pby/Syn Miss	1830-1861	112/56 (1844); 177/84 (1853) 113/78 (1855) 50/30 (1857); 100/50 (1859) 80 (1868)	\$80,000+ (1845) \$69,000 (1857)	Jeremiah Chamberlain (1830-1854) Robert L. Stanton (1854-1855) James Purviance 1856-1860 William L. Breckinridge (1860-61)
Oglethorpe U	Milledgeville, GA	Syn Georgia	1835-	91/43 (1850); 130/97 (1858)		
Otoe University	Nebraska City	Missouri R Pby	1868-	100/8 (1868)		S. Diefendorfer
Peoria U	Peoria, IL		1859			
Richmond C MO			1855-1858			Yantis (1855-1858)
Richmond C OH		Steubenville Pby	1850			Cyrus R. Riggs
Stewart C	Clarksville, TN	Syn Nashville	1855-1861	95/20 (1858) 120 (1861)	\$12,000	William M. Stewart (1855-1859) R. B. McMullin (1860-1861)
Tusculum C		Holston Pby	1844-1868	82 (1868)		Samuel W. Doak W. S. Doak
Washington C	Washington, PA	Syn Wheeling (1853)	1806-1865	191/120 (1845) 150 (1855) 101/82 (1859)	\$60,000 (1855)	David McConaughy
Washington & Jefferson C			1865-present	98 (1865); 150 (1868)		Jonathan Edwards (1866-)
Washington C Tenn		Holston & Knoxville Pbies		80/45 (1845)		A. Alexander Doak (1840-1850) E. T. Baird (1850- A. Alexander Doak (1852-)
Westminster C NY				100 (1853) 45/25 (1854)		
Westminster C	Fulton, MO	Syn Missouri	1853-present	114 (1854); 120/20 (1856) 154/66 (1859) 100 (1866) 200 (1869)	\$50,000 (1859) \$100,000 (1866)	Nathan L. Rice
U Wooster		Ohio Synods	1867-			

### Old School Presbyterian Colleges (continued)

College	Location	Synod/Pby	Years	Attendance	Endowment	Presidents
<b>Presbyterian Colleges for African Americans</b> (all under the northern General Assembly)						
Ashmun Inst		Newcastle Pby	1857-1865	26 (1863)		J. P. Carter (1857-
Lincoln U		Newcastle Pby	1865-	46 (1866)	\$80,000 (1867)	
Biddle Memorial Inst (NC)		Catawba Pby		34 (1868); 80 (1870)		
Wallingford Acad	Charleston SC			300 (1870)		
Freedmen's U	Kansas			170 (1869)		Rev. Eben Blachly MD

### Presbyterian Colleges under private control

Hampden-Sydney C	VA		1783-present	123/106 (1854)	\$60,000 (1851)	
C of New Jersey	Princeton, NJ	(Princeton)	1746-present	245 (1855); 272 (1865)		
Washington C	Lexington, VA	(W&LU)	1782-present	50/6 (1852-53)		George Junkin (1848-1861)
				73 (1861)		
				395/140 (1868)	\$145,000 (1868)	Robert E. Lee
Union C	Schenectady, NY		1795-present	227 (1854); 375 (1857)	\$610,000 (1854)	Eliphalet Nott

### State and Private Colleges with significant Presbyterian influence

College	Location	Pbn Influence	Years	Enrollment	Endowment	Presbyterian Presidents
Miami U	Oxford, OH	1824-1902	1824-present	164 (1841)		Robert Bishop 1824-1841
				131 (1843)		George Junkin (1841-1844)
				138 (1846)		Erasmus D. MacMaster (1844-49)
				91/55 (1850); 142/69 (1851)		William C. Anderson (1849-1855)
				247/148(1856); 225/127(1858)		J. W. Hall
				125 (1863)		Robert L. Stanton (1866-1871)
Ohio U				111/62 (1843)		William McGuffey
U Nashville (U Tenn)			1794-present	220 (1854)	\$140,000 (1850)	Lindsley (1824-1850)
South Carolina C	Columbia, SC		1805-present	200 (1856)		James H. Thornwell (1852-1855)
U Mississippi		(1844-1850)	1844-present			John N. Waddel (Chancellor)
U Georgia			1785-present			
U North Carolina			1789-present			
Western U of PA			1819-			

## Part 2. Academies of the Presbyterian Church

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals	Oversight	Attendance (if known)
Geneseo Acad, NY (m/f)	1826	(1860) <sup>100</sup>	Rev. Charles Ray (1859)	Syn Buffalo	271 (1849); 220 (1851); 345 (1853); 436 (1855)
Windsor Acad, NY	1850s	(1860)		Pby Albany	
Bethany Acad, NY	1849*	(1860)		Pby Buffalo City	
Raymond Inst, Carmel, NY	?	?		Syn NY/Pby Bedford	(1859 purchased)
Blairstown Acad, NJ	1849*	(1860)		Pby Newton	
Newton Collegiate Inst, NJ	1850s	(1860)		Pby Newton	
West Jersey Acad, Bridgeton NJ	1850s	(1860)		Pby West Jersey	
Collegiate Sch, Mt Holly NJ			Rev. Samuel Miller (1853-54)	Pby West Jersey	50 (1853)
Luzerne Pbial Inst, Wyoming, PA	1849*	(1860)	Rev. P. E. Stevenson (1855-56)	Pby Luzerne	
Wilkesbarre Female Inst, PA	?	?		Pby Luzerne	
Friendsville, PA	1849*	1850s		Pby Susquehanna	
Susquehanna Collegiate I, Towanda PA	1850s	(1860)		Pby Susquehanna	
Owen Creek, PA	1849*	1850s		Pby Blairsville	
Elder's Ridge Pbn Acad, PA (m/f by 1862)	1849*	(1868)	Rev. Alexander Donaldson (1853-68)	Pby Blairsville	84 (1860)
Dunlap's Creek Acad, Merrittstown PA	1849	(1866)	Samuel Wilson (1849-51)	Pby Redstone	
			James Black (1851-)		65 (1853)
			D. Harvey Sloan (1862-66)		
Parochial Seminary, Dunlap Creek PA	1849		Miss Slader	Pby Redstone	
Witherspoon Inst, Butler, PA	1849*	(1863)	Rev. Loyal Young (1850-)	Pby Allegheny	
			Rev. J. S. Boyd (1862-63)		
			Rev. William J. Brugh (1867-68)		
West Alexander Acad, PA (m/f)	1840		Rev. Dr. John M'Clusky (1840-)	Pby Washington	took over in 1850 64m/36f(1850)
Laurel Hill Church Parochial Acad PA	(1853)		Mr L. B. Williams (1853-54)	Laurel Hill Session	
Newtown Fem Acad & Parochial Sch PA	(1852)		Robert D. Morris (1852-)	Pby Philadelphia 2d	(formerly the Bucks Co Acad)
Attleboro' Boarding Sch (Pbn Inst) PA	(1852)		Revs. Henry R. Wilson DD & James Scott	Pby Philadelphia 2d	
Presbyterian Collegiate Inst Philadelphia PA		1850?	Lyman Coleman	?	(7th Presbyterian church session in 1853)

<sup>100</sup>Numbers in parentheses, e.g., (1850) mean that this is the first or last notice of the school found by this author. The school may have begun earlier, or continued later. Asterisks (\*) indicate that a presbytery or session adopted a previously existing school on this date.

## Part 2. Academies of the Presbyterian Church (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals	Oversight	Attendance (if known)
Leechburg Institute, PA (m/f) aka Presbyterian Academy PA	(1862)	(1868)	T. A. M'Curdy & Miss M. H. Foley J. G. D. Findley & Mrs Isabella J. Wylie (1865-66) J. G. D. Findley (1866-67) W. J. Bollman (1868-)	Pby ?	
English & Classical Sch, Cincinnati OH	(1841)	(1848)	Charles Elliott (1844?-)	5 <sup>th</sup> Pbn Cincinnati Session	
Granville Presbyterian Female Acad, OH	1834	(1865)	Rev. W. D. Moore (+1845-51+)	Session?	146 (1852)
Poland Presbyterial Academy OH (m/f) (f)	1849		Rev. Jacob Coon (1850-) James H. Stokes (1852-)	Pbies Beaver & New Lisbon 72m/65f (1851) 92 (1852)	[merged into. . .
Poland Union Sem OH (m/f)	1864		Rev. Algernon Sydney MacMaster (1864-)	(with concurrence of 5-6 denominations)	
Mt Pleasant Academy Kingston OH (m/f)	1848	(1852)	Rev. James A. Stirrat (1848-52-) Rev. Milton A. Sackett 1852-	Pby Columbus (previously under Mt Pleasant Session)	
Vermillion Inst, Haysville, OH (m/f)	1849*	(1868)	Rev. Sanders Diefendorf (1859-67)	Pbies Coshocton, Richland & Wooster 135m/97f (1859) <sup>101</sup> 220m 110f (1862)	12 teachers; 303m/150f (1867)
Miller Acad, Washington OH	1849	(1863)	John Simpson (1867-68+) Rev. S. Mahaffey (1849-51) Rev. James Anderson (1851-52) Rev. John E. Alexander (1853-63+)	Rev. Thomas K. Davis (prof) (1867-68) Pby Zanesville	
Miami Acad, Monroe OH (m/f) also called Monroe Acad	1849*	(1866)	Rev. N. Bishop (m) & John R. Kingery (f) (1852-53) Rev Noah Bishop (1853-54) & Rev. John C. King (1853-54) Prof. O. M. Sturgus (1854-57) Thomas Wallace (1858-60) Prof Caton (1860-61) Rev. Edward Cooper (1861-) Rev. William G. White (1865-)	Pby Miami (from Indiana) (former prof at Hanover C for 12 years) (former Prin of Ft Wayne HS) (driven from TN due to loyalties)	45m/22f (1852) 52m/13f (1857)
Delaware Female College, OH	1853		Rev. D. McCarter (1854-55) (long a tea in PA) Rev. Alex Miller (1857-58) Rev. C. H. Perkins	Pby Marion (founded by Meths; transferred 1853)	

<sup>101</sup>1860-Richland & Wooster; taken under Synod Ohio in 1864; returned to Richland & Wooster by 1866)

## Part 2. Academies of the Presbyterian Church (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals	Oversight	Attendance (if known)
Oxford Female Acad, OH	1838	?	Miss George & Mrs Welch (reorganized 1838-? Disbanded)		
Oxford Female Inst, OH	1849		Dr. John Witherspoon Scott (1849-54)	139 (1850); 172 (1853)	
Oxford Female College, OH	1854	1867	Rev. J. W. Scott (1854-59+)	Syn Cincinnati (1854) <sup>102</sup>	
			Rev. Robert D. Morris (1862-68)	144 (1865) (united with OxFemInst of UPC-1867)	
Springfield OH (f)	1849*			Pby Miami	[could be Springfield Female Seminary]
Presbyterian Female Inst, Cincinnati OH	1848		Prof Wm Dod and Rev Jon Edwards (1848-)		Pby or Session (with a primary school)
Rossville Pbl Acad, OH	1847		Charles Matthews (1847-)	Pby Oxford	
Salem Acad, OH (m/f)	1842	(1866)	Rev. James A. I. Lowes (1842? 54-66)	Pby Chilcothe (adopted 1859)	50m/38f (1858)
Pestalozzian Female Inst, Charlestown IN	1839*	1840		Charlestown Session (became Charlestown Fem Sem)	
Charlestown Fem Sem/Acad, IN	1840	(1860)	Rev. William Orr (1840-)	Charlestown Session	
			Rev. George Reed & Lady (1848-51)	Pby Salem (1848)	(1848--36; 1851--80; 1854--80)
			J. W. Lindly (1855-59+)	New Albany Pby (1849)	(1856--80) [from Richmond OH]
Hanover Presbyterial Fem Sem, IN (1847)	(1849)	George A. Irvin/Irwin (1847-48)	Pby Madison		(Also has a primary school)
Waveland Pbial Acad, IN (m/f)	1848*	(1860)	Rev. L. F. Leake (1851*-52)	Pby Crawfordsville [full operation in 1851]	
			J. M. Coyner (1852-)		77m/57f (1853)
			H. S. Kritz & J. M. Coyner (+1855-58+) & Mrs. B. B. Bennet (1858-61)		71m/34f (1859)
Collegiate Inst			Rev. D. S. Colmery (1861-)		
			H. S. Kritz (1865-)		97m/74f (1866)
Lebanon Presbyterial Acad, Boone Co IN	1861		J. M. Coyner (1861-65+)	Pby ?	
Whitewater Acad, Dunlapville, IN (m/f)	1853	(1858)	Rev. L. D. Potter 1853-55	Pby Whitewater (D. D. McKee Pres of Board, 1855)	
			Rev. Russel B. Abbott (1855-?)	(Teacher in New Castle HS for 5 yrs)	
			Rev. E. McKinney (1857-)	132 (1858)	
Centreville Collegiate Inst, IN	1865		J. M. Coyner (1865-)	(formerly Whitewater College)	
Greensburg Female Acad, IN	(1853)	?	Rev. J. G. Monfort & Miss Mary E. Parsons (1853-)	Pby White Water	119 (1854)
North Salem Parochial Acad IN (m/f)	1852	?	Rev. J. C. Barr (1852)	North Salem Session	68 (1852)
			Rev. R. Conover (1852)		

<sup>102</sup>grew out of Dr Scott's and Rev H. Maltby's Fem Acad in 1854 (30 OS churches within 30 miles of Oxford) 1854--directors include: Hon Walter Lowrie, James Blake Esq of Indy; Rev. Willis Lord and S. R. Wilson of Cincy; P. G. Durley of Dayton; C. Falconer MD of Hamilton; Samuel Galloway Esq of Columbus; Hon Thomaas Ewing of Findley OH). Opened in 1856; merged with the Oxford Female Institute in 1867



## Part 2. Academies of the Presbyterian Church (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals	Oversight	Attendance (if known)
Edgar Acad, Paris IL (m/f)	1847*	(1860)	H. J. Venable (1847-49)	Pby Palestine	
Marengo Collegiate Inst, IL (m/f)	(1854)	(1860)			85m/117f(1854)
			Rev. G. F. Goodhue (1857-58)	Pby Chicago (reopened, 1857)	80 (1858)
			Revs. G. F. Goodhue & J. M. Jamison (1858-59)		80 (1859)
Dixon Collegiate Inst, IL	1850s	(1860)	Rev. W. W. Harsha Pres (1855-)	Pby Rock River	98m/99f-1856
Nashville Acad, IL	1850s	(1860)	Alfred N. Denny (1855-)	Pby Kaskaskia	
Mercer Collegiate Inst, IL	1850s	(1860)		Pby Schuyler	
Brunswick Parochial Acad, IL (m/f)	(1853)	(1854)	Rev. D. F. McFarland (1853-54)	Brunswick Session	48m/26f(1854)
Onarga Inst, Iroquois Co IL (m/f)	1865		Rev. A. G. Wilson (1865-67+)	Onarga Session with Pby Bloomington having oversight)	
Parochial School at St Anne, IL	(1866)		Rev. Lippert & Mr T. H. McBride	60-70 French children (1867)	
Epworth Fem Sem, Dubuque Co IA	(1866)		Rev. S. Jewett & daughters (pre-1866-)	Pby Dubuque from 1866	
Lenox Collegiate Inst, Hopkinton IA (m/f)	(1864)		Rev. Samuel Hodge (1864-67+)	Synod Iowa	95 m/f(1865); 70 m/f(1867)
Presbyterial Inst, Stillwater MN	1850s	(1860)		Pby St Paul	
Geneva Pbial Acad, KS	1850s	(1868)	Rev. S. M. Irwin (1867-68)	Pby ?	59 (1868)
Van Rensselaer Acad, Hannibal MO (m/f)	1854	(1860)	Rev. J. P. Finley & Thos. J. Priest (1854-56)	Pby Palmyra (temporarily closed in 1856-57)	
			William E. Locke (1857-)	60 (1858) (formerly prin of Lancaster Fem Sem PA)	
Des Peres Inst, St Louis MO	1846	(1860)	Revs. J.N. Galbreath & J.P. Fenton (1854-55)	Pby St. Louis	73 (1857)
			Rev. John Lyon (?1857-1858)		50 (1858) [renamed]
Scientific & Military Inst, Kirkwood MO	1858	1861	Rev. Elias S. Schenck (1858-61)	Pby St. Louis	53 (1859) [Loses Pby support in 1860]
Des Peres Inst, near Kirkwood MO	1860		Rev. J. N. Gilbreath	Pby St Louis (rejects Military Inst and restarts Des Peres)	
Washington Pbn Acad St. Louis MO	1855		Mr Julius Spencer & Rev. John F. Cowan	(pby X) (2d Pbn StL?)	
Lindenwood Fem Sch, St Charles MO	1855		Rev. & Mrs. Wm L. McCalla (1855-56)	Pby St Louis	
			Rev. R. C. Galbraith (1856-57)		
College	1857	(1861)	Rev. A. V. C. Schenck (1857-61+)	Pby St Louis	80 (1859)
	1866		Prof French Strother (1866-)		(formerly of Glasgow FemSem)
High School of City U St. Louis MO	1856		Thomas D. Baird and Wm Logan Baird (1856-)	(StL sessions)	(HRGamble Pres BdTrust)
St Louis Female Seminary MO	1854	(1868)	L. A. [N?] Bonham (1854-68+)	(either Pby StL or a session in 1861) (19 <sup>th</sup> session in 1867)	
Elizabeth Aull Sem, Lexington MO		1860	Rev. L. G. Barbour (1860-)	Lexington Session	(LGB from KY)
			Anthony Haynes (1867-)	(Rev. Quarles, pastor)	

## Part 2. Academies of the Presbyterian Church (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals	Oversight	Attendance (if known)
Bardstown Collegiate Inst, KY (m) 1839*	1850s		Rev. S. S. McRoberts (1830s)		
			Rev. S. S. Templeton (1839-40+)		
			Nathan F. Tuck (1845-)		Pby Louisville (1840s)
Bardstown Female Acad, KY	1834	(1859)	Rev. N. L. Rice (1834-37)		Pby Louisville <sup>103</sup>
			Rev. S. S. McRoberts (1837-40)		
			Mr. & Mrs. O. N. Stoddard (1841-) (1845-30-40) [major debt]		
			Nathan F. Tuck (1845-) (1847--50)		
			Rev. & Mrs. J. V. Cosby (1848-59+)		
Presbyterian Female C, Louisville KY	1854	(1859)	Prof. S. R. Williams (1854-59)	Pby Louisville	100-1854 [\$20,000 subscribed in 1854]
			Mr. Barton (1859)		
Columbia Acad, KY (m/f)		1850s	(1860) Rev. George J. Read (18??-65)		Pby Transylvania
			Mr. W. H. Stuart (1865-66?)		
Greenville Acad, KY	1851	(1860)		Pby Muhlenburg	
Paducah Pbial Acad, Salem KY	1850s	(1860)	Rev. F. Senour (1854)	Pby Paducah Pby	
Sayre Fem Inst, Lexington KY	1854		Rev. HVD Nevius (1856-)	2d Pbn Session	(Full collegiate charter-1858)
			Prof. S. R. Williams (1859-68+)		(140-1863-64; 126-1864-65)
Presbyterial Acad, Logansport KY	(1850s)	(1867)	Rev. Dr. Matthews (1867-) (of Danville)		for sale--Jan 1867 (300 pupils in attendance annually)
Middlebrook VA	1849*			Pby Lexington	
Halifax CH VA	1849*			Pby West Hanover	
Montgomery Acad, Christiansburg VA	1849*	(1860)		Pby Montgomery	
Christiansburg Female Acad, VA	?	(1860)	Rev. Morrison	Pby Montgomery	
Presbyterial HS, Union VA (m/f)	1860	(1861)		Pby Greenbrier	
South-Side Female Inst, Danville VA	1859			Danville Session	
Caldwell Inst Hillsboro' NC	?	1850		Pby Orange	
Donaldson Acad, Fayetteville NC	1849*			Pby Fayetteville	
Fayetteville Female HS, NC	?	?		Pby Fayetteville	
Concord Pbial Female C, Statesville NC	(1865)	(1867)	J. M. M. Caldwell (1867)	Pby Concord	

<sup>103</sup>Board includes N. L. Rice, C. A. Wickliffe, and H. H. Hopkins in 1839. (Seems to be private by 1860)

## Part 2. Academies of the Presbyterian Church (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals	Oversight	Attendance (if known)
Greenwood Pbn Acad SC (m)	1849*	(1860s)		Pby South Carolina	
Greenwood SC (f)	1849*	1850s		Pby South Carolina	
Laurens Female C, Laurens C. H. SC	1850s	(1860s)		Pby South Carolina	
Yorkville Pbial Acad, SC	1850s	(1860)		Pby Bethel	
Yorkville Fem C, SC	?	(1860)		Pby Bethel and 1st Pby ARS	
Greensboro' Female College, GA	?	(1860)		Syn Georgia	
Synodical Female C, Griffin, GA	?	(1860)		Syn Georgia	
Rome Female College, GA	?	(1860)		Syn Georgia	
Florence Synodical Female College, AL	?	(1866)	Rev. W. H. Mitchell DD (-1858) Rev. W. D. Jones DD (1858-)	Syn Nashville (Syn Memphis, 1866) [WHM “for years”]	
East Alabama Presbyterial HS Lafayette AL	1849*	(1855)	(looking for a principal–1854)	Pby East Alabama	
Mobile Presbyterial Female Acad, AL	1848	(1860)		Pby South Alabama	
Presbyterian Female Inst, Talladega AL	1850	(1860)	Rev. Robert S. Finley (1850-60+)	Syn Alabama	
Pontotoc Female Collegiate Inst, MS	1853	(1861)	Mr Alexander H. Conkey, (1853-61+)	Pbies Chickasaw& North Mississippi (1857)	
Zion Seminary Tipton Co. MS	1849*	(1860)		Pby Mississippi	
Fayette Female Acad, Rodney, MS	1827	(1860)	Mr. & Mrs. S. Tenney (1858-60+)	Pby Mississippi (1857)	
Silliman Female Inst, Clinton, LA			Rev. Henry McDonald (1856-57) Rev. Hillery Mosely (1857-58) (McDonald’s bro-in-law) Rev. T. Dobyns Lea (1858-59)	Pby Louisiana (non-denominational transferred to La Pby)	
Plaquemine Female Sem, LA	(1857)	(1861)	Rev. C. G. Selleck (1857-61+)	Pby Louisiana	
Knoxville TN	1849*	1850s		Pby Knoxville	
Campbell's Station Acad, TN	1850s	(1860)		Pby Knoxville	
Mount Carmel TN	1849*			Pby Western District	
Shiloh Acad, Gibson Co., TN	1849*	(1860)		Pby Western District	
Denmark Female College, TN	1852?	(1860)	Prof Lewis (1852-54+) Newton Boles (-1858-59-)	Pby Western District	
Hernando Fem Inst, TN (Syn Memphis)	1853		Rev. Samuel McKinney DD 1853-	Synod Memphis	
Mountain Acad, Tipton Co, TN	1850s	(1860)		Pby Memphis	
Zion Fem Acad Maury Co TN	1856		Mrs. Wm P. Martin	Columbia Session	
Batesville Acad, AR	1850s	(1860)		Pby Arkansa	
Church Hill Acad, TX	1850s	(1860)		Pby East Texas	

## Part 2. Academies of the Presbyterian Church (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals	Oversight	Attendance (if known)
Rio Grande Female I, Brownsville TX	?	?		Pby West Texas	
Knox Hill Academy, FL	1850s	(1860)		Pby Florida	
Lafayette Acad, Willamette Valley, OR	1850s	(1860)		Pby Oregon	
San Francisco Acad, CA	1859	1861	Revs. G. Burrowes & A. Williams	Syn Pacific	34/127 total in 1860 (became City College in 1861) detached from Synod in 1862 to become an independent Pbn college
Female Seminary, San Francisco CA	1861		Rev. and Mrs Charles Russell Clarke	(1861-) Calvary Session	

### Part 3. Other Academies advertised in Presbyterian papers, or operated by Presbyterian ministers

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
Sing Sing Fem Sem, NY	1850s?		Rev. S. N. Howell (1859-60) 55 (1860)
Princetown Acad, Schenectady Co NY	(1854)		Rev. Samuel N. Howell & Rev. David Tully (1854-) (near Princeton Pbn Ch)
Packer Collegiate I, Brooklyn Heights NY(f)	(1859)	(1860)	Collegiate 130; Acad 402; Prep 172: total 704 (1860)
Military School, Sing Sing NY	(1865)		M. C. Tracy (1865)
College Hill Military Sch, Poughkeepsie NY	(1865)		Otis Bisbee (1865)
Lawrenceville Class & Com Bd Sch NJ	1810	(1861)	Rev. Isaac V. Brown 1810-33 Rev. A. H. Phillips (-1837) Rev Hugh and Samuel H. Hamill (1837-61) J. F. & Mrs Halsey (1837-)
Female Boarding Sch, Perth Amboy NJ	(1837)		
Lawrenceville HS, Lawrenceville NJ			
Lawrenceville Female Sem, NJ	(1838)	(1853)	Mrs. Jane D. Porter (1838-) C. W. Nassau (1853-)
Westfield Inst NJ (m)	(1837)		Peter P. Good (1837-) (limited to 20 students)
Edgehill School , Princeton NJ	1829		John S. Hart (1829-) (Sons of Clay, Southard, Biddle, Miller, and Hodge attend) Rev Thomas W. Cattell (1853-65) Rev. James I Helm (1855-56) Revs. T. W. Cattell & James P. Hughes (-1865) Revs. T. W. Cattell & A. D. White (1865-)
Bordentown Inst NJ	1838	(1865)	Rev. B. R. Hall (14 years at Bedford Acad & Indiana C) (1838-) [had been temporarily closed] Rev. Brakeley 238 (1865)
Woodbury School, NJ	1838		S. D. Blythe (1838-) (\$100/term--all live with Blythe)
Mount Holly Sem NJ	1834		J. & C. Plotts (1834-39+)
Paterson Boarding & Day Sch, NJ	1838		Rev. John Anderson (late p of Canal St ch) (1838-)
Trenton Fem Sem, NJ	1838		Mrs. E. Nottingham & Dr. F. A. Ewing (1838-)
Burlington Inst NJ	1837		James Hamilton (1837-) (All teachers are Presbyterian)
New London Acad, DE	(1835)	(1856)	(successor to the old Synodical School of 1744--started by F Allison in 1741) James B. McDowell (1852-56)
Bethel Acad, Harford Co MD	1842		Rev. Andrew B. Cross(1842-) (at Bethel Church)
West Nottingham Acad, MD	(1852)	(1853)	Rev James Magraw DD (?-1852) Rev. A. A. Hodge (1852-53)
Southern Home School , Baltimore MD (f)	1865		Mrs. Gen. John Pegram (1865-66)

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
Academy, Philadelphia PA	1821	1838	J. H. Brown (1821-38) (member of Southwark Pbn)
Abington Female Sem, PA	1834		Rev. Robert Steel (1834-38)
Mount Joy Inst, Lancaster Co PA	1838		J. H. Brown (1838-)
Acad			E. L. Moore (1852-)
Young Ladies Lyceum Inst, Cedar Hill PA	(1837)		N. Dodge (1837-)
Philomathean Inst Philadelphia PA (f)	1837		J. H. Agnew (former prof at Newark C) (1837-)
Curran's Acad, Philadelphia PA	1831		W. Curran (1831-39+)
Classical & Mathematical Inst, Philadelphia	1838		Samuel Jones (1838-) (college or West Point or Navy)
Classical Inst, Philadelphia PA	(1838)		Joseph P. Engles (1838-)
Montgomery Square Boarding School, PA	1838		Rev. Charles W. Nassau (1838-)
Family Boarding Sch PA (m)	(1838)		Silas M. Andrews (1838-) (12 boys)
Blair Hall, Chester Co PA	(1852)		Alfred Hamilton (1852-)
Milnwood Academy, Huntingdon Co PA	(1852)	(1856)	J. H. W. McGinnes (1852-)
Shade Gap PA			W. H. Woods (1855-)
Sherleysburg Female Sem (Hunt. Co) PA	(1852)		Rev. J. Campbell & Mrs Laura R. Campbell (1852-)
Fairview Female Sem, Centre Co PA	(1852)		Rev. S. M. Cooper (1852-)
Oakland Female Inst, Norristown PA	(1852)	(1866)	J. Grier Ralston (1852-66)
Tuscarora Academy, Juniata Co PA (m)	1836	(1868)	David Wilson (?-1852) (many years)
			Revs. W. S. Garthwait & George W. Thompson (1852-)
			J. A. Blauvelt (1853-54) (has taught for 23 yrs)
			J. H. Shumaker (1855-68+)
Tuscarora Female Seminary, PA	(1865)	(1868)	Carl F. Kolbe (1865-)
			J. Walker Patterson (1867-68)
Central Academy, Juniata Co PA	(1852)		David Wilson (1852-) (former prin of Tuscarora Acad)
Birmingham Female Seminary, PA	(1852)	(1856)	Revs. Israel W. Ward & Thomas Ward (1852-)
			Rev. J. W. Ward (1855-)
Mountain Female Seminary	1858		L. G. Grier (1858-68)
Mountain Academy, Birmingham PA (m)	1853		Rev. Thomas Ward (1853-)
Fletcher High School PA	(1852)		Rev. W. C. Hollyday (1852-)
Chestnut St Fem Sem, Philadelphia PA	(1856)		Mary L Bonney & Harrietta A Dillaye
Oxford Female Seminary, Chester Co. PA	(1852)	(1859)	Revs. John M. Dickey & Samuel Dickey (1852-) 90 (1856)

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals	
Young Ladies Seminary, Lycoming Co PA	(1852)		Rev. John Smalley (1852-)	
West Branch HS Jersey Shore PA	(1852)		Alexander H. Lackey & Miss Elizabeth H. Thompson (1852-)	
Lafayette Classical Academy, Easton PA	(1852)		W. H. Woods & A. M. Woods (1852-)	
Lancaster Young Ladies Institute, PA	1853		William E. Locke (1853-)	
Chesnut Hill Academy, PA	1850	(1854)	R. & J. T. Owen (1850-)	
Classical and Literary HS, Newville PA	1853		Robert McCachren & H. Linn (1853-)	
Opheleton Female Seminary, Easton PA	(1853)	(1856)	E. Dean Dow (1853-) 156 (1854)	
Coatesville Boarding School, PA	1853		Rev. A. G. Morrison & William B. Morrison (1853-56)	46 (1856)
			Zadoc C. Cochran (1856-)	
Shirleysburg Female Seminary, PA	(1853)	(1856)	(for sale, 1853) 25-30 stu (near Shirleysburgh Acad)	
			J. B. Kidder (1854-)	
Juniata Academy, Shirleysburg PA	(1855)		Rev. G. W. Shaiffer (1855-)	
Media Classical Institute, PA	(1855)		Rev. J. M. Gayley (1855-)	
Central Institute--Eng & Class, Philadelphia	(1855)		H. G. McGuire (1855-)	
English & Classical Academy, Philadelphia	(1855)		W. M. Rice (1855-)	
Beverly Institute, PA	(1855)		Rev. M. L. Hofford (1855)	
Roseland Female Inst, Hartsville PA	1850		Rev. Jacob Belville (1850-)	
Amherst Female Seminary, Chestnut Hill PA	(1855)		John. F. Houston (1855-)	
Dayton Union Academy, PA	(1855)		Milton B. Goff (1855-)	
Cross Creek Academy	(1855)		Thomas C. M. Stockton (1855-)	
New Brighton Female Seminary, PA	(1853)	(1856)	Rev. J. Davis & Miss N. Hemphill (late tea in Olome Inst) (1853-54)	90 (1854)
Normal Seminary, PA			Rev. J. Davis & R. Curry (1855-)	
Fairview Female Seminary, Jacksonville PA	(1855)		Miss Vienna Hakes (1855-)	
Parkesburg Acad PA	1862		Prof J. B. Patton (D. X. Junkin ref) (1862-)	
School for Physical and Mental Edu Phila (m/f)	1862		Wm. M. Harnell & Miss Marion A. Slocum (late of the Harrisburg Fem Sem) (1862-)	
Saunders Inst, Philadelphia PA	1852		Prof E. D. Saunders & Cortland Saunders (1852-62+)	
Dr McCluskey's Fem Sem, Philadelphia	(1862)		Dr McCluskey (1862-)	
Bethel Academy, PA	1834	(1866)	George Marshall (1834-)	
	m/f		J. B. Stilley (1858-59) Rev. George Marshall DD (Pres) (1864-66+)	
Fayette Seminary, Uniontown PA (m/f)	1837		Samuel Wilson (1837-) (transfers male department to others in 1839)	
Uniontown Female Seminary, PA	1850		Rev. William Lyon (1850-)	

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals	
Florence Academy, PA	(1838)	(1849)	R. Fulton (1838-39) Joseph Sheets (1839-) Rev. M. Ryerson (1848-)	(Rev. J. Sloan teaches Eng & Math)  (Dr J. Cunningham--Pres of Trustees)
Beaver Academy, PA (m/f)	(1838)	(1868)	Lemuel G. Olmstead (1838-39) W. Y. Brown (1851-) Mr S. B. Mercer (1859-60) M. Gantz (1865-66)	(James Allison, Pres of Trustees)  144 (1860)
Beaver Female Seminary, PA	(1859)		Rev. J. A. M'Gill (1859-62) S. B. Mercer (1862-63) R. T. Taylor (1867-68)	100 (1860) [connected to Beaver Acad]
& Musical Inst Sewickly Acad (Class & Commercial) PA	(1838)		William M Nevin & John B. Champ (1838-) Rev. Joseph S. Travelli (1848-)	(\$75 for tuition & bd)
Frankfort Academy, PA	1838	(1841)	Rev. James Sloan (1838-)	
Hemans Inst, Allegheny PA (f) Lawrenceville PA	1839	(1843)	Mr & Mrs Leech (1839-42) Misses Leech (1842-43)	
Brighton Inst PA (m)	1839	(1841)	Lemuel G. Olmstead (1839-)	(formerly prin of Beaver Acad)
West Liberty Classical Acad, PA	1839	(1844)	Rev Shotwell (1839-)	
West Liberty Female Sem PA	1839	(1844)	Mrs A. M. Shotwell (1839-)	
West Liberty Academy, PA (m/f) aka, Acad & Normal Sch	(1865)		Rev. J. A. Brown (1865-68)	
Mt Pleasant Boarding Sch, PA	1840	(1844)	John Moore (1840-)	
Edgeworth Ladies' Sem, Sewickly PA	1840	(1863)	D. E. Nevin (1848-) Rev. H. R. Wilson DD (1858-59) Rev. A. Williams DD (1862-63)	
North Sewickley Academy PA (m/f)	(1853)	(1859)	Rev. James S. Henderson & Miss J. Kiddoo (1853-54) Rev. Henry Webber (1858-59)	
Sewickley Academy PA (m)	(1858)		Rev. J. S. Travelli (1858-59)	
East Liberty Academy, PA	(1848)		James H. Smith (1848-)	
Ligonier Female Seminary PA	(1848)		A. B. Clark (1848-)	
Zelienople Select School, PA	(1848)		Rev. L. F. Leake (1848-1850)	(to Pbn Acad Waveland IN)



### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
Canonsburgh Female Seminary, PA aka Olome Institute	(1848)	(1850)	Mrs. Olivia J. French & Prof S. R. Williams of Jeff C (1848-50) Mrs. Olivia J. French (1850-) Mrs D. E. Kean (1862-3)
Rosedale Academy, PA	(1848)		W. H. Wakeham (1848-)
Portora Institute, Allegheny PA	(1848)		W. Copland (1848-)
Greene Academy, Carmichael PA	1849		George W. Miller (1849-)
West Newton Academy, PA	1849		R. Curry (1849-)
Freeport Academy, PA	1850		M. Ryerson (1850-)
Hookstown High School, PA (m/f)	1850		S. H. Jeffrey (1850-)
Blairsville Female Seminary, PA	1850	(1854)	Rev. George Hill (1851-52) Rev. & Mrs. Samuel H. Shepley (from Steubenville) (1852-63) Rev. James R. Hughes (-1867) Rev. J. Jewett Parks 1867-
Pittsburgh & Allegheny Sem PA (m)	1836	(1844)	Rev. Nathaniel Todd (1836-)
Prospect Female Seminary, Pittsburgh PA	(1838)	(1841)	S. C. Jennings (1838-)
Allegheny Female Sem PA	(1838)		Mr & Mrs Leech (1838-39) (boarding 5 mo \$90; tutition \$15-18) E & M Johnston (1839-)
Young Ladies' Sem, Allegheny PA	1838		Misss E. W. Logan (1838-) (meets in 1st Pbn basement)
English & Classical Acad Pittsburgh (m/f)	1848		L. Caton (1848-) (meets in 3d Pbn ch) 105 (1850)
Young Ladies' Literary Inst, Pittsburgh PA	1849		Mrs P. Davis & daughter (1849-) (late of Louisville Fem Sem KY)
Allegheny Institute, PA	1849	(1854)	L. Bradley (1849-)
Eng, Classical & Math Sch, Pittsburgh aka The Spartan School	1849	(1851)	J. M. Smith (1849-)
Allegheny Collegiate Institute PA (f)	1850		Mrs S. S. Ingles (1850-)
Seminary for Young Ladies, Allegheny	(1853)		Mrs Poindexter (-1853) Miss M. Wotring (1853-)
Pittsburgh Female College, PA	(1862)		Rev. I. C. Pershing (1862-68) 419/22 tea (1866)
Mansfield Seminary PA (m/f)	(1853)		B. M. Kerr (1853-_) (females board/males for day only)
Glade Run Academy, Dayton PA (m/f)	1851	(1868)	Rev. John M. Jones (1851-)
Saltsburgh Academy, PA (m/f)	(1853)		Rev. W. W. Woodend (1853-)
Irwin's Station Academy, PA	(1853)		Samuel E. McKee (1853-)

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
Oak Hill Family School, PA	(1853)		Samuel Maxwell (1853-)
Indiana Academy, PA	(1853)		Silas M. Clark (1853-)
Kishacoquilas Seminary, PA	(1858)		P. Williard (1858-)
Sunnyside Institute, Newburg PA	(1858)		Mrs Caroline L. Williams (1858-) (widow of Rev. L. W. Williams)
Mt Lebanon Academy, PA (m/f)	(1858)		Rev. John A. Campbell (1858-) (formerly of Dayton Acad)
Central Academy, Airy View PA	(1858)		David Wilson (1858-)
Saltsburg Academy PA (m/f)	1851?	(1868)	George W. Chalfant (1858-) (14th session) S. B. Mercer (1867-)
Wilkinsburg Academy, PA (m/f)	1854?		F. W. Hastings (1859-) (11th session)
Pine Grove Academy & Seminary, PA	(1859)		J. E. Thomas (1859-) 65 (1860)
West Branch HS, Jersey Shore PA	(1862)		F. Donleavy Long (1862-)
Poughkeepsie Inst	(1862)		C. B. Warring (1862-)0
Perth Amboy Sem	(1862)		for rent (1862)
Duff's Commercial College, Pittsburgh	1840	(1866)	P. Duff & Son 1840-
Curry Normal Institute	1860	(1868)	(avg 300 students)
Linnean School and Normal Sem	(1867)		
Cottage Female Seminary Pottstown PA	(1867)		Rev. John Moore (1867-)
Columbia Classical Institute, PA	(1867)		Rev. H. S. Alexander (1867-)
Lewistown Acad, PA	(1867)		John Laird (1867-)
Select Sch for Young Ladies Lawrenceville PA	1867		Miss M. H. Foley (1867-)
Logan Academy, Antistown PA (m)	(1867)		R. H. Fulton (1867-)
Steubenville Fem Sem, OH	1816		Rev. & Mrs. C. C. Beatty (1816-58?) 150 (1847); 160 (1851); 185 (1854) Rev. C. C. Beatty DD Supt/Prof A. M. Reid Prin (1858-68+)
Grove Academy, Steubenville OH	1830s		John W. Scott (1830s-41+ (becomes a HS in 1839--esp interested in training ministers)
New Hagerstown Academy, OH	1837		M M Brown (1837-40+) James Matthews (1843-4)
Madison College, OH	1840		John Campbell (1840-41)
Martinsburg Acad, OH	1841	(1853)	Rev. H. Hervey (1841-50) 46 (1841); 62 (1843) (\$45/year) Revs. Henry Hervey & A. Scott (1849-50) (free tuition for ministerial students) Rev. J. Burns (1850?-53) 50 (1853) [Rev. H. Hervey President of Trustees]
Martinsburg Fem Acad, OH	1850s		Rev. J. Burns (1853) (separate institutions, but attend lectures together)

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
Circleville Fem Sem	1841		(Pbn minister spoke at Exam)
Xenia Inst, OH (m/f)	1841		Rev. H. McMillan & Mrs L. Mullikan (1843-)
Springfield Female Sem OH	1841	(1867)	W. D. Moore (1843-4)
			Miss Mary L Westcott & Miss Hanna V. Haas 1853-54
			Rev. Charles Sturdevant (1854-62)
& Sherwood Musical Inst			Rev. H. R. Wilson & Rev. J. L. Rodgers (L. H. Sherwood transfers from Lyons NY) 1862-65
			Rev. J. L. Rodgers (1865-67) 186 (1865)
Cooper Fem Sem, Dayton OH	1846		E. E. Barney (1846-) 165 (1847)
			Rev. John S. Galloway 1860?-63+
			Mrs B. G. Galloway (1865-66) (widow of Pbn minister) 50+ (1866)
Rugby School, Cincinnati OH	1847		Rev Chauncey Colton (Epis)
Ohio Female College, Pleasant Hill OH	1848	(1866)	Rev J. Covert (1849-)
			Prof A Wood (1855-58)
College Hill OH			Rev. J. M. Anderson (?1866-)
850 Covington Fem Sem, OH	(1848)	(1849)	Rev. Wm Orr (-1849) for a long time
			Mr and Mrs Wm Dod (1849-)
Woodward C & HS, Cincinnati OH	(1848)		Thomas J. Biggs (1848)
Putnam Female Seminary, OH	1849		Miss Mary Cone (1849-50)
Cincinnati Female Sem OH	1850		T. A. Burrowes (1850-60) & Mr. Sayler (1859-60)
			Milton Sayler (1860-64)
			Rev. G. M. Maxwell (1864-65) 224 (1865)
White's Sem, Cincinnati OH	1851		M. M. White
Ladies School, Cincinnati OH	1851		Rev. Wm Hamilton
Select School for boys, Cincinnati OH	1851		C. Mathews
Pleasant Ridge Select Sch near Cincy OH	1853		Miss Maria Sherer & Rev. John Sherer (1853-)
Williamsburg Acad OH (m/f)	1853		Rev John Wiseman (1853-)
Latonia Family Sch for Boys, OH	1854		Rev. S. W. Whitney (1854-)
American Female College, Glendale OH	1854		Rev John Covert

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
Glendale Female Acad, Cincinnati OH College	1854	(1868)	Rev. John Covert (1854-56) Rev. J. G. Monfort (1856-) 73 (1857) <sup>104</sup> ; 108 (1860) (vs the evils of cities or proximity to boys) Revs. J. G. Monfort & L. D. Potter (1860-65) (and in 1861, adds Rev Joseph G. Willson of Terre Haute IN to focus on govt) Rev. L. D. Potter (1865-68+)
Boarding Sch for Boys, Middletown OH	1855		J. B. Morton (1855-56)
Mt Auburn Young Ladies Inst OH	1856	(1861)	Rev. Dr. Crowley (1856-) H. Thane Miller (1860-61)
Greenway Fam Sch for Boys OH	1850s		Rev. Chandler Robbins (?-1858, 1859-60) [Epis?]
Burlington Acad OH (m/f)	1859		Rev. A. J. MacMillen (1859-)
Farmers' College, College Hill OH	1861	(1866)	
Highland Female Inst, Hillsborough OH	1861	(1867)	Miss Emilie L. Grand-Girard (1861-63) 50 (1862) Miss E. L. Grand-Girard & Rev. E. Grand-Girard (1867-)
Ohio Valley Acad, Decatur OH	1863		(not sectarian)
Savannah Acad, OH (m/f)	1865	(1868)	S. T. Boyd (1865-68+) 67m/88f (1865)
Toledo Female Sem, OH	1865		H. J. Raffensparger (1865-)
Urbana Collegiate Inst, OH	1865		Rev. M. A. Sackett (1865-)
Bloomington Acad, OH	1865		Rev. Edward Cooper (1865-67+) (closely associated with the church)
Harlem Springs College OH (m/f)	1867		R. H. Howey (1867-)
Jeffersonville Fem Sem IN	(1839)	(1843)	Rev. H. H. Cambern and Miss Mary A. Inskeep (1839-40) Rev. H. H. Cambern and Samuel J. Baird (1840-41) Misses Morgan (1841-43) Rev. John Kennedy (1843-)
Salem Female Inst, IN	1835		John I. Morrison (1835-)
Salem Inst & Normal Schl, Salem IN		(1839)	J. I. Morrison
Hanover Collegiate Inst IN	1843	1844	Rev. J. Finley Crowe (continuation of Hanover College after MacMaster surrendered the charter)
Anderson's Collegiate Inst, New Albany IN	1840s	(1848)	Rev. W. D. Smith DD (d 1848)

<sup>104</sup>(73 is the number in the college course--hope to eliminate prep soon) Bd is \$125 per session; tuition is \$20 + music/drawing; prices are higher than any other in the west, but best attended; musical dept is perhaps best in the country with 88 students (1857).

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
New Albany Collegiate Inst IN	1856		J. Bliss (1856-59+) (16 students--intentionally small)
Vigo Collegiate Inst, Terre Haute, IN (m/f)	(1847)	(1848)	E. Thompson Baird (Pres) (1847-48)
Princeton M/F Acad Princeton IN	1855	(1858)	Henry T. Morton (1855-58+) 130 (1855); 143 (1858)
Indiana Female Sem, Indianapolis, IN	18??	1857	C. G. McLean (-1857) (renamed McLean Female Seminary)
McLean Fem Sem, Indianapolis IN		1857	C. G. McLean (1857-)
Female Inst	1862		Charles Sturdevant (late of Springfield Fem Sem) (1862-) 206 (1863)
Indiana Fem College Indianapolis IN	1865		W. H. DeMotte (1865 bought McLean from Sturdevant)
Hopewell Acad IN (m/f)	1861		Joseph Shaw (1861-62+)
Valparaiso Collegiate Inst IN (m/f)	(1865)		Rev. David Kingery (formerly of Pby Cincy) 227 (1865)
Greenfield Sem, IL (m/f)	(1854)		R. E. Wilder 82m/62f (1854)
Monticello Female Sem, Godfrey IL	(1859)		Miss P. Forbes (several years) (\$150 for bd and tuition--standard)
Dearborn Female Sem, Chicago IL	(1866)		Mr. L. Grover (1866-67) (seems to have Cong and NS and OS support)
Bloomington Female Sem IL	(1856)		Rev. R. Conover (1856-) 69 (1858)
Olney Female HS, IL	1861		Rev. and Mrs. R. G. Williams (1861-) 86 (1863)
Brown Collegiate Inst, Hopkinton IA			Rev. Jerome Allen
Normal Female Sem, Fairfield IA	1849		Rev. Lewis G. Bell (1849-)
Mt Pleasant Fem Sem, IA	(1866)		Rev. E. L. Belden (1866-)
Lyons Female College, IA	(1866)		Rev. George Moore (1866-)
Rochester Female Inst, Rochester MN	1864		Mrs Rice & Mrs Andrews (teacher training) 100+ (1865) (Sheldon Jackson a teacher)
St Paul Female Sem, MN	1858	(1867)	Rev. J. G. Riheldaffer (1858-67+)
Leavenworth FC Leavenworth KS			Rev. J. G. Reaser 1859-
Mississippi Valley Fem Sem, St. Louis MO	(1854)		Rev. C. J. Abbott (for many years before 1854) (18??-59+)
Lucas Place Fem Sem, St. Louis MO	(1854)		Rev. Samuel Pettigrew & lady (?1854-55) (Bd of visitors includes Drs Rice and Anderson, McPheeters, Baird, Hon HR Gamble, A Gamble and A. S Mitchell)
Select School, St Louis MO	(1854)		John S. Watt (college prep)
St Louis Female Inst, MO	1851	(1855)	Rev. Wm Crowell & lady (1851-55+)
Lexington Female Inst, MO	(1854)		Rev. A. Schenck, Pres (1854-57) 112 collegiate/39 prep
Pleasant Retreat Female Sem, Boonville MO	(1854)	(1859)	Rev W. G. Bell (1854-58)
			J. W. Sutherland (1858-59)
Fulton Female Sem, MO	(1850s)		Rev Wilson (-1855)
			Rev. W. W. Robertson (1855-59+) (had taught there earlier) 134 (1858)

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
Fulton Fem Inst, MO	(1866)		Thomas and Mrs Mary Rootes (1866-)
Family School, Boonville MO	(1839?)		F. T. Kemper (1855?-58) (16 years of teaching; Rice considered it the best--by 1858 he teaches at WestmCMo)
Clay Seminary, Liberty MO (f)	(1855)	(1861)	James Love (1855-61+)
Bryan's Park Female Seminary St Louis MO	(1855)		F. A. Kent (1855-57+)
Rev Mr Woods Sem, St Louis MO (f)	(1856)		Rev Woods (1856-)
Carondelete Female Acad MO	1857		Rev. Joseph Marr & lady and daughters (recently from PA) (1857-59+)
Jefferson Female C, Jefferson City MO	1858		S. D. Loughheed (Pres)
Watson Seminary, Pike Co MO	1855	1867	Rev. J. B. Poage (1855-60) 126 (1858)
(m/f)			John A. McAfee (1860-67) (advertised as a collegiate institute in 1866-67)
Pardee Collegiate Inst Louisiana MO	1867		Rev. J. A. McAfee (Pres) (1867-)
Glasgow Female Sem, MO?	1859	1861	French Strother (1859-)
Kirkwood Female Inst, MO	1860	1861	Rev. Wm F. Nelson (1860-)
Boarding and Day Sch StL MO (f)	(1866)		Mrs. Eugenia Cuthbet (1866-) (Rev. Dr. J. H. Brookes lectures in Biblical History)
High Hill Acad, MO	(1866)		Mr. Virgil Conway
Shelbyville Fem Sem/Acad, KY	1838	(1866)	Walter F. Hill (1838-1851+) (avg 80-90 students)
			Rev. David T. Stuart (1851-55, 56-68+) (108-1854)
Brownsville Female Inst Haywood KY	1838	(1847)	J. E. Bright (1838-47)
Clark Co Seminary, KY (nr Charlestown)	(1839)		A. P. Hay (Pres of Bd)
Danville Female Sem, KY		1837	Rev. and Mrs. J. McIlvaine (1837-40+)
			Miss N. A. Tuck & William B. Nold (1843-46) [for sale in 1847]
			Mr. & Mrs. S. H. Stevenson (1847-)
Taylorsville Male Acad, KY	1839	(1843)	Samuel S. Fulton (1839-1843+) (new building in 1843 to hold 150)
Georgetown Fem Acad KY	1841	1842	Miss N. A. Tuck (1841-42)
Georgetown Young Ladies HS KY	1848		Rev. Samuel J. Baird (1848-)
Paris Seminary (M&F) KY	1842	1843	Rev. H. P. Venable and wife
KY Collegiate Inst, Flemingsburg KY (m/f)	1843	1846	H. Maltby (1843-46) [sells out]
Frankfort Female HS, KY	1844	?	Wm C Van Meter & Lady (1844-)
Stanford Seminary, KY	1843	(1846)	C. Barnes (1843?-46)
Covington Fem Sem, KY	1841	(1852)	William Orr, superintendant (1841-1852)

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
Lexington Fem Inst, Lexington KY	1838	(1847)	Mr and Mrs Honfleur 1838- Rev. John H. Brown (1845-47+) (1846--112) (full collegiate course opened in '47)
Danville Fem Collegiate I KY	1845		D. M. McIntire & S. J. McIntire (1847-)
Union Sem KY/MS?	(1838)		Rev. Robert Hardin (1838-) 63 (1838)
School for Young Ladies Louisville KY	1845	(1847)	Rev. Francis & Susan B. Thornton (184?-47)
Louisville Female Sem KY	1848-		Mrs. P. Davis & daughters (1848-)
Classical & Mathematical Sch (nr Louisville)	1847-		S. S. Fulton (1847-)
Walnut Hill Fem Inst KY	1848		Rev. J. J. Bullock (1848-6?) [sold out] E. Forman (1865-68+)
Nicholasville Fem Sem KY	1845	(1848)	R. E. Wilder (1845-) (1848-100 pupils)
Harrodsburg Female C, Harrodsburg, KY	1851	(1859)	John B. Newman (Pres) 1851-52 (raised from Academy) Rev. John Montgomery 1852-53 Rev. John Hancock (1854) Rev. J. G. Reaser 1858-59 (Connected with the Presbyterian Church-Memphis Sentinel)
854 Carrollton Fem Sem, Port William KY	1838	(1852)	Mrs. B. C. Bishop & Miss J. E. Crocker (1838-) [Mrs. Bishop taught at Oxford in 1833] Rev. J. B. Crowe (1851-52) & Mrs. B. B. Bennett (taught in Oxford OH) (1852-)
Lebanon M & F Sems	1851		Wm T. Knott & Rev. T. H. Cleland (1851-)
Highland Female Sem, Uniontown, KY	1851		Mary T. Johnston (1851-)
W. F. Hill's Fem Colleg Inst Shelbyville KY	1851		W. F. Hill (1851-)
Louisville HS KY	1851		W. H. G. Butler (1851-)
Jessamine Fem Inst, Nicholasville KY	1853		Rev. M. Branch Price & Mrs Jacob F. Price (1853-57) Rev. George Fraser (1857-59+)
Locust Grove Schl nr Louisville KY (m/f)	1855?	(1858)	Ben M. Harney (1855?-58+)
Rev. McCown's Male Acad, Jefferson Co KY	1856		Rev. Burr H. McCown (1856-)
Henderson Inst for Young Ladies Danville KY	(1860)		A. E. Sloan (1860-) E. P. Humphrey oc lect 1860-
Forest Academy, KY	1864		Rev. B. H. McCown (sole teacher) (1864-68)
Versailles Female Seminary, Versailles KY	(1859)		Rev. J. V. Cosby (1860-)
Bellewood Female Seminary KY	1861		Rev. Dr. W. W. Hill (1861-68+)
Caldwell Female Inst KY	1861		Prof Hart (1865-66) George F. Lee (Pres Trustees) (125-1865) Rev. L. G. Barbour (1866-68+) [formerly prin at Lexington MO]
Goshen Academy M/F KY	(1867)		T. M. Mourning (previously Rev. B. H. McCown)

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
Grant & Butler's Sch for young ladies, Louisville KY	(1867)		E. A. Grant LLD and Noble Butler 1867-
Monongalia Acad, Morgantown VA	(1855)	(1859)	Rev. J. R. Moore (1858?-59) 165 (1856); 147 (1859)
Woodburn Female Sem, Morgantown VA	(1858)	(1866)	Rev. J. R. Moore & Mrs Moore (1858-) 68 (1859) Rev. J. W. Scott DD (late Pres of WashC) & Mrs. E. J. Moore (original principal) (1865-66)
West Liberty Acad VA (m/f)	1858		A. F. Ross (1858-) (formerly of Bethany C)
Midway Acad Rockbridge Co, VA	18??		Rev. Wm Pinkerton
Brownsburg HS Rockbridge Co VA	(1859)		Rev. James Greer
Montrose Boarding Schl, Powhatan Co VA	1857		Mr. J. H. Figgart
Loch Willow School, Augusta Co VA	(1859)		Jas. Hotchkiss
Potomac Seminary Hampshire Co (m/f)	(1859)		
Halifax Manse Fem School, Halifax CH, VA	1859		
Cluster Springs Acad, Halifax Co VA	(1865)		Rev. J. B. Shearer (1865-66)
Augusta Female Sem Staunton VA	(1859)	(1866)	John B. Tinsley (1859-) Miss Baldwin ([1865-66])
HS for Boys, Augusta church VA	1865		Rev. Messrs Bowman (from Georgia) (1865-66)
Gordonsville Fem Schl, Albemarle Co VA	(1859)		Rev. D. B. Ewing
Brookland School, Albemarle Co VA	1860?	(1866)	Rev. Wm Dinwiddie (entered 11th session in 1865)
Ann Smith Academy Lexington VA	(1859)		Wm N. Page Rev. John A. Scott (1865-66)
Richmond Female Acad Richmond VA	1859		Rev. M. D. Hoge & Am M. DuPuy (1859-61)
Female Academy Richmond VA	1859		Mrs. Henry L. Brooke
Southern Female Inst Richmond VA	1854		H. P. Lefebvre (1854-) patrons include Episcopal bishops and Presbyterian ministers D. Lee Powers (1868-) (formerly known as Mr Lefebvre's School)
(fem acad)?, Hampden-Sydney, VA	(1865)		Rev. Peck (1865-66)
Winchester Female Acad, VA	(1865)		Mrs. Anne E. T. Magill (1865-66)
family school Aspinwall VA			Rev. A. Martin (1865-66)
family school Keysville VA			Rev. Thos. Wharey (1865-66)
Warrenton FCI Warrenton NC	1841		
Edgeworth FS Greensboro' NC	1840		Richard Sterling 89 in 1861
Milton Female Acad Caswell Co, NC			John Wilson, Jr, M.D.



### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
North Carolina Military Inst, Charlotte NC	(1859)		Maj D. H. Hill (late Prof Math Davidson C) (1859-) <sup>105</sup>
Classical School, Hillsboro' NC	1866		Rev. H. G. Hill and C. H. Hill (1866-)
Charlotte Female Inst Charlotte NC	(1867)		Rev. R. Burwell & J. B. Burwell (1867-68)
Greensboro Female Acad, SC	(1865)	(1866)	Rev. Prof. Lane (1865-66)
Laurensville FC Laurensville, SC	1850s		141
Orangeburg Female Acad, SC	(1865)	(1866)	Rev. A. F. Dickson (1865-66)
Reidville HS Reidville SC	1858		Rev. R. H. Reid
Reidville HS Reidville SC	1858		Rev. T. E. Davis
Yorkville Female Acad, SC	(1865)	(1866)	Rev. Messrs. Anderson (1865-66)
Macon Collegiate Inst, GA?	1850s	(1860)	Rev. J. D. Meredith (-1860)
Union Acad Pleasant Ridge AL	1853	(1859)	E. A. and A. A. Archibald 1853-59+
Gainesville Fem Sem Gainesville AL	(1865)		Rev. C. A. Stillman (overseeing, not prin)
Tuscumbia Fem Sem, AL	(1859)		Prof. T. B. Johnson (1859) (cites LaGrange C and Wesleyan U faculty as recommendations)
Union Female College, MS	(1865)		(oldest fem inst in the state) [not known what denom]
Natchez Fem Sem, MS	(1838)		(had Pbn minister speak at 1838 commencement. . . Rev SV Marshall prof at Oakland C)
Clinton Classical school, MS	(1852)		Rev. Daniel Comfort (?-1853) (many years--recently retired; from NJ; pioneer in MS)
Canton Female Inst, MS	(1854)		J. J. Gilman 110 (1854) (McInnis asked to be one of the examiners)
Jackson Female Inst, MS	(1853)	(1858)	A. R. Green (1853-58)
Oakland Female Inst, Jackson MS	(1853)		T. Oakley and Susan S. Oakley (1853-54)
Aberdeen Fem College, MS	(1854)		Rev. J. Weatherby & Prof W. Merrill (formerly of Mobile) (1854-)
			Rev. R. S. Gladney (1860-61)
Salem HS Greene Co MS (m/f)	(1854)		Wm Hall and Lady (of NY) (1854-)
Corona Fem College, Corinth, MS	1857	(1860)	Rev. L. B. Gaston (1857-60+) [also called Gaston Inst (has been teaching for 15 years)]
Holly Springs Fem Inst, Marshall Co MS	(1856)	(1858)	Rev. Nicholas Chevalier (1856-58) (formerly of Virginia)
Chalmers Inst, Holly Springs MS	(1850s)	(1859)	Rev. S. I. Reid & Mr.H. R. Paine (185?-59+) (several years)
Bethany Inst, Centreville, MS	1859	(1860)	Rev. T. D. Lea (1859-60)
Montrose M/F Inst	18??	(1861)	Rev. T. D. Lea (1860-61) (Waddel and Gray used to teach here)

---

<sup>105</sup>Elder and author of treatises on the Sermon on the Mount and the Crucifixion through Martiens (StLPbn, Pbn Herald and NC Pbn suggest that if laymen may receive the DD, Hill should be the first Pbn elder to receive it)

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals
Gallatin Male & Fem Sch, Gallatin TN?MS?	(1856)		Rev. William Neill (1856-) 90 (1857)
Milton Male Acad, Shongalo MS	(1856)	(1858)	Rev. Samuel Brown (1856-58+)
Shady Grove Fem Sem, Neshoba Co MS	1857		Mrs Alderman (1857-59+)
Jackson Home School, MS (f)	(1857)		Rev. T. D. Ozanne & R. N. Newell LLD (1857-59+) (took over)
Dr Newton's Eng & Classical Schl, Jackson MS	1856		(1859) Dr A. Newton (1856-59+)
Mississippi Military Inst, Pass Christian MS	1852		Ashbel Green, Jr. (1852-)
Salem HS, Green Co MS	1846	(1861)	Rev. J. H. Thomson (1846-61)
Sea Shore Seminary Mississippi City (m)	(1860)		C. H. Bell (1860-)
Columbus Fem Inst, MS	1846	(1861)	Rev. B. F. Larrabee (1860?-) (Rev. WTH Scott, prof)
Pine Ridge Fem Sem, Adams Co MS	(1860)		Rev. S. I. Love (1860-)
Eumenean Hall Holly Springs MS	(1859)	(1860)	Rev. A. Enloe
Thibodaux Fem Inst, MS?/LA?	18??	(1858)	Mr. S. Tenney (?-1858)
Warren Female Sem, Carrollton LA	1857		Rev. N. P. Chamberlain (1857-58)
Belle Grove Inst Carrollton LA	1858		Rev. John R. Hutchison DD (1858-)
Mindon Female College, Mindon LA	1854		Rev. J. F. Ford (1854-58+) 152 (1858)
Castleton Seminary Baton Rouge LA (f)	1857		Rev Thomas & Mrs Castleton (1857-60+) (pastor of Pbn ch)
La Class & Lit Inst, Ascension Parish LA	18??	(1861)	Rev. Samuel McKinney DD (for some time) (18??-61)
Amite Collegiate Inst St Helena Parish LA (m/f)	(1860)		Paul Selly (1860-)
Covington Inst, LA	(1860)		Rev. John C. Graham (1860-)
Commercial & Classical Inst, New Orleans	(1859)		Rev. John R. Hutchison (1859-)
Dolbear Commercial College NO	1845*	(1861)	Rufus Dolbear (1845-61) (or earlier)
Soule's Commercial College NO	(1860)		Geo. Soule (1860-)
Greenwood Sem, Lebanon TN	(1851)		N. Lawrence Lindsey (1851-)
Shiloh Acad, Gibson Co TN	(1849)		Nathan H. Dow (1849-51+)
Nashville Fem Acad, TN	1816	(1853)	Rev. John Hume (1816-?)
			Rev. Robert A. Lapsley (?-1838)
			Rev. William A. Scott (1838-40) 173 (1838) 258 (1839) 198 (1840) over 500 in 1860 (largest female school in country)
			C. D. Elliott (1852-53)
Rogersville Fem Inst, TN	(1857)		Rev James Park (1857-)

### Part 3. Other Academies (continued)

Name/Location	Opened	Closed	Principals	
Memphis Female College, TN	1854	(1860)	Rev. C. J. McPherson	(encouraged by Grundy)
Brownsville Female Inst, TN	(1859)		Rev. Edward Cooper	
Sommerville Female Inst, TN?			A. E. Sloan (-1860)	
			Rev. J. D. Meredith (1860-)	
Andrew Female College    Huntsville, TX	(1859)		Dr. M. B. Franklin (1859-)	
Sonoma Acad (CumbPbn) Sonoma CA	(1850s)	1861	Rev Y A Anderson	70 (1860)      (becomes Cumberland C in 1861)
Young Ladies Sem, San Francisco CA	1852	1861	Mr & Mrs Williamson (Dutch Reformed)	4 (1852) 35 (1853) total of about 300 young ladies
Young Ladies School, San Francisco CA	1861		Miss Aldrich (1861-)	
Young Ladies Acad, San Francisco CA	185?	(1861)	Mrs. Rhodes	
Collegiate School, Sacramento CA	1861		Rev. Dr. J. Phelps (1861-)	

## APPENDIX 5: ETHNIC CHURCHES IN 1860

The Old School maintained a regular interest in working with various ethnic groups in different regions. Reference has been made to the French and Portugese in Illinois, but the largest work was among the Germans in the midwest. I have not attempted an exhaustive search of all the ethnic congregations in the Old School. The following list draws on newspaper accounts and the General Assembly's Minutes (1860). From 1847-1863 the Old School counted "colored" membership, largely as a way to measure the success of the southern churches in ministering to the slaves. Not surprisingly, in 1864 the Old School General Assembly discontinued the practice.

### Ethnic Churches in the Old School, 1860

#### German (32)

Presbytery	church	ethnicity	com	total \$	pastor <sup>106</sup>
Hudson	Jeffersonville, NY	German	80	\$200	Herman Veith (SS) <sup>107</sup>
New York	NYC	German	585	\$584	Frederick Steins (P, DM)
Nassau	Brooklyn	German	155	\$415	J. Neander (FM, P)
Elizabethtown	Meyersville, NJ	German	NR	NR	Isaac A. Blauvelt (DM)
Passaic	Paterson, NJ	German	97	\$154	Edward M. Weiss (P)
Luzerne	Scranton, PA	German	220	\$852	Charles D. Rosenthal (P)
Allegheny City	Manchester, PA	German	28	\$127	John A. F. Launitz? (SS)
	Rochester, PA	German	22	\$142	Launitz?
Zanesville	Salem, OH	German	75	\$481	Wm. C. Kiesel (SS)
New Albany	New Albany, IN	German	35	\$248	Philip Roser (SS)
Hillsboro'	Fosterburgh IN–Zion Ch	German	44	\$151	Henry Blanke (SS)
	Jerseyville, IN	German	34	\$9	Vacant

<sup>106</sup>“com” = total communicant members; “total \$” = the entire amount of contributions reported by the congregation for all purposes.

<sup>107</sup>SS=Stated Supply; P=Pastor; P.E.=Pastor Elect; DM=Domestic Missionary; lic=licentiate

**Ethnic Churches in the Old School, 1860**

<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>church</u>	<u>ethnicity</u>	<u>com</u>	<u>total \$</u>	<u>pastor</u>
Rock River	Galena, IL	German	NR	NR	Vacant
Milwaukee	Sharon, WI	German	NR	NR	not named (SS)
	Wheatland, WI	German	NR	NR	not named (SS)
	West Granville, WI	German	30	NR	Vacant
	Milwaukie, WI	German	25	NR	not named (SS)
Cedar	Muscatine, IA	German	29	\$238	Jacob Kolb (P)
Dubuque	Dubuque, IA	German	135	\$836	A. Van Vliet (P)
	Waukon, IA	German	34	\$113	John Renskers (SS)
	Lycurgus, IA	German	14	\$35	John Renskers (SS)
	Dyersville, IA	German	30	\$184	Jacob Coussett (SS)
	Sherrold's Mound, IA	German	28	\$1	Jacob Coussett (SS)
	Independence, IA	German	45	\$43	F. C. Schwartz (now Vacant)
St. Louis	Emanuel ch, MO	German	62	\$228	A. Van der Lippe (P.E.)
	Bethel ch, MO	German	184	\$923	John G. Schaible (P)
	Zion ch, MO	German	21	\$82	John G. Schaible (P)
	Zoar ch, MO	German	32	\$66	John G. Schaible (P)
	Nazareth ch, MO	German	24	\$50	John G. Schaible (P)
	Bethlehem ch, MO	German	46	\$223	R. Shide (P.E.)
New Orleans	New Orleans, LA	German	50	\$14	J. C. Seybold (SS or P)
Brazos	Galveston, TX	German	59	\$647	H. P. Young (SS)
<b>Portugese (3)</b>					
<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>church</u>	<u>ethnicity</u>	<u>com</u>	<u>total \$</u>	<u>pastor</u>
Sangamon (IL)	Springfield–1st Portugese	Portugese	83	\$329	Vacant
	Springfield–2d Portugese	Portugese	63	\$353	Antonio De Mattos? (PE)
	Jacksonville–Portugese	Portugese	159	\$312	Antonio De Mattos?
<b>Welsh (2)</b>					
<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>church</u>	<u>ethnicity</u>	<u>com</u>	<u>total \$</u>	<u>pastor</u>
Philadelphia	Philadelphia–Welsh ch	Welsh	35	NR	not named (SS)
Columbus	Columbus–Welsh ch	Welsh	30	NR	not named (SS)
<b>French (3)</b>					
<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>church</u>	<u>ethnicity</u>	<u>com</u>	<u>total \$</u>	<u>pastor</u>
Chillicothe	Mowrertown–French ch	French	50	NR	Valentine Rondiez (lic SS)
Chicago	St Anne–French ch	French	800	NR	Charles Chiniquy (P)
	Kankakee–French ch	French	200	NR	Charles Chiniquy (P)
<b>African (4)</b>					
<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>church</u>	<u>ethnicity</u>	<u>com</u>	<u>total \$</u>	<u>pastor</u>
New York	NYC–Seventh Avenue		138	\$437	Henry M. Wilson (P) <sup>108</sup>
New Brunswick	Princeton–Witherspoon St		128	\$262	not named (SS)
Philadelphia	Philadelphia–1st African		153	\$150	J. C. Gibbs (P)
Baltimore	Baltimore–Madison St		67	\$875	R. H. Revels (P)

<sup>108</sup>In 1850 this was known as Emmanuel Church, and Samuel E. Cornish was its stated supply.

**Other churches with significant “colored” membership**

(churches with an unusually large number or percentage of colored communicants for its region)

<u>Presbytery</u>		<u>Church</u>	<u>Com</u>	<u>Colored</u>	<u>(Pastor)</u>
Elizabethtown	NJ	Lamington	171	22	(William W. Blauvelt)
		Elizabethtown–1st Ch	530	28	(Nicholas Murray)
New Brunswick		Cranberry–2nd Ch	306	22	(Thomas D. Hoover)
Carlisle	PA	Mercersburg	260	30	(Thomas Creigh)
Chillicothe	OH	Red Oak	68	7	[the most in the northwest]
Missouri	MO	Auxvasse	181	25	
		Fulton	302	24	
St. Louis	MO	Washington	120	21	
		Newport	98	34	(vacant)
Louisville	KY	Big Spring	198	38	
Transylvania	KY	Paint Lick	185	47	(R. A. Johnston)
		Danville–1st Ch	248	50	(J. L. Yantis)
Lexington	VA	Mint Spring--Bethel Ch	164	25	
		New Providence	286	46	(vacant)
East Hanover	VA	Namozine	41	23	
		Amelia	79	17	
		Brunswick	58	18	
Roanoke	NC	Mercy Seat	76	32	
		Bethesda	84	36	
		Roanoke	172	121	(Alexander Martin)
		Charlotte CH Village Ch	182	52	
Orange	NC	Hawfields	224	35	
		Shiloh	90	30	
		Clarkesville	104	34	
		Nutbush	43	27	
		Lexington	91	23	
		Madison	122	25	
		Washington	130	33	
Fayetteville	NC	Galatia & Barbacue	231	29	
		Antioch & Philadelphus	296	76	
		Bethel & Lumbridge	194	37	
		Laurel Hill & Montpelier	273	76	
		Centre	358	132	(F. K. Nash)
		Buffalo & Tirza	234	39	
		Wilmington–1st Ch	195	50	
		Hopewell & Rockfish	174	26	
		Keith, Mt Williams, Mt Edwards & Lillington		148	60
		Smyrna & Ashpole	312	20	
		Sandy Grove, Long Street, & Bethesda		283	44
		Cypress & China Grove	213	28	
Concord	NC	Mallard Creek	219	60	
		Rocky River	616	176	(Daniel A. Penick Sr)
		Paw Creek	213	25	
		Goshen, New Hope & Olney	306	26	
		Third Creek	273	87	
		Back Creek	156	74	(vacant)
		Fourth Creek	173	28	
		Steele Creek	389	110	(James B. Watt)
		Pleasant Hill	117	31	

**Other churches with significant "colored" membership (continued)**

<u>Presbytery</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Com</u>	<u>Colored (Pastor)</u>
Concord (cont.)	Sugar Creek	267	73
	Hopewell	189	53
	Prospect	285	57
	Thyatira	155	34
	Providence	157	52
	Sharon	171	33
	Poplar Tent	267	105 (Daniel A. Penick Jr)
	Bethpage	178	35
	Centre	127	25
	Philadelphia	276	68
South Carolina SC	Aveleigh	50	20
	Lebanon	90	24
	Wilmington	138	40
	Liberty Spring	201	77
	Pendleton--Hopewell Ch	100	39
	Rocky Spring	211	50
	Rock	138	35
	Greenville	228	76
	Nazareth	214	62
	Hopewell	164	112 (J. O. Lindsey)
	Lodimont	79	41 (J. O. Lindsey)
	Little River	71	43 (Robert McLees)
	Laurens C.H.	176	46
	Upper Long Cane	322	116 (Vacant)
Bethel (1859) SC	Waxhaw	81	36
	Bethel	330	70
	Catholic	254	54
	Pleasant Grove	256	85
	Concord	138	47
	Mount Olivet	146	84
	Ebenezer	180	61
	Bethesda	192	50
	Fishing Creek	156	79
Harmony SC	Darlington	114	26
	Mount Zion	197	120 (W. M. Reid)
	Midway	250	160 (P. Pierson)
	Salem (BR)	454	382 (George C. Gregg)
	Bishopville	135	84 (W. W. Wilson)
	Indiantown	327	220 (J. R. Gilland)
	Scion	101	37
	Salem (LR)	162	95 (Theo. E. Smith)
	Lebanon	115	45 (Theo. E. Smith)
	Brewington	198	148 (James McDowell)
	Williamsburg	250	189 (Edward O. Frierson)
	Concord	215	158 (vacant)
	Walthourville	118	43
	Darien & Harris Neck	110	61

**Other churches with significant “colored” membership (continued)**

<u>Presbytery</u>		<u>Church</u>	<u>Com</u>	<u>Colored (Pastor)</u>
Charleston	SC	Stoney Creek	167	132 (Edward Palmer)
		Charleston–2nd Ch	498	152 (Thomas Smyth)
		Columbia	253	34
		Charleston–Central	160	40
		James Island	211	188 John Douglas
		Charleston–Glebe St Ch	149	20
		Charleston–Zion Ch	492	431 (J. L. Girardeau)
		Orangeburg	78	32
		Walterboro’	206	155 (M. D. Wood)
		Summerville	39	31 (A. P. Smith)
		Wilton	187	152 (H. R. Dickson)
		John’s Island & Wadmalaw	570	510 (J. R. Dow)
				(C. C. Jones) <sup>109</sup>
Georgia	GA	Pleasant Grove	27	27
		Walthourville	118	43
		Darien & Harris Neck	110	61
Hopewell	GA	Macon	263	70
Flint River	GA	Pachitla	169	135 (Joseph B. Stevens)
		West Point	82	41
Cherokee	GA	Roswell	117	45
		Dalton	97	31
		Tunnel Hill	60	23
Florida	FL	Euchee Valley	206	26
South Alabama	AL	Fairview	75	32
		Mount Pleasant	100	21
		Selma	144	21
		Centre Ridge	105	66 (A. C. McNeill)
		Marion	183	47
		Pisgah	115	48
		Valley Creek	167	89 (James Watson)
		Mobile–2nd Ch	154	63
		Mobile–Govt St Ch	394	36
		Tuscaloosa	204	40
		Mount Zion	75	40 (T. S. Winn)
		Concord	75	33 (T. S. Winn)
		Carthage	56	44 (T. S. Winn)
East Alabama	AL	Hebron	150	60 (J. Rosamond)
		New Hope	38	38 (J. Rosamond) <sup>110</sup>
		Greensboro’	117	25
		Bethel	95	40
		Bethel	163	33
		Good Hope	50	35
		Pea River	107	25

---

<sup>109</sup>Note that all of the communicant members are colored. In all but one other instance, there are at least a few white members to serve as elders (e.g., Zion church under J. L. Girardeau). Most whites feared all-black churches. See chapter seven.

<sup>110</sup>The other all colored congregation in the south, along the lines of C. C. Jones’ experiment.



**Other churches with significant "colored" membership (continued)**

<u>Presbytery</u>		<u>Church</u>	<u>Com</u>	<u>Colored (Pastor)</u>
Mississippi	MS	Port Gibson	176	68
		Natchez--1st Ch	360	58
		Pine Ridge	135	95 (S. J. Love)
		Union	133	37
		Natchez (ch not named)	219	108 (Joseph Weeks)
		Carmel	150	109 (vacant)
Tombeckbee	MS	Columbus	203	29
		Bethsalem	132	24
		Columbus--Bethel	67	44
Central Mississippi	MS	Vicksburg	144	32
		Pecan Grove	92	77 (S. W. Davies)
		Smithfield	33	28
Chickasaw	MS	Harmony	82	34
		Zion	130	52
North Mississippi	MS	College Hill	157	47
		Sand Spring	82	26
Louisiana	LA	Grosse Teste	47	36
		Bethany	111	44
Red River	LA	Alabama	115	20
		Good Hope	35	20
New Orleans	LA	New Orleans--1st Ch	502	21
		New River	50	40
Maury	TN	Ashwood--Zion Ch	326	175 (J. Thilman Hendrick)
Memphis	TN	Memphis--1st Ch	301	35
		Emmaus	58	31
		Mount Carmel	103	27
Indian	OK	Pine Ridge	53	28
		Chickasaw	139	46
Western Texas	TX	Victoria	102	24
		San Antonio	122	48

## APPENDIX 6: CHURCH FINANCE

As explained in chapter ten, significant opposition arose against the boards of the Presbyterian church, at least in part due to their supposed “unpresbyterian” structure. One of the effects of the criticisms of the boards was the development of the principle of systematic benevolence. Church finance evolved rapidly from 1800-1850. During the colonial era most ministers were paid through voluntary subscriptions, although the system of pew rents developed in urban areas. The subscription plan remained in vogue in rural areas throughout the 1850s. The modern system of weekly offerings for the church’s general fund simply did not exist. The development of a plan of systematic benevolence grew out of attempts to fund the benevolent operations of the church (and of voluntary organizations). Rather than rely upon the sporadic visits of agents, the church boards began to establish an annual offering for their purposes. On the designated Sunday, each pastor was to preach a special sermon on the subject, and then take an offering. By the early 1840s sporadic attempts toward annual or quarterly offerings had begun,<sup>111</sup> and with

---

<sup>111</sup>The Presbyterian church in Sidney, Ohio, was one of the first to institute quarterly offerings. Presbyterian of the West 2.2 (September 22, 1842). By 1848, the General Assembly was suggesting a monthly concert of prayer for foreign missions, with a special offering each month. Minutes (1848) 27.

the spread of systematic benevolence in the 1850s, the boards stopped utilizing paid agents.<sup>112</sup>

Gradually, the boards began to realize that the more frequently that offerings were held, the more money they received. By 1863, Old School Presbyterians had begun to reintroduce the principle of tithing to endorse systematic giving (although they emphatically refused to say that tithing was required, due to an ancient hatred for the required tithes connected with established churches in Europe).<sup>113</sup> But the success of tithing in the missions movement resulted in considerable interest among many. It even prompted one Old School Presbyterian to admire the financial and religious power of Mormonism in 1869, as he commented on their requirement of both regular tithing and missionary efforts: “Mormonism deserves far more than it has done to receive the consideration of thinking men; and the reasons for its strange success should be seriously weighed by those who would endeavor to give greater effectiveness to *Christianity*.”<sup>114</sup>

The method of disbursing funds also came under fire. In 1853, the church debated whether the Board of Domestic Missions should simply fund new works, or—as it had in the past—function as a sustentation agency that helped “feeble” churches to pay their pastor. The Board established a policy of decreasing aid each year in order to wean the

---

<sup>112</sup>JCB [John C. Backus], “Systematic Benevolence,” Presbyterian Magazine 1.2 (February, 1851); “Plans for Systematic Benevolence,” Home and Foreign Record 1.12 (December, 1850); by 1854, all of the boards were agent-free. Home and Foreign Record 5.7 (July, 1854) 193-194.

<sup>113</sup>Synod of St. Paul, “Report on Systematic Beneficence,” Home and Foreign Record 14.1 (January, 1863) 6-7.

<sup>114</sup>Home and Foreign Record 20.10 (October, 1869) 232. The previous year another article had pointed out that Old School Presbyterians regularly gave an average of \$4.24 per communicant member for the ordinary benevolent work of the church, contrasted with \$0.82 raised by the Methodists. Home and Foreign Record 19.2 (February, 1868) 45.

church off denominational support. Jonathan Edwards (NATS 1845), pastor of Fort Wayne, Indiana, objected that the Board did not have the authority to reduce payments. David Waller (PTS 1837), pastor of Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania (in Northumberland Presbytery) concurred. The Board should fund both mission works and feeble churches according to the direction of the presbytery.

Dr. Magie, R. J. McDowell, Mr. Dickson, and Mr. Cunningham defended the Board's policy, arguing that it was wrong for a church to remain on the roll of the Board for twenty years, because the Board was supposed to help new churches. Likewise,

Mr Baird of Arkansas said it had been his lot, some ten years ago, to fall under the operation of a rule of the Board which had the same tendency with that now complained of. He was then labouring in a church of a hundred years old, and in which there was no prospect that a ministry could ever be sustained. . . . and now he occupied a position in Arkansas, where, in a region of 100 by 250 miles, he was the sole Presbyterian minister, or minister of any kind, such as this Assembly would aid or sustain. . . . surely it was better that instead of wasting her means on these old, worn-out, hopeless spots, she should go forth where her energies might be applied with so much more effect for Christ's cause and God's glory. True, if we had funds for both, then both ought to be accomplished. . . . In his own case, he thought retrenchment a very hard policy, but he now rejoiced over its effects on him, and on many beside.<sup>115</sup>

Edwards replied that in this case the Board had "disregarded the wishes of the Presbyteries, and if they continued the course they had begun, the churches all over his portion of country would become alienated; the course had already sent great distress into many families."<sup>116</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup>Charles Hodge, "The General Assembly" BRPR 25.3 (July, 1853) 484-485.

<sup>116</sup>Charles Hodge, "The General Assembly" BRPR 25.3 (July, 1853) 487.

The secretary of the Board, Charles Colcock Jones said that he appreciated the candour of the discussion, and applauded the careful scrutiny of the Board. Agreeing that the Board was only a committee of the Assembly, Jones argued that limited resources demanded that they inquire as to whether the old and feeble congregations could be made self-supporting. The policy of gradual reduction to these churches had been utilized in the hope that they will be able to wean themselves from denominational support. In the end, the Assembly sided with the Board.

Charles Hodge commented that while he agreed that the Board must determine how much can be given to each presbytery, he insisted that the presbytery should decide which churches and missions need the money. “For the Board to say, we *cannot* aid a church, because we have not the money, is one thing. But to say, we *will not* aid it, because we think it ought to sustain itself, is a very different thing.”<sup>117</sup> Defending the importance of giving denominational aid to poor churches, regardless of how long, Hodge argued that every minister deserves compensation for his work—regardless of whether the congregation can pay the full sum or not. Justice demands that the church supply the needs of those who preach in poorer areas. “And finally and especially is it unwise for Presbyterians to confine their preaching to a certain class of the people. The determination that every Presbyterian church shall sustain itself, is a determination that we will preach the gospel only to the rich, or, at most, to those who are able to pay for it. Woe betide us, whenever any such determination shall receive the deliberate sanction of

---

<sup>117</sup>Charles Hodge, “The General Assembly” BRPR 25.3 (July, 1853) 497.

our Church.”<sup>118</sup> The poor are already excluded from our churches and we do not see how this cannot but get worse if this novel principle is adopted.

Figure A6.1 provides an overview of the financial contributions of the various synods of the Old School, with regional summaries from 1836-1868. The northeast was the most wealthy region in the Old School, but was not nearly as dominant as it was in either the pre-1837 Presbyterian church, or in the reunited northern Presbyterian church after 1870 (In 1871, the northeast provided around 60% of the funds for the boards).

---

<sup>118</sup>Charles Hodge, “The General Assembly” BRPR 25.3 (July, 1853) 501. Hodge regularly endorsed a sustentation plan similar to that of the Free Church of Scotland which ensured that all ministers would be paid a certain minimum salary. See Hodge, “Sustentation Fund,” BRPR 38.1 (January, 1866).

<i>Synod</i>	<i>1836</i>	<i>1840</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1868 (north)/1869 (south)</i>	
Albany	\$8,953	\$6,913	\$5,913	\$17,814	\$22,360	
Buffalo	(\$48,100–NS)		\$1,976	\$33,496	\$6,600	
New York	\$24,581	\$21,813	\$35,589	\$126,365	\$191,294	
<b>NY/NE</b>	<b>\$81,634</b>	<b>\$28,726</b>	<b>\$43,478</b>	<b>\$177,675</b>	<b>\$220,254</b>	
New Jersey	\$14,880	\$8,723	\$12,043	\$31,019	\$281,408	
Philadelphia	\$19,574	\$39,594	\$26,908	\$59,994	\$101,063	
Baltimore	(\$6,199–NS)			\$25,574	\$43,340	
Mid-Atlantic	\$40,653	\$48,317	\$38,951	\$116,587	\$425,811	
<b>Northeast</b>	<b>\$122,287</b>	<b>\$77,043</b>	<b>\$82,429</b>	<b>\$294,262</b>	<b>\$646,065</b>	
Pittsburgh	\$17,135	\$21,514	\$16,345	\$16,747	\$47,205	
Allegheny				\$7,974	\$20,030	
Wheeling			\$9,522	\$9,946	\$19,671	
Ohio	\$4,228	\$2,922	\$3,970	\$6,948	\$13,651	
Sandusky	(\$6,187–NS)				\$2,446	
Old Northwest	\$27,550	\$24,436	\$29,837	\$41,615	\$103,003	
Cincinnati	\$4,653	\$13,793	\$7,992	\$15,224	\$41,036	
Indiana	\$2,259	\$4,112	\$17,471	\$4,324	\$10,199	
Northern Indiana			\$1,393	\$3,323	\$9,096	
Illinois	\$935	\$475	\$1,836	\$13,552	\$15,075	
Chicago				\$2,244	\$13,960	
Wisconsin				\$1,445	\$4,059	
St. Paul					\$3,287	
Iowa				\$1,365	\$5,597	
Southern Iowa				\$548	\$3,862	
New Northwest	\$7,847	\$18,370	\$28,692	\$42,025	\$106,171	
<b>Northwest</b>	<b>\$35,397</b>	<b>\$42,806</b>	<b>\$58,529</b>	<b>\$83,640</b>	<b>\$209,174</b>	
Upper Missouri				\$1,808		
Missouri	\$0	\$64	\$2,093	\$43,563	\$15,523	
Kansas					\$481	
Kentucky	\$7,829	\$10,700	\$13,239	\$54,481	\$19,287	
Upper SW	\$7,829	\$10,764	\$15,332	\$99,852	\$35,291	PCUS
Nashville	\$4,043	\$5,336	\$2,630	\$9,652	\$1,019	\$9,425
Memphis			\$2,555	\$7,877		\$4,818
Mississippi	\$23,005	\$10,732	\$6,584	\$58,784		\$8,356
Arkansas				\$2,401		\$2,743
Texas				\$2,384		\$3,150
Lower SW	\$27,058	\$16,068	\$11,769	\$81,098	\$1,019	\$28,492
<b>Southwest</b>	<b>\$34,883</b>	<b>\$26,832</b>	<b>\$27,101</b>	<b>\$180,950</b>	<b>\$36,310</b>	
Virginia	\$13,593	\$12,705	\$8,573	\$34,132		\$28,836
North Carolina	\$7,431	\$4,354	\$3,438	\$18,104		\$10,522
<b>Upper South</b>	<b>\$21,024</b>	<b>\$17,059</b>	<b>\$12,011</b>	<b>\$52,236</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$39,358</b>
South Carolina	\$7,030	\$4,657	\$5,002	\$17,316		\$9,149
Georgia		\$3,585	\$4,348	\$12,728		\$7,865
Alabama	\$1,212	\$4,283	\$3,146	\$16,013		\$7,283
Deep South	\$8,242	\$12,525	\$12,496	\$46,057	\$0	\$24,297
<b>South</b>	<b>\$29,266</b>	<b>\$29,584</b>	<b>\$24,507</b>	<b>\$98,293</b>	<b>\$0</b>	
California/Pacific		\$0	(\$229–Syn NY)	\$2,152	\$8,119	
<b>Far West</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$2,152</b>	<b>\$8,119</b>	
Synod of Northern India			\$84	0	did not report	
Total \$ for Boards	\$221,833	\$176,265	\$192,650	\$657,412	\$903,106	\$98,562
Total \$ (including congregational)		NA	(1851--\$1.5 mil)	\$3,175,304	\$4,289,595	\$774,400
Total Communicants:	248,526	161,800	213,600	298,800	252,555	79,961
Total Churches:	2,882	1,863	2,605	3,592	2,737	1,460
Total Ministers:	2,117	1,221	1,931	2,692	2,330	857
(Totals vary from the <u>Minutes</u> due to my including estimates from non-reporting congregations and presbyteries).						

**Figure A6.1. Giving to the Boards of the Church by Region, 1836-1869**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### **Official Documents:**

Baird, Samuel J., ed., A Collection of the Acts, Deliverances and Testimonies of the Supreme Judicatory of the Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1856).

The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1840).

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1789-1870).

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church [New School] (New York, 1838-1869).

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, 1861-1869 [after 1865, PCUS] (Augusta, 1861-1862; 1865; Columbia, 1863-1864; 1866-1869).

Moore, William E., ed., A New Digest of the Acts and Deliverances of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia, 1861).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, The Presbyterian Digest (Philadelphia, 1873).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, The Presbyterian Digest of 1886 (Philadelphia, 1886).

### **Old School Periodicals**

(This list only contains those periodicals consulted for this dissertation. For a complete list of all Old School periodicals, see appendix 1)

	Years	Abbreviation (if any)
American Presbyterian	1834-1839	
Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine	1835-1841	BLRM
Biblical Repertory	1829	
Biblical Repertory and Theological Review	1830-1836	BRTR
Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review	1837-1878	BRPR
Central Presbyterian	1856-1870	CP



Charleston Observer	1827-1845	CO
Christian Advocate	1823-1834	CA
Christian Monthly Magazine	1845	CMM
Danville Quarterly Review	1861-1864	DQR
Foreign Missionary Chronicle	1833-1849	
Foreign Missionary	1842-1868	
Free Christian Commonwealth	1865-1869	FCC
Home and Foreign Record	1850-1870	
Home, The School and the Church	1851-1860	
Mississippi Presbyterian	1853	
Missouri Presbyterian	1866-1874	
New Orleans Observer	1838-1840	
New Orleans Presbyterian	1846-1849	
New Orleans Protestant	1844-1846	
New York Observer	1834-1853	NYO
North Carolina Presbyterian	1858-1869	
Northwestern Presbyterian	1865-1869	NWP
Pacific Expositor	1859-1862	
Pittsburgh Christian Herald	1829-1837	
Presbyter	1859-1869	
Presbyterial Critic and Monthly Review	1854-1856	
Presbyterian	1831-1869	
Presbyterian Advocate	1838-1855	PA
Presbyterian Banner	1852-1869	PB
Presbyterian Expositor	1858-1861	
Presbyterian Herald	1845-1862	PH
Presbyterian Index	1866-1868	
Presbyterian Magazine	1851-1860	PM
Presbyterian of Our Union	1860-1862	
Presbyterian of the West	1841-1858	PW
Presbyterian Preacher	1832-1838	
Presbyterian Sentinel (Memphis)	1859-1860	
Presbyterian Standard	1854-1855	
Presbyterian Standard	1860-1866	
Presbyterian Treasury	1848-1849	
Protestant and Herald	1838-1845	P&H
Southern Christian Herald	1835-1838	SCH
Southern Presbyterian	1847-1869	SP
Southern Presbyterian Review	1847-1870	SPR
Southwestern Presbyterian	1869-1870	
Spirit of the XIXth Century	1842-1843	SXC
St. Louis Presbyterian	1849-1860	
True Baptist	1854	

True Catholic	1844-1847	
True Presbyterian	1862-1864	
True Witness	1854-1862	
Watchman and Observer	1845-1855	W&O
Watchman of the South	1837-1845	WS
Western Casket	1849-1855	
Western Emigrant	1838	
Western Presbyterian	1864-1870	
Western Presbyterian Herald	1836-1838	
Western Protestant	1835-1838	
Western Protestant	1845	

**Other Contemporary Periodicals consulted:**

American Presbyterian Review	1859-1871	
Calvinistic Magazine	1846-1850	
Presbyterian Quarterly Review	1852-1858	
Scottish Presbyterian	1859-1861	
Southern Religious Telegraph	1830-1839	SRT

**Debates in Presbyteries and Synods**

“Charleston Union Presbytery” CO 12.49 (December 8, 1838) 195.

“Cincinnati Presbytery,” PW 5.34 (May 25, 1847) 342

“The Convention,” CO 11.22 (June 3, 1837) 85.

“Debate on Usury before the Synod,” P&H 12.5 (November 3, 1842).

“Harmony Presbytery,” CO 18.17 (April 27, 1844) 66.

“The Late Action of the Synod of Virginia on the Subject of Education” CP 1.2 (January 12, 1856) 5.

“Minutes of Harmony Presbytery,” CO 17.46 (November 18, 1843) 182.

“Pastoral Letter of the Presbytery of Roanoke” CP 4.29 (July 16, 1859) 114.

Minutes and Phonographic Report of the Presbyterian National Reunion Convention Held in Philadelphia, November 6th, 1867 (Philadelphia, 1868).

“Pittsburgh Synod,” Presbyterian 20.44 (November 2, 1850) 174.

“Presbytery of Bethel,” CO 11.51 (December 23, 1837) 201.

“Report of the Committee on Denominational Schools to the Synod of Virginia,” W&O 3.12 (November 4, 1847) 44.

“Synod of Alabama,” Presbyterian 13.13 (April 1, 1843) 50.

“The Synod of Cincinnati” WS 7.14 (November 23, 1843) 56.

“Synod of Cincinnati and Slavery” P&H 2.5 (November 2, 1843).

“The Synod of Cincinnati” P&H 4.6 (Nov 6, 1845).

“Synod of Kentucky (from the Presbyterian Herald) W&O 6.12 (October 31, 1850) 45.

“The Synod of New Jersey,” Presbyterian 12.44 (October 29, 1842) 174.

“Synod of New York” PM 8.12 (December, 1858) 566-567.

“The Synod of New York on Common Schools,” Presbyterian 29.48 (November 26, 1859) 189.

“Synod of North Carolina,” W&O 3.14 (November 18, 1847) 52.

“Synod of South Carolina and Georgia,” CO 11.47 (November 25, 1837) 185-186.

“Synod of Virginia,” NYO 13.45 (November 7, 1835) 177.

### **Debates in the General Assembly**

“Board of Education--State Schools and Church Schools” W&O 9.44 (June 8, 1854) 173.

“The Danville and New Albany Theological Seminaries,” W&O 9.13 (Nov 3, 1853) 49.

“Debate in Presbyterian General Assembly” WS 8.41 (May 29, 1845) 162.

“Debate over where to have the 1852 General Assembly” W&O 6.33 (June 5, 1851) 169.

“Debates in the General Assembly,” Presbyterian 13.21 (May 27, 1843) 83.

“Debates in the General Assembly: The Marriage Question” Presbyterian 13.24 (June 17, 1843) 93.

“Debates in the General Assembly,” Presbyterian 13.25 (June 24, 1843) 97.

“Debates in General Assembly: Slavery,” Presbyterian 16.24 (June 13, 1846) 93.

“Debate on the Boards of the Church in the General Assembly, Baltimore, May, 1848,”  
Presbyterian Treasury 1.6 (June, 1848) 81-83.

“Dr Spring's Resolutions,” Presbyter (June 13, 1861).

“Education Debate in the General Assembly” Home and Foreign Record (August 1854)  
 233-238.

“General Assembly,” Presbyterian 2.15 (May 23, 1832) 59.

“General Assembly,” SRT 14.26 (June 26, 1835) 103.

“General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church” WS 8.42 (June 5, 1845) 165.

“General Assembly” W&O 6.44 (June 12, 1851) 174.

“General Assembly,” Presbyteran 23.23 (June 4, 1853) 90.

“General Assembly,” Presbyterian 24.22 (June 3, 1854) 85.

“General Assembly,” CP 1.22 (May 31, 1855) 85.

“General Assembly,” Presbyterian 26.22 (May 31, 1856) 85.

“General Assembly,” Presbyterian 27.22 (May 30, 1857) 86.

“General Assembly,” CP 4.23-24 (June 4, 11, 1859) 89, 93.

“General Assembly,” Presbyterian 29.23 (June 4, 1859) 92.

“General Assembly,” CP 5.22-23 (June 2, 9, 1860).

“General Assembly,” Presbyterian 30.21-22 (May 26, June 2, 1860) 85-87, 89-91.

“The General Assembly,” PB (June 9, 1860).

“General Assembly,” PB 9.37 (June 1, 1861).

“The General Assembly of 1861,” PB 9.38 (June 8, 1861)

“General Assembly,” Southern Presbyterian 1.48 (November 29, 1866).

“North West Theological Seminary” CP 4.30 (July 23, 1859) 117.

“Proceedings of the General Assembly,” NYO 13.25 (June 20, 1835) 98.

“Proceedings of the General Assembly,” W&O 8.43-44 (June 2, 9, 1853).

**Primary Sources (does not include all editorials and anonymous or pseudonymous articles)**

The Act and Testimony of the Minority of the General Assembly (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1835).

Adair, William A., “Beauties of Abolitionism” reprinted in the PA 3.20 (February 10, 1841).

“An Address to the Clergy and Laity of the Christian Church of the Country,” CP 6.4 (January 26, 1861) 13.

Adger, John B., “Inaugural Discourse on Church History and Church Polity,” SPR 12.1 (April 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, My Life and Times, 1810-1899 (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1899).

\_\_\_\_\_, “Northern and Southern Views of the Province of the Church,” SPR 16 (1866).

\_\_\_\_\_, “Notice of the Rev. John B. Adger's article on the Slave Trade, by Ed. B. Bryan Esq. (chairman of the majority of the House Committee--and author of the report on the Slave Trade),” SPR 11.3 (October 1858) 501.

\_\_\_\_\_, “The Revival of the Slave Trade,” SPR 11.1 (April, 1858) 100-135.

Alexander, Archibald, “The Doctrine of Original Sin as Held by the Church, Both Before and After the Reformation,” BRTR 2.4 (October 1830).

\_\_\_\_\_, “The Early History of Pelagianism,” BRTR 2.1 (January 1830).

\_\_\_\_\_, A History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa (Philadelphia, W. S. Martien, 1846).

\_\_\_\_\_, “An Inquiry into that Inability under which the Sinner Labours,” BRTR 3.3 (July 1831).

\_\_\_\_\_, “The Present Condition and Prospects of the Presbyterian Church” BRTR 1832 4(1) 28-47.

\_\_\_\_\_, “Review of ‘Nature of the Atonement’” CA 2.2-4 (1824) 76-84, 119-129, 168-171.

\_\_\_\_\_, Thoughts on Education of Pious and Indigent Candidates for the Ministry (Philadelphia, 1846).

- \_\_\_\_\_, Thoughts on Religious Experience (Philadelphia, 1841).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Single Ladies Somewhat Advanced in Years," WS 1.19 (January 4, 1838).
- Alexander, James W., The Life of Archibald Alexander (New York: Charles Scribner Co., 1854).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Sprague's Annals of the Presbyterian Pulpit," BRPR 1858 30(3) 401-419.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Temperance in the College of New Jersey" WS 5.14 (November 25, 1841) 54.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Wine Question," CO 16.7 (February 12, 1842) 26.
- Anderson, William C., Notes on Dr. Scott's Bible and Politics (San Francisco: Towne & Bacon, 1859).
- Annan, William, "Emancipation" PA 1.1 (October 4, 1838).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Professor Green and Slavery" PA 3.23 (March 3, 1841).
- Armstrong, George D., Christian Doctrine of Slavery (New York: C. Scribner, 1857).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Dr Armstrong's First Rejoinder" PM 8.8 (August, 1858).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Dr Armstrong's Second Rejoinder" PM 8.11 (November, 1858).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Relation of the Church to her baptized children," CP 5.39-41, 48-49 (September 29, October 6, 13, December 1, 8, 1856) 153, 157, 161.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Re-Opening of the African Slave Trade," CP 2.1 (January 3, 1857) 1.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Three Letters on Conservatism," CP 2.39-41 (September 26, October 3, 10, 1857) 153, 157, 161.
- Atwater, Lyman H., "The Bible in the Counting-House" BRPR 25.3 (July, 1853).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The True Progress of Society," BRPR 24.1 (January, 1852).
- Axson, I. S. K., "Extract of an Address before the Liberty County (Ga.) Association for the religious instruction of the Negroes—at their Eighth Anniversary," CO 17.27 (July 8, 1843) 105.
- Baird, Robert, "Reflections upon the Acts of the Late General Assembly," PH 27.1 (July 2, 1857).
- Baird, Samuel J., "The Beauty of God's Witnessing Church," SPR 11.3 (October 1858) 357-385.
- \_\_\_\_\_, The First Adam and the Second. The Elohim revealed in the creation and redemption of man (Philadelphia: Parry and McMillan, 1860).
- \_\_\_\_\_, A History of the New School, and of the Questions Involved in the Disruption of the Presbyterian Church in 1838 (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1868).
- \_\_\_\_\_, A Rejoinder to the Princeton Review, upon The Elohim revealed, touching the doctrine of imputation and kindred topics (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1860).

\_\_\_\_\_, Southern Rights and Northern Duties in the Present Crisis (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1861).

Baird, Washington, "The Higher Law," Southern Presbyterian 4.15 (December 5, 1850) 58.

\_\_\_\_\_, "How God's Views and Teachings Differ from those of Men, Number Two," Southern Presbyterian 3.47 (July 18, 1850) 186.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Indiana and the Free Blacks," Southern Presbyterian 5.1 (September 4, 1851) 2.

\_\_\_\_\_, "North and South," Southern Presbyterian 3.29 (March 15, 1850) 114.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Parochial Schools," Southern Presbyterian 1.5 (September 22, 1847) 19.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Principles on which this Paper will be Conducted" Southern Presbyterian 6.19 (February 24, 1853) 74.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Rights of Conscience," Southern Presbyterian 7.2 (October 27, 1853) 6.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Theological Seminaries," Southern Presbyterian (December 23, 1852) 66.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Union and Its Enemies," Southern Presbyterian 4.9 (October 24, 1850) 34.

Barbour, Lewis Green, "Review of Slavery Ordained of God" PH 27.28 (January 7, 1858).

Blyden, Edward W., "An African's Views of the African Question. In a letter from Liberia" PM 9.12 (December, 1859).

Blythe, James, "The Present State and Duty of the Church" BLRM 7.2 (February, 1841).

Boardman, Henry A., The American Union: A Discourse Delivered on Thursday, December 12, 1850, the Day of the Annual Thanksgiving in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851).

\_\_\_\_\_, The Bible in the Counting-House: A Course of Lectures to Merchants (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853).

\_\_\_\_\_, The General Assembly of 1866 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1867).

[Border South], "Position of the Church," Presbyterian 30.52 (December 29, 1860) 205.

Breckinridge, Robert J., "Action of the Presbyterian Church in Spreading the Gospel; Insufficient and Ill-Directed," SXC 2.3 (March, 1843).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Are Ruling Elders Presbyters or Not? If they are Presbyters, how should they be ordained? And what part should they take in Presbyterial ordinations?" SXC 1.7 (July 1842).

\_\_\_\_\_, The Christian Pastor, one of the Ascension Gifts of Christ (Baltimore, 1845).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Conclusions of the late Synod of Philadelphia about Ruling Elders," SXC 2.11 (November, 1843).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Conflagration in Petersburg in 1837," SXC 2.6 (June, 1843) 338-348.

- \_\_\_\_\_, "Considerations on the Reports of the Ecclesiastical Boards of the Presbyterian Church" BLRM 6.10 (October, 1840).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Danville Seminary" CP 2.18 (May 2, 1857) 70.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Denominational Education" SPR 3.1 (June, 1849) 1-19.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Discourse of R. J. Breckinridge, delivered at the Day of National Humiliation, January 4, 1861, at Lexington, Ky," DQR 1.2 (June, 1861) 320.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Discussion on American Slavery between George Thompson, esq., . . . and Rev. Robt. J. Breckinridge, . . . holden in the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, Glasgow, Scotland with notes by Mr. Garrison (Boston, 1836).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Dr. Breckinridge on Disunion," Presbyter 19.19 (January 26, 1860).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "A Few Observations on Several Parts of the Revolution in the Polity of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, Commenced in the General Assembly of 1843," SXC 2.10 (October, 1843).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Fifth Letter to the Ruling Elders of the Presbyterian Church in the United States," SXC 2.5 (May, 1843).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Foreign Labours in the Abolitionist Controversy, No. I," BLRM 5.4 (April, 1839) 144.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Fourth Letter to the Ruling Elders of the Presbyterian Church in the United States" SXC 2.3 (March, 1843).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Hints on Colonization and Abolition," BRPR 5.3 (July, 1833) 280-305.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Important Movement in the Evangelical Churches of the City of Baltimore," SXC 2.5 (May, 1843) 307-311.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "In Memoriam. A Tribute to Rev. Stuart Robinson and others," DQR 2.1 (March, 1862) 155.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Letter to Samuel Annan, M. D., One of the Physicians at the Alms House,--a Ruling Elder in the Third Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, &c." BLRM 6.8 (August, 1840).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "A Letter to the Ruling Elders of the Presbyterian Church in the United States," P&H 11.39 (Sept 1, 1842).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Man--Womanry: Abolitionists in the Feminine Gender" BLRM 3.9 (September 1837) 415.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The New Seminary," PW (Dec 13, 1849).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Original Letters of Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe to John Breckinridge (the Elder). . . in regard to the Treaty for the Purchase of Louisiana," SXC 2.3 (March, 1843).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Our Course for Five Years--Suit of Mr. Maguire," BLRM 6.1 (January 1840).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Papal Interference with Public Schools," BLRM 6.12 (December, 1840) 535-536.
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Question of Negro Slavery and the New Constitution of Kentucky (Lexington, 1849).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Quorum Question," Presbyterian 13.15 (April 13, 1844) 57.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Rejected Statement To the Public," BLRM 1.2 (February 1835) 51.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Review of the Pamphlet of Samuel Annan," BLRM 7.3 (March 1841) 126.



- \_\_\_\_\_, “The Right of Ruling Elders in the Presbyterian Church to Lay on Hands, in All Presbyterian Ordinations” reprinted from the Presbyterian, BLRM 6:4 (April 1840).
- \_\_\_\_\_, “Some Thoughts on the Developement of the PCUSA during the ten years which have elapsed since its Disruption in 1838,” SPR 2.3 (December, 1848).
- \_\_\_\_\_, “Speech of Robert J. Breckinridge. . . in defense of his personal character, his political principles and his religious connections. More particularly in regard to the questions of the power of the Legislature on the subject of Slavery, of the Importation of Slaves, of Abolitionism, of British Influence, of Religious Liberty, etc.” BLRM 7.1 (January 1841) 1-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_, “The State of Maryland against Robert J. Breckinridge” BLRM 6.5-6 (May & June, 1840)
- \_\_\_\_\_, “Theological Seminaries: A Few Considerations in Regard to Them. Addressed to the Rev. Dr. John McDowell, Rev. H. A. Boardman, M. Newkirk, Esq., Alexander W. Mitchell, M.D., and James N. Dickson, Esq., a Committee of the General Assembly, &c.,” BLRM 6.9 (September, 1840).
- Breckinridge, William L., “A Discourse on Usury,” SXC 2.2 (February, 1843).
- \_\_\_\_\_, “Dr Breckinridge's Declinature,” PH (May 10, 1860).
- \_\_\_\_\_, “The New Test of Christian Character Tested, or, the Bible Doctrine of Temperance” P&H 12.1 (October 6, 1842).
- \_\_\_\_\_, “Presbytery of Louisville,” WS 4.21 (Jan 14, 1841).
- \_\_\_\_\_, “The Review Reviewed” P&H 12.12 (December 22, 1842).
- Brown, Simeon, “Uncle Tom's Cabin” PW 13.3 (October 6, 1853).
- Buchanan, James, “To the People of the United States,” Presbyterian 30.51 (December 22, 1860) 202.
- Bush, George, “The Wine Question,” NYO (July 4, 1840) 106.
- Carter, John P., “Address of the Rev. John P. Carter A. M.” PM 7.7-8 (July, August, 1857).
- Cassells, Samuel J., “Conscience--Its Nature, Office and Authority” SPR 6.4 (April 1853).
- \_\_\_\_\_, “Speech of Rev. S. J. Cassells” WS 8. 44 (June 19, 1845) 176.
- “The Changes Proposed in our Book of Discipline” SPR 12.1 (April, 1859) 36-83.
- “Circular Letter to the Clergy and Laity in the Southern States of the Union,” CP 6.4 (Jan 26, 1861) 13.

- Clancy, John, "Wine at the Communion," Presbyterian 11.9 (February 27, 1841) 34.
- Clarke, Hovey K., "The Book of Discipline and the Next Assembly," (Detroit: n.p, 1865).
- Clay, Henry, "Letter from Henry Clay on the Emancipation of Slavery in Kentucky" PW 4.25 (March 15, 1849).
- Coit, John C., "Harmony Presbytery, To the Rev. John Leighton Wilson," CO 17.26-35 (July 1-September 2, 1843).
- Colwell, Stephen, Charity and the Clergy (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "McCulloch's British Empire," BRPR 13.3 (July, 1841) 416-450.
- \_\_\_\_\_, New Themes for the Protestant Clergy (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Poor and the Poor Laws of Great Britain," BRPR 13.1 (January, 1841) 99-131.
- [Conservative], "The Revised Book of Discipline," Presbyterian 29.49-53 (December 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 1859).
- [Consistency], "Does Dr. Thornwell Pray for the Success of Treason?" PB 9.10 (November 24, 1860).
- A Correspondence between Some of the Members of the Pine Street Presbyterian Church and Its Pastor (Saint Louis: Printed for the Information of the Members of that Church, 1862).
- Cunningham, H. B., "The Banner—Dr. Thornwell and the Seminary," SP 11.18 (February 13, 1858).
- Cuyler, Cornelius C., "The Quorum Question from the Presbyterian," PW 3.15 (April 4, 1844) 53.
- Dabney, Robert L., [Chorepiscopus], "A Discussion of Some of the Changes Proposed by the Committee of the General Assembly, in Their Revised Book of Discipline," SPR (April 1859).
- \_\_\_\_\_, Ecclesiastical Relations of Negroes; speech. . . in the Synod of Virginia, Nov. 9, 1867, against the ecclesiastical equality of Negro preachers in our church and their right to rule over white Christians (Richmond: Office of Boys and Girls Monthly, 1868).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Last General Assembly" W&O 6.51-52, 7:1 (July 31, August 7, 14, 1851).

\_\_\_\_\_, Letter. . . to the Rev. S. J. Prime, D.D., one of the editors of the New York Observer, on the state of the country (Richmond: MacFarlane & Fergusson, 1861).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, Life and Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson (New York: Blelock & Co., 1866).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Morality of the Legal Profession," SPR 11.4 (January 1859) 571-592.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "On the State of the Country," CP (April 20, 1861).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Relations of the Seminaries to the General Assembly," Presbyterial Critic (January, 1855, February 1856).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The Sabbath Controversy" SPR October, 1857.

Davidson, Robert, "Presbyterian Education at the West," Presbyterian 18.5 (January 29, 1848).

Dew, Thomas Roderick, Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832 (Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970/1832).

Dod, Albert B., "Views in Theology, by Lyman Beecher," BRPR 9.2-3 (April-July, 1837).

Dubois, Robert P., "The Three Ways of Dealing with Intemperance," PM 3.9 (September 1853).

Edgar, John T., "No Division Yet," American Presbyterian 3.24 (June 23, 1837) 95.

Eels, William W., "Recollections of Columbia SC, by a graduate of the Theological Seminary," PB (January-August, 1861).

Engles, William M., "Agitation at a Discount," Presbyterian 27.34 (August 22, 1857) 134.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Baird's Digest," Presbyterian 28.7 (February 13, 1858) 26.

\_\_\_\_\_, "A Charge of Slander," Presbyterian 21.4 (January 25, 1851) 14.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Commercial Panic," Presbyterian 27.39 (September 26, 1857) 154.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr. Guthrie's Reply," Presbyterian 30.12 (March 24, 1860) 46.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr. Ross's Slavery Views and the Old-school," Presbyterian 27.39 (September 26, 1857) 154.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr. Scott of San Francisco," Presbyterian 26.44 (November 1, 1856) 174.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr. Scott of San Francisco and His Church," Presbyterian 26.51 (December 20, 1856) 202.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr. Scott on Religious Laws," Presbyterian 29.52 (December 24, 1859) 186.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr. Thornwell on Education," Presbyterian 24.3 (January 21, 1854) 10.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Editorial Caustic" Presbyterian 26.12 (March 22, 1856) 46.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Elder Question," Presbyterian 14.1 (January 6, 1844) 2.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Employment for Poor Women," Presbyterian 23.7 (February 12, 1853) 26.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Excitement," Presbyterian 31.17 (April 27, 1861) 66.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "God Reigns," Presbyterian 30.36 (September 8, 1860) 146.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Great Protestant Movement," Presbyterian 13.2 (January 14, 1843) 6.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The Heated Season," Presbyterian 30.29 (July 21, 1860) 114.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Inadequate Support of Ministers," Presbyterian 22.39 (September 25, 1852) 154.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The Independent and Ourselves," Presbyterian 22.40 (October 2, 1852) 158.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Is It So?" Presbyterian 27.30 (July 25, 1857) 118.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The Last General Assembly," Presbyterian 25.6 (February 10, 1855) 22.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "A New Monthly Magazine," Presbyterian 25.5 (February 3, 1855) 18.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "New Themes Controversy," Presbyterian 23.11 (March 12, 1853) 42.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The New York Observer," Presbyterian 23.5 (January 29, 1853) 18.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "North and South," Presbyterian 20.11 (March 16, 1850) 42.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Objectionable Views," Presbyterian 29.43 (October 22, 1859) 170.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Our Correspondent on 'New Themes'," Presbyterian 23.12 (March 19, 1853) 46.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Position of the Presbyterian Church," Presbyterian 30.50 (December 15, 1860) 198.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Religio-Political Riots," Presbyterian 24.34 (August 26, 1854) 134.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Revised Book of Discipline," Presbyterian 28.34 (August 21, 1858) 134.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Revised Book of Discipline," Presbyterian 30.1 (January 1, 1860) 2.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Revised Book of Discipline," Presbyterian 30.16 (April 21, 1860) 62.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Slavery Agitation," Presbyterian 27.8 (February 21, 1857) 30.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "State of the Country," Presbyterian 30.46 (November 17, 1860) 186.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "State of the Country," Presbyterian 31.17 (April 27, 1861) 66.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Threatening Clouds," Presbyterian 30.50 (December 15, 1860) 198.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The Trial of Faith," Presbyterian 31.17 (April 27, 1861) 66.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The War," Presbyterian 31.17 (April 27, 1861) 67.

E[rskine], E[benezzer], "The Late General Assembly—Church and State," DQR 1.3 (September, 1861) 498-534.

Ewing, Nathaniel, "Another View of the Elder Question, from the PA," Presbyterian 14.20 (May 18, 1844) 79.

[F. J.], "Presbyterianism--Dr. Thornwell versus Dr. Hodge," CP 6.12 (March 23, 1861) 45.

[Frederick,] "Is Baptism in the Church of Rome Valid?" Presbyterian 16.14-17 (April 4, 11, 18, 25, 1846) 53, 57, 61, 65.

Frierson, William [W. F.], "A Master's Duty to His Servant," SCH 3.48 (February 24, 1837) 191.

Fullerton, Hugh Stewart, "Letter from H. S. Fullerton" PW 8.21 (February 10, 1853) 82-3.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Our Church and Slavery" PW 16.43-44 (July 16, 23, 1857) 170, 174.

Fullerton, J. S., "Letter from Rev. J. S. Fullerton of Mt Vernon Iowa" Presbyter 18.27 (March 24, 1859).

[A Georgia Pastor], "The Church a Spiritual Power," SPR 12.3 (October 1859).

Gildersleeve, Benjamin, "Adulteration of Liquors," W&O 6.24 (March 20, 1851) 126.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Baltimore Provincial Counsel," CO 17.24 (June 17, 1843) 94.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Baltimore Trial," CO 14.8 (April 11, 1840) 30.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Banner's Correspondent" W&O 10.37 (April 19, 1855) 140.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Boards of the Church," CO 15.16 (April 27, 1841) 62.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Church and State," CO 18.26 (June 29, 1844) 102.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Church and the School (from the Free Church Record)" W&O 8.8 (September 30, 1852) 29.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Convention," 11.22 (June 3, 1837) 86.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Counter-Revolution" W&O 8.21 (January 6, 1853) 86.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Denominational Education," CO 15.11 (March 13, 1841).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Duty of the Presbyterian Church to Her Children" W&O 1.7 (October 2, 1845) 25.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Letter to the Rev. J. L. Wilson," CO 17.35 (September 2, 1843) 138.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Methodist Church," CO 15.19 (May 10, 1845) 75.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The New York Observer and American Slavery--The American Board--the Combination of Heterogeneous Elements Hostile to the South" W&O 9.34 (March 30, 1854) 134

\_\_\_\_\_, "The North and the South," CO 19.21 (May 24, 1845) 82.

\_\_\_\_\_, "North and South" W&O 6.6 (September 19, 1850) 22.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Notice of a Recent Letter," CO 14.15 (May 30, 1840) 58.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Papal Baptism," W&O 1.1 (August 21, 1845) 2.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Sealing Ordinances of the Church," W&O 8.14 (Nov 11, 1852) 54.

\_\_\_\_\_, "A Theological Seminary for the West" W&O 8.34 (March 31, 1853) 134.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Wine in the Communion," CO 16.29 (July 16, 1842) 114.

Gladney, R. S., R. S. Gladney, "The Downfall of the Union," SPR 16 (1863).

\_\_\_\_\_, "General Assembly," SCH 2.46 (February 3, 1836).

Graham, Samuel L., "The Elder Question" WS 7.40-42 (May 23-June 6, 1844).

Green, Lewis Warner [Lewis], "Princeton Seminary" CP 5.3 (January 21, 1859) 10.

- Gregg, G. C., "Our Domestic Missions--The True Theory of Their Conduct and Management," SPR 11:3 (October, 1858) 402-419.
- Grundy, R. C., "The Maysville Resolutions" True Catholic 1.23 (April 2, 1845).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Temperance" P&H 10.17 (March 25, 1841).
- Haight, Fletcher M., Constitutional Review of Dr. Scott's Bible and Politics (San Francisco: Towne & Bacon, 1859) 59-92.
- Hall, John, "The Place of the Laity," BRTR 3.2 (April 1836) 233-243.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Report on Education in Europe," BRPR 12.2 (April 1840) 244-267.
- Hall, William M., "The Synod of Philadelphia," Presbyterian 13.45-14.3 (November 18, 1843-January 20, 1844).
- Hamilton, William T., "Thoughts on Man, and the Bible," Southern Presbyterian (July-September, 1850).
- Hart, John S., "On the Extent of the Atonement," BRTR 7.4 (October 1835).
- Hill, William W., "Another Western Theological Seminary" PH 19.5 (Oct 25, 1849).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Dr Rice on Slavery" PH 29.35 (March 1, 1860).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Our Position on the Subject of Slavery" PH 18.23 (March 1, 1849).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The Pittsburg Catholic and the Louisville Riots," PH (Sept 13, 1855).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Predictions" PH (August 6, 1857).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The Presbyterian and the Seminary War" PH 28.43 (April 21, 1859).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Prophesying Again" PH (June 21, 1860).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The Slavery Agitation in the Presbyterian Church" PH (August 6, 1857).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The Way to Prevent Mobs," PH (August 16, 1855).
- Hodge, Charles, "An Address on Parochial Schools" (Delivered before the GA in May, 1847) Presbyterian Treasury 1.1 (January 1848).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Adoption of the Confession of Faith," BRPR 30.4 (October 1858) 668-691.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Barnes on Romans," BRTR 7.2 (April 1835).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Civil Government," BRPR 23.1 (January, 1851) 125-158.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romas. . . by Moses Stuart," BRTR 5.3 (July 1833).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Discourse on Religion by Mr. Coit," BRPR 12.4 (October, 1840).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Emancipation," BRPR 21.4 (October 1849).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly of 1836," BRTR 8.3 (July 1836).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly" BRPR 9.3 (July, 1837).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly of 1838," BRPR 10.3 (July, 1838).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly," BRPR 14.3 (July 1842).

\_\_\_\_\_, "General Assembly," BRPR 15.3 (July 1843).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly" BRPR 17.3 (July, 1845).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "General Assembly" BRPR (July 1846).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "General Assembly," BRPR 19.3 (July, 1847).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly," BRPR 20.3 (July, 1848).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly" BRPR 22.3 (July 1850).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly," BRPR 23.3 (July, 1851).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "General Assembly," BRPR 24.3 (July, 1852).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "General Assembly," BRPR 25:3 (July, 1853).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "General Assembly," BRPR 29.3 (July 1857).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "General Assembly" BRPR 31.3 (July, 1859).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly," BRPR 33.3 (July, 1861).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly," BRPR 36 (July 1864).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The Idea of the Church," BRPR 25.2-3 (April-July, 1853) 249-290, 339-389.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Is the Church of Rome a Part of the Visible Church?" BRPR 18.2 (April, 1846).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Neglect of Infant Baptism," BRPR 29.1 (January, 1857).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The New Divinity Tried," BRTR 4.2 (April 1832).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "A Response from Princeton," Southern Presbyterian 1.12 (January 19, 1861).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Review of an Article in the June number of the Christian Spectator, entitled, 'Inquiries respecting the Doctrine of Imputation,'" BRTR 2.3 (July 1830).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Slavery," BRPR 8.2 (April, 1836).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The State of the Country," BRPR 33.1 (January 1861).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Support of the Clergy," BRPR (July, 1847) 359-377.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "Sustentation," BRPR 38.1 (January, 1866) 1-24.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, "The Visibility of the Church," BRPR 25.4 (October 1853) 670-685

Hoyt, Nathan, "Revised Book of Discipline," Presbyterian 27.44 (October 30, 1858) 173.

Hughes, John, and John Breckinridge, A Discussion: Is the Roman Catholic Religion Inimical to Civil or Religious Liberty? Is the Presbyterian Religion Inimical to Civil or Religious Liberty? (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970/1836).

Jacobus, Melancthon W., "Letter to the Editor" PA (March 9, 1853).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Letter to Governor Bigler" PA (February 9, 1853).

Jernegan, J. L., "Argument of J. L. Jernegan, Ruling Elder from No. Indiana on the Marriage Question," PW 4.21 (July 3, 1845) 81.

Johns, Kensey, Jr., "Quorum of Presbytery" Presbyterian 14.1 (January 6, 1844) 2-3.

Jones, Charles Colcock, Eighth Annual Report of the Association for the Religious Instruction of the Negroes in Liberty County, Georgia (Savannah: Thomas Purse, 1843).

- \_\_\_\_\_, "Memorial Of the Presbytery of Georgia to the Presbyteries of the Southern States on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes" WS 8.1 (August 22, 1844) 1.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Princeton Review on 'The State of the Country,'" Southern Presbyterian 1.16 (February 16, 1861).
- \_\_\_\_\_, Suggestions on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the Southern States (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1847).
- \_\_\_\_\_, Thirteenth Annual Report of the Association for the Religious Instruction of the Negroes in Liberty County, Georgia (Savannah: Edward J. Purse, 1848).
- Jones, Joel, "Romanism and Civil and Religious Liberty," BRPR 9 (1837) 238-66, 326-49, 487-509.
- \_\_\_\_\_, [A Layman], "McQueen's Case—Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister," BLRM (August, 1842) 361-376.
- Jones, Samuel Beach, "Temperance, The Civil Law, and the Gospel" PM 2.9 (September, 1852) 385-395.
- Junkin, George [Theophilus], "Further Remarks on Dr. Thornwell's Letter," W&O 9.22 (January 5, 1854) 86.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Lux Mundi," W&O 10.15-32 (November 16, 1854-March 15, 1855).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Romish Baptism," Presbyterian 16.1 (December 20, 1845-April 4, 1846).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Uncle Tom Logic No. VIII. Gratuitous Assumptions," W&O 9.34 (March 30, 1854) 133.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Ye are the Light of the World," W&O 9.51 (July 27, 1854) 204.
- Kirkpatrick, J. L., "Education: Shall It Be by the Church or the State?" SP 7.30 (May 11, 1854) 118.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Our Theological Seminaries," SP 7.41 (July 27, 1854) 162.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Prof. Smith's Defence of Denominational Education," SP 8.11 (December 28, 1854) 42.
- Krebs, John, "Dr Krebs' Speech before the New Hampshire Association (from the New York Observer)" PM 6.10 (October, 1856).
- La Placette, J., "Essays on the Conscience" SXC 2.2 (February, 1843).
- Lindsay, J. O., "The Religious Awakening of 1858," SPR 11.2 (July 1858) 246-263.
- Lord, John C., "The Higher Law," in its Application to the Fugitive Slave Bill: A Sermon on the Duties Men Owe to God and to Governments (Buffalo: George H. Derby and Co., 1851).
- Lowry, L. A., "Manifest Destiny," True Witness 1.1 (March 2, 1854).



\_\_\_\_\_, "Manifest Destiny of Russia," True Witness 1.15 (June 15, 1854).

Lyon, James A., et al, "Slavery, and the Duties Growing Out of the Relation," SPR 16.1 (April, 1863): 1-36.

Maclean, John, "Bacchus and Anti-Bacchus," BRPR 13.2, 4 (April, October, 1841).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Elder Question, from the Presbyterian," PW 3.13 (March 21, 1844).

Maclean, M., "Slavery," SCH 5.23 (August 31, 1838) 90.

MacMaster, Erasmus Darwin, "A Card" PW 17.5 (Oct 22, 1857).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the North West: Meeting of the Board of Directors" PH 27.12 (Sept 17, 1857).

\_\_\_\_\_, The Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the North-west: Speech in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, May 30th, 1859 (Cincinnati: Gazette Co. Steam Print, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Princeton Review on the State of the Country," Presbyter 20.21 (February 14, 1861) 81.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Reply to the Criticism of the Princeton Review on Dr MacM's Speech" Presbyter 18.51 (September 8, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, A Theological Seminary for the North-West (n.p., n.d.).

McCalla, W. L., "The Litigated Point," Presbyterian 14.16 (April 20, 1844) 61.

McGill, Alexander T., "Dr McGill's Address before the General Association of Massachusetts (from the New York Observer)" PM 6.8 (August, 1856).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Slavery Question" PA 7.48 (September 24, 1845).

McIlvaine, Joshua H., "Covenant Education" Home and Foreign Record 12.4 (April 1861) 105-6.

McInnis, Richmond, "No Law to Repeal" True Witness 6.30 (October 15, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Our Position--Religious Toleration," True Witness (Oct 19, 1854).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Slavery Question and Our Church" True Witness 6.6 (April 30, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Smylie on Slavery" True Witness 7.24 (Aug 18, 1860).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Supposed Decline of Infant Baptism," True Witness 3.47 (February 26, 1857).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Too Southern" True Witness 3.42 (January 22, 1857).

McIver, Colin, An Essay concerning the Unlawfulness of a Man's Marrying with his Sister by Affinity (Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1842).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Biblical Repertory's Review of the M'Queen Case," PW 3.2 (Oct 7, 1847) 209.

McKinney, David, "The Action of the Late General Assembly on the National Crisis," PB 9.38 (June 8, 1861).

\_\_\_\_\_, "American Slavery," PB 4.1 (Sept 29, 1855).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Christian and the Crisis," PB 9.16 (January 5, 1861).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr Hodge and the South," PB (February 9, 1861).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Education Question--The State a Party" PB (August 12, 1854).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Education Question--The Church a Party" PB (August 19, 1854).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Education Question--Parochial Schools" PB (August 26, 1854).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Education Question--the Public Schools a field for Christian Usefulness" PB (September 23, 1854).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Effects of a System of Oppression upon the Morals and Judgments of the Oppressors," PB 10.19 (January 25, 1862).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Female Employment," PB 10.45 (July 26, 1862).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Fines on the Mode of Going to Worship on the Sabbath--A Symptom of an Anti-Religious Inquisition," PB (October 29, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Nature and Province of the Church," PB (Dec 31, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The North Carolina Presbyterian on Dr Thornwell's theory of the church," PB (Aug 20, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Presbyterial Critic, Rev. Stuart Robinson, and Ourselves," PB (April 21, 1855).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Proposed Changes," PB 7.32 (April 30, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Revised Book of Discipline," PB 8.35 (May 19, 1860).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Submission to the Majority," PB 9.12 (December 8, 1860).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Synod of South Carolina," PB 9.13 (December 15, 1860).

\_\_\_\_\_, "What Does it Mean?" PB 8.38 (June 9, 1860).

\_\_\_\_\_, "A Word to Our Southern Brethren," PB 9.15 (December 29, 1860).

McMillan, William, "Slavery--General Assembly," Presbyter 20.30 (April 18, 1861).

McRoberts, S. S., "A Review of W. L. B. vs. Total Abstinence," P&H 12.6-9 (November 10, 17, 24, December 1, 1842).

[A Member of the Assembly of 1818], "Southern Presbyterian Review" PW 18.7 (November 4, 1858) 25.

Miller, Samuel, An Essay on the Warrant, Nature, and Duties of the Ruling Elder (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1832).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Letter from the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D. of Princeton, to the Rev. John McElhenney, of Virginia," Presbyterian 7.16 (April 22, 1837) 62.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Letters to Presbyterians, on the Present Crisis in the Presbyterian Church in the United States," Presbyterian 3.3-3.19 (January 16 - May 8, 1833).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Rev. Dr. Miller on the Wine Question," SRT 14.48 (Nov 27, 1835).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Rights of Ruling Elders," Presbyterian 12.48-52 (November 26, December 3, 10, 17, 24, 1842) 190, 194-195, 198, 202, 206.

Miller, Samuel, Jr., Report of the Presbyterian Church Case (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1839).

Samuel Miller, Jr., The Life of Samuel Miller, D.D., LL.D. (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1869).

Monfort, David, "Catholic Communion," P&H (April 29 & June 24, 1841).

\_\_\_\_\_, Letter to the Editor, PW (Nov 22, 1848).

\_\_\_\_\_, "To the Ministers, Elders and Members of the Presbyterian Church: The duty of the church to educate her own youth, and especially to train up men for the work of the holy ministry," P&H 14.60-65 (November 23, 30, December 7, 14, 21, 28, 1843).

Monfort, Joseph Glass, "Colonization and the Assembly," Presbyter (June 23, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Controversy in San Francisco," Presbyter 18.50 (Sept 1, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Critic vs. New Albany" PW 13.50 (August 30, 1854) 198.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Disunion," Presbyter 20.13 (December 20, 1860).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Divisions on the Slavery Question" PW (March 22, 1855).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr. B and the South," Presbyter 19.21 (February 9, 1860) 82.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr. Breckinridge's Letter," PW (September 6, 1855).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr MacMaster's Speech" Presbyter 18.39 (June 16, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr Rice's Lectures on Slavery," Presbyter 19.27 (March 22, 1860) 106.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr Wilson's Sermon," Presbyter 20.15 (January 3, 1861) 58.

\_\_\_\_\_, Editorial Response to E. D. MacMaster's Speech, Presbyter 18.38 (June 9, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, Editorial Response to Hugh Fullerton, PW 16.43 (July 16, 1857) 170.

\_\_\_\_\_, "John Brown" Presbyter 19.12 (December 8, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Location of the Seminary" from the Indianapolis Daily Journal, Presbyter 18.23 (Feb 17, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Maine Law God's Law" PH 24.6 (October 12, 1854).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Next Assembly," Presbyter (May 2, 1861).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The North-West Seminary" Presbyter 18.42 (July 7, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Our Church and Slavery" PW (Nov 6, 1856) 26.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Politics," Presbyter 20.5 (October 18, 1860).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Presbyterian Church and Slavery," PW 16.19 (January 29, 1857).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Presbyterian Expositor," Presbyter 19.17 (Jan 12, 1860).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Princeton Theological Seminary" Presbyter 18.16 (January 6, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Rev. Dr. E. D. MacMaster" Presbyter (June 20, 1866).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Rev. Dr. E. D. MacMaster" Presbyter (December 19, 1866).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Seminary War" Presbyter 18.30 (April 14, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Signs of the Times" PW (June 5, 1856) 150.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Spirit of the Religious Press," Presbyter 20.32 (May 2, 1861) 126.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Two Views" Presbyter (May 19, 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The War," Presbyter 20.31 (April 25, 1861).

\_\_\_\_\_, "What the Presbyterian Thinks" PW (October 29, 1857).

Moore, Thomas V., "God's University; Or the Family considered as a Government, a School, and a Church, the Divinely Appointed Institute for Training the Young for the Life that now is, and for that which is to come" W&O 10.41 (May 17, 1855).

Moore, Thomas V. and Hoge, Moses D., "Book of Discipline," CP 4.23 (June 4, 1859) 90.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Committee's Report," CP 3.36 (September 4, 1858) 142.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Status of the Baptized Child," CP 5.22 (June 2, 1860) 86.

Morse, Sidney E., "The 'Church and State' Party," NYO 19.8 (February 20, 1841) 30.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Designs of the Catholics," NYO 18.32 (August 8, 1840) 126.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Movements of the Catholics," NYO 18.31 (August 1, 1840) 122.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Roman Catholic Claim," NYO (November 7, 1840) 178.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Roman Catholic Equity," NYO 18.51 (December 19, 1840) 202.

Murray, Nicholas, Letters to the Rt. Rev. John Hughes by "Kirwan" (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1851).

[Nassau], "The Assembly of 1860," PH 29.52 (June 28, 1860).

[Old School], "The Relation of Baptized Children to the Church," CP 5.41-46 (October 13-November 17, 1856) 165, 169, 173, 177, 181.

Packard, Frederick A., "Religious Instruction in Common Schools," BRPR 13.3 (July, 1841) 315-368.

Paige, James A., "Odium Theologicum" St. Louis Presbyterian (June 24, 1858) 196.

Palmer, Benjamin Morgan, The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell (New York: Arno Press, 1969/1875).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Slavery a Divine Trust. Duty of the South to Preserve and Perpetuate It," Fast Day Sermons: or The Pulpit on the State of the Country (New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1861) 57-80.

Parsons, B. [Anti-Bacchus], "Ancient Wines," NYO extra (August 29, 1840).

[A Pastor], The Constitution of Courts of Appeal in the Presbyterian Church (np, nd).

Peck, Thomas E., "Stuart Robinson's Church of God," SPR 11:3 (October, 1858).

- Peden, M., "The Discipline of the Baptized Children of the Church--Its Extent and Method," True Witness 5.19 (August 13, 1858).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Elders and Deacons Explaining the Scriptures in Public Worship," True Witness 4.33 (Dec 5, 1857).
- Pettigree, James L., "Can Education Dispense with the Patronage of the State," CO 16.1 (January 1, 1842) 2.
- Plumer, William Swan, "Dr. Plumer's Report on Rights of Conscience," W&O 9.9 (October 8, 1853) 33.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Educational Scheme of the Free Church of Scotland," W&O 2.12 (November 5, 1846) 45.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Low Wages," WS 3.1 (Aug 29, 1839).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "More Division" WS 8.30 (March 13, 1845) 118.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Paragraphs--Religious and Literary," WS 4.14 (November 18, 1840) 50.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Usury," WS 4.7 (October 8, 1840) 26.
- Porter, Abner A., "Dr. Hodge on the Last General Assembly," Southern Presbyterian 1.48 (September 28, 1861).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Election," SP 1.2 (November 9, 1860).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Politics," SP 1.5 (December 1, 1860).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Prospectus of a New Series of the Southern Presbyterian," SP 12.51 (September 29, 1860).
- [A Presbyterian in the Far South], A System of Prospective Emancipation Advocated in Kentucky by Robert J. Breckinridge, D.D., and Urged and Supported in the Princeton Review (Charleston: Steam-Power Press of Walker & James, 1850).
- Presbytery of Charleston, "The Baptism of Servants" SPR 1.1. (June, 1847).
- "Princeton and Rome vs. the General Assembly," PH 3.46-47, 49-52 (August 14, 21, September 4, 11, 18, 25, 1845).
- "The Relation which Reason and Philosophy sustain to the Theology of Revelation," DQR 1.1 (March, 1861).
- Rice, Nathan L., "Anti-Slavery Lectures" from the St. Louis Presbyterian, W&O 10.12 (October 26, 1854).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Catholic Communion Defended, No 1," P&H (July 8, 1841).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Cruelty of Popery," Western Protestant 1.1 (February 19, 1845) 6-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Dangerous Opponents," Western Protestant 1.8 (June 4, 1845) 62.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Dr Rice's Speeches Before the Rhode Island Evangelical Consociation (from the New York Observer)" PM 6.7 (July, 1856).

- \_\_\_\_\_, Editorials on Cincinnati Theological Seminary, PW 5.5-10 (Nov 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, Dec 6, 1849).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Letters on Slavery" St. Louis Presbyterian (September 20-November 22, 1855).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Marriage Question," PH 8.45 (June 26, 1845) 177.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Mysterious Disappearance" Presbyterian Expositor 1.6 (May 15, 1858) 312.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Negro Law of Illinois from the Journal of Commerce" PW (May 26, 1853).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Northwestern Theological Seminary" Presbyterian Expositor 1.12 (November 1858).
- \_\_\_\_\_, North Western Theological Seminary (np, nd [1857]).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Presbyterian Press" St. Louis Presbyterian 13.16 (October 16, 1856).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "President Shannon's Card" St Louis Presbyterian 12.3 (July 19, 1855).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Reply to Presbyterian Herald" PW 6.48 (August 21, 1851).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Seminary Matter" Presbyterian Expositor 1.1 (Dec, 1857) 44.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Seminary Movement" St. Louis Presbyterian (Oct 23, 1856).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Slavery" St. Louis Presbyterian (January 22, 1857).
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Samuel Ramsay Wilson, "Slavery--Our Position," PW 2:2 (March 4, 1847) 86.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Temperance" P&H 9.52, 10.2 (November 26, December 10, 1840).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Theological Seminaries" PW 3.44 (Aug 3, 1848) 382.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Theological Seminary" PW 6.1 (Sept 26, 1850) 2.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Theological Seminary and St Louis" PW 8.27 (March 24, 1853).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Theological Seminary in the West" PW 8.16 (January 6, 1853) 62.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Western Protestant," Western Protestant 1.1 (February 19, 1845) 5.

Robinson, John, The Hand Book of Slavery (Cincinnati: John D Thorpe, 1852).

- Robinson, Stuart, "Advertisement," Presbyterial Critic 1:11 (November, 1855) 532.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Ancient Presbyterian Theory of the Relation of the Civil to the Ecclesiastical Power--Testimony of the Scotch Reformers," True Presbyterian 1.1 (April 3, 1862).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "State and Church, from the Scottish Presbyterian" reprinted in Pacific Expositor 1.12 (June, 1860).
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Church as an Essential Element of the Gospel (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1858).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Church Question," Presbyterial Critic 1:6 (June, 1855).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Critic and Its Censors," Presbyterial Critic 1:7 (July, 1855) 329-336.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Editorial Exchange," Presbyterial Critic 1:1 (January, 1855) 51.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly of 1854," SPR 8 (January, 1855).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly of 1855," Presbyterial Critic 1:8 (August, 1855).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly of 1855," Presbyterial Critic 1:9 (September, 1855).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly of 1855," Presbyterial Critic 1:10 (October, 1855).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Mode of Admitting Baptized Persons to the Lord's Supper," True Presbyterian (June 12, 1862).

\_\_\_\_\_, "New Themes and Kindred Topics," Presbyterian 23.8, 10, 12 (February 19, March 5, 19, 1853) 30, 37, 45.

\_\_\_\_\_, and Thomas E. Peck, "Our Idea," Presbyterial Critic 1:1 (January, 1855) 4.

\_\_\_\_\_, "State and Church," Pacific Expositor 1.12 (June, 1860).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Substance of the Speech of Rev. Stuart Robinson before the Colonization Society of Kentucky" PH 18.29 (April 12, 1849).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The True American, as Contrasted with the New England Doctrine touching the Relation of the Civil to the Spiritual," True Presbyterian 1.1 (April 3, 1862).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Who Are the Revolutionists?" Presbyterial Critic 1:6 (June, 1855) 249-256.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Who Should Be Just and make the Amende?" Presbyterial Critic 1:4 (April, 1855) 185-193.

Rogers, E. P., "Mercantile Morals," SPR 6.4 (April 1853) 529-546.

[R. P. of Chicago], "Shall Women Vote?" Presbyter 29.21 (Feb 17, 1869).

[A ruling elder in Georgia,] "Strictures Concerning Ultimate Emancipation" PM 10.2 (February, 1860).

Sawtell, E. N., "Letters Concerning Slavery at the South from the New York Observer" PW 2.47-48 (August 26-September 2, 1847) 181, 185, 186.

Scott, William A., The Bible and Politics: or, an Humble Plea for Equal, Perfect, Absolute Religious Freedom, and against all Sectarianism in our Public Schools (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & Co., 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Church and Lynch Law," Presbyterian 26.36 (September 6, 1856) 141.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Church Schools and State Schools" Pacific Expositor 2.7 (January, 1861) 282.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Letter from Dr. Scott," Presbyterian 29.52 (December 24, 1859) 186.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Religious Laws and Objectionable Views," Pacific Expositor 1.9 (March, 1860) 404-408.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Sunday Laws" Pacific Expositor 1.11 (May, 1860) 482.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Synod and Its School" Pacific Expositor 1.5 (November, 1859) 234-235.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Synod of the Pacific" Pacific Expositor 1.1 (July, 1859) 190.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Validity of Roman Catholic Baptism," Presbyterian 30.36 (March 7, 1861).

[A Sexagenarian Elder (E. A. Nisbet?)], "A Letter to Rev. Gardiner Spring, D. D., New York City," Southern Presbyterian 1.48 (September 28, 1861).

Shepperson, J. G., "On the Nature and Importance of a Christian Profession, and its Connexion with Membership in the Visible Church," SPR 6.4 (April, 1853) 484-507.

Smylie, James, A Review of a Letter from the Presbytery of Chilicothe to the Presbytery of Mississippi on the Subject of Slavery (Woodville, MS, 1836).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Smylie on Slavery" SCH 4.48-5.4 (March 2-April 20, 1838) 193, 199, 203, 207, 208, 4, 8, 12, 13.

Smyth, Thomas, "The Abolition and New School Explosion in the Charleston Union Presbytery" CO (January 26, 1839).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Character and Conditions of Liberty," SPR 16 (1864) 201-236.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Denominational Education, Its Necessity and Practicability, especially as it regards Colleges," W&O 1.25 (February 5, 1846) 97.

\_\_\_\_\_, [Charlestonensis], Letter to the Editor, CO 16.33 (August 13, 1842) 130.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Name, Nature, and Functions of Ruling Elders," CO 19.11-12 (March 15, 22, 1845).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Office of Deacon," SPR 2.3 (December, 1848) 341-361.

\_\_\_\_\_, "On the Ordination of Calvin," WS 7.9 (October 19, 1843).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Parochial Schools" SPR 2.4 (March 1849) 520.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Rev. Mr. Dana and the Rev. Mr. Magruder," CO 14.15 (May 30, 1840) 57.

\_\_\_\_\_, "A Serious Review of 'A Calm Discussion of the Lawfulness, Scripturalness, and Expediency of Ecclesiastical Boards'--being a Defence of the Ecclesiastical Boards of the Presbyterian Church" BLRM 7.10, 12 (October, December, 1841) 457-465, 561-572.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Shall Our Church Divide?" Southern Presbyterian 1.22 (March 30, 1861).

\_\_\_\_\_, [Chrysostom], "'Signum' and the Southern Presbyterian Review," Southern Presbyterian 3.18 (December 28, 1849) 71-72.

\_\_\_\_\_, [Chrysostom], "The Southern Presbyterian Review," Southern Presbyterian 3.13 (November 23, 1849) 51.

Steel, Samuel, "The Bible Doctrine of Slavery" BLRM 3.9-10 (September, October, 1837).

Stonestreet, James, "Ought Ruling Elders to Unite with Ministers in Laying on Hands in the Ordination of Ministers?" SXC 1.9 (September 1842).

Stuart, Moses, Conscience and the Constitution, with Remarks on the Recent Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States on the Subject of Slavery (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1850)

Talmage, Samuel K., "From the Southern Presbyterian" Home and Foreign Record 5.10 (October 1854) 298.

Thomas, Thomas E., "Editor's Correspondence" CMM 1.7 (August 1845).

\_\_\_\_\_, "General Assembly of 1845 and Slavery" CMM 1:3 (June 1845).

\_\_\_\_\_, "A New Cornerstone for the General Assembly" CMM 1.6 (September 1845).



\_\_\_\_\_, "Presbyterian Anti-Slavery Convention" CMM 1:3 (June, 1845).  
\_\_\_\_\_, Review of Junkin

[Thomson], "The Rochester Assembly," PH 30.3 (July 19, 1860).

Thornwell, James Henley, "Address to All Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the World," Collected Writings 4:446-464.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Baptism by Papists" WS 8.46 (July 3, 1845) 181-182, 184.

\_\_\_\_\_, "A Calm Discussion of the Lawfulness, Scripturalness, and Expediency of Ecclesiastical Boards" BLRM 7.4 (April, 1841) 145-161.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Christian Doctrine of Human Rights and Slavery," SPR 2.4 (March, 1849).

\_\_\_\_\_, Collected Writings of James Henley Thornwell 4 vols. (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1986/1873).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Does Education belong to the Church or State?" W&O 9.20 (December 22, 1853) 76.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Dr. Thornwell's Memorial on the Recognition of Christianity in the Constitution," SPR 16 (1863) 77-87.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The General Assembly" SPR 1.2 (September 1847).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Letter from A South Carolinian," WS 7.39 (May 16, 1844) 154-5.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Reply to a 'Serious Review of a 'Calm Discussion of the Lawfulness, Scripturalness and Expediency of Ecclesiastical Boards,' being a Defence of the Ecclesiastical Boards of the Presbyterian Church;'"—by the Author of the Calm Discussion," BLRM 1.4 (April, 1842).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Report on Slavery," SPR 5.3 (January 1852) 380-394.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Revised Book of Discipline," SPR 12.3 (October 1859).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Rights of Ruling Elders in the Primitive Church," SXC 2.12 (December, 1843).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Rights of Elders," WS 7.36 (April 25, 1844) 142.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Slavery and the Religious Instruction of the Coloured Population," SPR 4.1 (July 1850) 105-141.

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Validity of the Baptism of the Church of Rome," SPR (July, October, 1851, January, 1852).

Transylvania Presbytery, "Report on the Validity of the Baptism administered in the Reform or Campbellite Body," Presbyterian of the West 27.46 (May 13, 1858).

Van Court, John H., "Rev. James Smylie," W&O 9.29 (Feb 23, 1854) 116.

Van Rensselaer, Cortlandt, "Andover Theological Seminary" Home and Foreign Record 4.4 (April, 1853) 109.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Catechetical Instruction" Home and Foreign Record 4.6 (June, 1853) 171-3.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Debate in the Synod of Virginia on Slavery," NYO 13.49 (December 5, 1835) 196.

- \_\_\_\_\_, "Denominational and Other Colleges" Home and Foreign Record 4.3 (March, 1853) 77.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Dr. Van Rensselaer's First Rejoinder on the Proper Statement of the Scriptural Doctrine of Slavery," PM 8.8 (August, 1858).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Dr Van Rensselaer's Second Rejoinder" PM 8.12 (December, 1858).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Freedom, When Attainable, to be Preferred," PM 10.1 (January, 1860) 21.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Presbyterian Views on Slaveholding: Letters and Rejoinders to George D. Armstrong (Philadelphia: M. J. Milson, 1858).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Review of The Christian Doctrine of Slavery (Armstrong), Slavery Ordained of God (Ross), and Slavery and Its Remedy (Samuel Nott)" PM 7.9 (September, 1857).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Right of the Church to Educate" Home and Foreign Record 5.11 (November 1854) 333.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Seminary of the Northwest" PM 8.1 (January, 1858) 42.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Theological Seminary of the North West" PM 7.6 (June, 1857).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Three Conservative Replies," PM 8.1, 2, 4 (January, February, April, 1858).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Woman's Rights Convention," PM 2.11 (Nov, 1852).

Vaughan, Clement Read [Theta], "The Board of Education" W&O 9.46-52 (June 22, 29, July 6, 13, 20, 27, August 3, 1854).

\_\_\_\_\_, "A Review of the Doctrines of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church, upon the relation of the church to the general interests of education," W&O 10.12 (October 26, 1854) 45.

\_\_\_\_\_, [Beta], "Remarks on the Education Question, Chiefly in Reply to Theophilus," W&O 10.28-38 (February 15-April 26, 1855).

[A Village Pastor], "Hints on the Agency System" BLRM 6.3 (March, 1840).

\_\_\_\_\_, "More Hints on the Agency System" BLRM 6.10 (October, 1840).

[Vindex], "The Presbyter on Dr MacMaster's Speech," Presbyter 18.41 (June 30, 1859).

White, William S., "Candidates for the Ministry" W&O 4.18 (Dec 12, 1848) 69.

Wilson, John, Letter from the Hon. John Wilson, PW 17.16 (January 7, 1858).

Wilson, John Leighton, "Letters of the Rev. J. L. Wilson in Reply to the Committee of Harmony Presbytery," CO 19.26-29 (June 28, July 5, 12, 19, 1845).

Wilson, Joseph R., "Southern Feeling," PB 9.13 (December 15, 1860).

Wilson, Joshua Lacy, Relations and Duties of Servants and Masters (Cincinnati, I. Hefley, 1839).

Wilson, Samuel R., The Causes and Remedies of Impending National Calamities (Cincinnati: J. B. Elliott, 1860).

Wood, James, Facts and Observations concerning the Organization and State of the Churches in the Three Synods of Western New-York and the Synod of Western Reserve (Saratoga Springs, NY: G. M. Davison, 1837).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Letter to Board of Missions" Foreign Missionary Chronicle 11.11 (November 1843) 346.

Young, John C., "The Danville and New Albany Theological Seminaries" W&O 9.17 (Dec 1, 1853) 66.

### **Primary Source Collections**

Armstrong, Maurice W., et al, eds., The Presbyterian Enterprise: Sources of American Presbyterian History (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956).

Chesebrough, David B., God Ordained this War: Sermons on the Sectional Crisis, 1830-1865 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991).

Fast Day Sermons: or The Pulpit on the State of the Country (New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1861).

Sweet, William Warren, ed., Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840: Vol II. The Presbyterians (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936).

### **Secondary Sources:**

Abzug, Robert, Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Ahlstrom, Sydney, A Religious History of the American People (New York: Doubleday, 1975)

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Scottish Philosophy and American Theology," Church History 24 (1955) 257-272.

Ambrose, Douglas, "Of Stations and Relations: Proslavery Christianity in Early National Virginia," Religion and the Antebellum Debate over Slavery, edited by John R. McKivigan & Mitchell Snay (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998) 35-67.

Anbinder, Tyler, Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

- Apperson, George M., "Lincoln, the Churches, and Memphis Presbyterians," American Presbyterians 72:2 (Summer 1994).
- Appleby, Joyce, Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generations of Americans (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000).
- Aptheker, Herbert, Abolitionism: A Revolutionary Movement (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989).
- Backus, Isaac, A History of New England with Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians Called Baptists 2 vols. (Newton, MA: Backus Historical Society, 1871).
- Bademan, R. Bryan, "Contesting the Evangelical Age: Protestant Challenges to Religious Subjectivity in Antebellum America," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2003).
- Banner, Lois Wendland, "The Protestant Crusade: Religious Missions, Benevolence, and Reform in the United States, 1790-1840," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970).
- Bartlett, Irving H., John C. Calhoun: A Biography (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993).
- Baxter, Maurice G., Henry Clay and the American System (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995).
- Bestor, Arthur, "State Sovereignty and Slavery: A Reinterpretation of Proslavery Constitutional Doctrine," in Proslavery Thought, Ideology, and Politics edited by Paul Finkelman (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989) 13-76.
- Bilhartz, Terry D., Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986).
- Billington, Ray Allen, The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938).
- Binder, Frederick M., The Age of the Common School, 1830-1865 (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974).

- Bladek, John David, "America for Americans: The Southern Know-Nothing Party and the Politics of Nativism, 1854-1856," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1998).
- Blanks, William D., "Ideal and Practice: A Study of the Conception of the Christian Life Prevailing in the Presbyterian Churches of the Nineteenth Century," (Th. D. dissertation, Union Seminary in Virginia, 1960).
- Blumin, Stuart M., The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Bodo, John, The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960).
- Bozeman, Theodore Dwight, Protestants in an Age of Science: The Baconian Ideal and Antebellum American Religious Thought (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).
- Bratt, James D., "From Revivalism to Anti-Revivalism to Whig Politics: The Strange Career of Calvin Colton," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 52 (2001) 63-82.
- Brettell, Caroline B., "From Catholics to Presbyterians: French-Canadian Immigrants in Central Illinois," JPH 63:3 (Fall 1985) 285-298.
- Brooke, Peter, Ulster Presbyterianism: The Historical Perspective, 1610-1970 (Belfast, 1994).
- Brown, Peter, Augustine of Hippo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).
- Brown, Richard D., Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- Brown, Stewart J., The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1801-1846 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Michael Fry, eds., Scotland in the Age of the Disruption (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993).
- \_\_\_\_\_, Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland (Oxford, 1982).
- Capel, Richard, Tentations; Their Nature, Danger, Cure . . . To which is added a Briefe Dispute, as touching Restitution in the Case of Usury (London: Printed by R. B., 1633).

- Carson, John L., and David W. Hall, eds., To Glorify and Enjoy God: A Commemoration of the 350<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Westminster Assembly (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994).
- Carwardine Richard J., Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Methodists and the Market Revolution," in God and Mammon: Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Cashdollar, Charles, "Ruin and Revival: The Attitude of the Presbyterian Churches Toward the Panic of 1873" JPH 50:3 (1972) 229-244.
- Chesebrough, David B., Clergy Dissent in the Old South, 1830-1865 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996).
- Christie, John W., and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., George Bourne and The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable (Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware and Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1969).
- Clarke, Thomas Erskine, "An Experiment in Paternalism: Presbyterians and Slaves in Charleston, South Carolina," JPH 53:3 (1975): 230.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Southern Nationalism and Columbia Theological Seminary," American Presbyterians 66:2 (1988) 123-133.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Thomas Smyth: Moderate of the Old South" (Th.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, 1970).
- Cole, Charles C., Jr., The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826-1860 (New York, 1954).
- Colley, Linda, Britons, Forging the Nation 1707-1837 (London: Bath, 1992).
- Conforti, Joseph A., Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England between the Great Awakenings (Grand Rapids: Christian University Press, 1981).
- Conkin, Paul K., Cane Ridge: America's Pentecost (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995).
- Conser, Walter H., Jr., Church and Confession: Conservative Theologians in Germany, England and America, 1815-1866 (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984).
- \_\_\_\_\_, God and the Natural World: Religion and Science in Antebellum America

- (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993).
- Cornelius, Janet Duitsman, Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999).
- Cott, Nancy F., The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).
- Cremin, Lawrence A., American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876 (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).
- Cronon, William, Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1991).
- Cross, Whitney R., The Burned Over District: Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950).
- Crowther, Edward R., Southern Evangelicals and the Coming of the Civil War (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2000).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Southern Protestants, Slavery and Secession: A Study in Religious Ideology, 1830-1861," (Ph.D. dissertation, Auburn University, 1986).
- Daly, John Patrick, When Slavery Was Called Freedom: Evangelicalism, Proslavery, and the Causes of the Civil War (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002).
- Davis, David Brion, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966).
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975).
- \_\_\_\_\_, Slavery and Human Progress (New York, 1984).
- Davis, Hugh, "The New York *Evangelist*, New School Presbyterians and Slavery, 1837-1857," American Presbyterians 68:1 (Spring 1990) 14-23.
- Dickson, R. J., Ulster Emigration to Colonial America (Belfast: Ulster Heritage Foundation, 1988).
- Doherty, Robert, "Social Bases for the Presbyterian Schism of 1837-1838: The Philadelphia Case," Journal of Social History 2 (Fall, 1968) 69-79.
- Dolan, Jay P., The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992).

- \_\_\_\_\_, The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).
- Douglas, Ann, The Feminization of American Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977).
- Drummond, Andrew L., and James Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843-1874 (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975).
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Scottish Church, 1688-1843: The Age of the Moderates (Edinburgh, 1973).
- Drury, Clifford Merrill, William Anderson Scott: "No Ordinary Man" (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967).
- Drury, Marjule Anne, "Anti-Catholicism in Germany, Britain, and the United States: A Review and Critique of Recent Scholarship," Church History 70:1 (March 2001) 98-131.
- DuBose, Hampden C., Memoirs of Rev. John Leighton Wilson, D.D., Missionary to Africa, and Secretary of Foreign Missions (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1895).
- Duff, Nancy J., "New Themes for the Protestant Clergy," American Presbyterians 66:4 (Winter, 1988) 254-259.
- Egerton, Douglas R., "'Its Origin Is Not a Little Curious': A New Look at the American Colonization Society," in Proslavery Thought, Ideology, and Politics edited by Paul Finkelman (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989) 111-128.
- Eid, Leroy V., "Irish, Scotch, and Scotch-Irish," American Presbyterians 64 (1986) 211-225.
- Elazar, Daniel J., Covenant & Constitution: The Great Frontier and the Matrix of Federal Democracy (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1998).
- Ericson, David F., The Debate over Slavery: Antislavery and Proslavery Liberalism in Antebellum America (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
- Farmer, James Oscar, Jr., The Metaphysical Confederacy: James Henley Thornwell and the Synthesis of Southern Values (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986).
- Faust, Drew Gilpin, The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).
- \_\_\_\_\_, A Sacred Circle: The Dilemma of the Intellectual in the Old South, 1840-



- \_\_\_\_\_. 1860 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977).
- Fehrenbacher, Don E., Sectional Crisis and Southern Constitutionalism (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995).
- Feldberg Michael, The Philadelphia Riots of 1844: A Study of Ethnic Conflict (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975).
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Turbulent Era: Riot and Disorder in Jacksonian America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).
- Fiering, Norman, Jonathan Edwards's Moral Thought and Its British Context (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1981).
- Filler, Louis, The Crusade against Slavery, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper & Row, 1960).
- Finke, Roger, and Rodney Starke, The Churching of America, 1776-1990 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992).
- Fischer, David Hackett, Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- Foner, Eric, Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995/1970).
- Foster, Charles I., An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).
- Franchot, Jenny, Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
- Frederickson, George M., The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993/1965).
- Freehling, William W., Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816-1836 (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- Gaustad, Edwin Scott, Historical Atlas of Religion in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).
- Genovese, Eugene D., A Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998).

- \_\_\_\_\_, "Religion in the Collapse of the American Union," Religion and the Civil War edited by Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout and Charles Reagan Wilson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Slaveholders' Dilemma: Freedom and Progress in Southern Conservative Thought, 1820-1860 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Slavery Ordained of God": The Southern Slaveholders' View of Biblical History and Modern Politics (Gettysburg, Pa., 1985).
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Southern Front: History and Politics in the Cultural War (University of Missouri, 1995).
- Gienapp, William E., The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- Goen, C. C., Broken Churches, Broken Nation (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press)
- Graham, Ian C. G., Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956).
- Hewitt, Glenn A., Regeneration and Morality: A Study of Charles Finney, Charles Hodge, John W. Nevin, and Horace Bushnell (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1991).
- Graham, Preston D., Jr., A Kingdom Not of This World: Stuart Robinson's Struggle to Distinguish the Sacred from the Secular during the Civil War (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2002).
- Grasty, John S., Memoir of Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters (St. Louis: Southwestern Book and Publishing Co., 1871).
- Guelzo, Allen C., Edwards on the Will: A Century of American Theological Debate (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1989).
- Gusfield, Joseph R., Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986/1963).
- Halsey, Le Roy J., A History of The McCormick Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church (Chicago: Published by the Seminary, 1893).
- Hall, Joseph H., Presbyterian Conflict and Resolution on the Missouri Frontier (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1987).
- Hambrick-Stowe, Charles, Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996).

- Hanley, Mark, Beyond a Christian Commonwealth: The Protestant Quarrel with the American Republic, 1830-1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).
- Hanson, R. P. C., The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: the Arian Controversy, 318-381 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988).
- Hardman, Keith J., Charles Grandison Finney, 1792-1875: Revivalist and Reformer (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987).
- Harkaby, Ira R., "Reference Group Theory and Group Conflict and Cohesion in Advanced Capitalist Societies: Presbyterians, Workers and Jews in Philadelphia, 1790-1968," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1979).
- Hatch, Nathan O., The Democratization of American Christianity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).
- Haynes, Stephen R., Noah's Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Race, National Destiny, and the Sons of Noah in the Thought of Benjamin M. Palmer," JPH 78:2 (Summer 2000) 125-143.
- Helseth, Paul Kjoss, "'Right Reason' and the Princeton Mind: The Moral Context," JPH 77:1 (Spring 1999) 13-28.
- Hewitt, Glenn A., Regeneration and Morality: A Study of Charles Finney, Charles Hodge, John W. Nevin, and Horace Bushnell (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1991).
- Heyrman, Christine, Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997).
- Hirrel, Leo P., Children of Wrath: New School Calvinism and Antebellum Reform (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1998).
- Hodge, Archibald Alexander, The Life of Charles Hodge, D.D., LL.D. (New York, 1880).
- Holifield, E. Brooks, The Covenant Sealed: The Development of Puritan Sacramental Theology in Old and New England, 1570-1720 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Gentleman Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture, 1795-1860 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1978).

- Horwitz, Morton J., The Transformation of American Law, 1780-1860 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).
- Howard, Victor B., Conscience and Slavery: The Evangelistic Calvinist Domestic Mission, 1837-1861 (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1990).
- Howe, Daniel Walker, The Political Culture of the Whigs (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).
- Hunt, Thomas C., "Henry Ruffner and the Struggle for Public Schools in Antebellum Virginia," American Presbyterians 64:1 (Spring 1986) 18-26.  
 \_\_\_\_\_, and Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., "Race, Religion, and Redemption: William Henry Ruffner and the Moral Foundations of Education in Virginia," American Presbyterians 66:1 (Spring, 1988) 1-9.
- Hutchinson, William T., Cyrus Hall McCormick 2 vols. (New York: The Century Co., 1930, 1935).
- Jick, Leon A., The Americanization of the Synagogue, 1820-1870 (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1976).
- Johnson, Curtis D., Islands of Holiness: Rural Religion in Upstate New York, 1790-1860 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).
- Jones, Norman, God and the Moneylenders: Usury and Law in Early Modern England (Oxford, 1989).
- Jordan, Winthrop D., The White Man's Burden: Historical Origins of Racism in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).  
 \_\_\_\_\_, White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968).
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H., The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997/1957).
- Katz, Michael, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America (New York: Praeger, 1975).
- Keller, Kenneth W., "The Origins of Ulster Scots Emigration to America: A Survey of Recent Research," American Presbyterians 70:2 (Summer 1992) 71-80.
- Kerber, Linda K., Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1980).

- Kersh, Rogan, Dreams of a More Perfect Union (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).
- Kidd, Thomas Saunders, "From Puritan to Evangelical: Changing Culture in New England, 1689-1740," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2001).
- Kirwan, Albert D., John J. Crittenden: The Struggle for the Union (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1962).
- Klay, Robin, and John Lunn, "Protestants and the American Economy in the Postcolonial Period: An Overview," God and Mammon: Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Klement, Frank L., Lincoln's Critics: The Copperheads of the North (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Books, 1999).
- Kling, David W., A Field of Divine Wonders: The New Divinity and Village Revivals in Northwestern Connecticut, 1792-1822 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993).
- Knobel, Dale T., "America for Americans": The Nativist Movement in the United States (New York: Twayne, 1996).
- Knupfer, Peter B., The Union As It Is: Constitutional Unionism and Sectional Compromise, 1787-1861 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991).
- Krout, John A., The Origins of Prohibition (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1925).
- Lambert, M. D., Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).
- Landsman, Ned C., Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).
- Lane, Belden Curnow, "Democracy and the Ruling Eldership: Samuel Miller's Response to Tensions between Clerical Power and Lay Activity in Early Nineteenth Century America," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1976).
- Lannie, Vincent P., and Bernard C. Diethorn, "For the Honor and Glory of God: The Philadelphia Bible Riots of 1840," History of Education Quarterly 8.1 (Spring, 1968) 44-106.

Lay, Robert F., "New School Missionaries and Old School Presbyters on the Indiana Frontier: The Case of Samuel Newbury," JPH 77:4 (Winter 1999) 225-236.

Leyburn, James G., The Scotch-Irish—A Social History (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962).

Livingstone, David N., and Ronald A. Wells, Ulster-American Religion: Episodes in the History of a Cultural Connection (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

Long, Kathryn Teresa, The Revival of 1857-58: Interpreting an American Religious Awakening (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

\_\_\_\_\_, "'Turning. . . Piety into Hard Cash': The Marketing of Nineteenth-century Revivalism," God and Mammon: Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 236-263.

Loveland, Anne C., "Presbyterians and Revivalism in the Old South," JPH 57:1 (Spring 1979) 36-49.

\_\_\_\_\_, Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1800-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980).

Macpherson, John, "The Doctrine of the Church in Scottish Theology" in Anthology of Presbyterian and Reformed Literature Vol. V, edited by Christopher Coldwell (Dallas: Naphtali Press, 1992).

Maddex, Jack P., "Presbyterians in the South, Centralization, and the *Book of Church Order*, 1861-1879," American Presbyterians 68:1 (Spring, 1990) 24-45.

\_\_\_\_\_, "From Theocracy to Spirituality: The Southern Presbyterian reversal on Church and State," JPH 54 (Winter 1976) 438-457.

Marsden, George M., The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

Marshall, Gordon, Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the Development of Capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707 (Edinburgh, 1992).

Mathews, Donald G., Religion in the Old South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Charles Colcock Jones and the Southern Evangelical Crusade to Form a Biracial Community," in Religion and Slavery, 489-510

May, Henry, The Enlightenment in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976)

- Mayse, Edgar C., "Robert Jefferson Breckinridge: American Presbyterian Controversialist," (Ph.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1974).
- McDonald, Forrest, States' Rights and the Union: Imperium in Imperio, 1776-1876 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000).
- McGreevy, John T., Catholicism and American Freedom (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003).
- McInerney, Daniel J., The Fortunate Heirs of Freedom: Abolition & Republican Thought (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).
- McIntosh, John R., Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party, 1740-1800 (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1998).
- McKivigan, John R., "Prisoner of Conscience: George Gordon and the Fugitive Slave Law," JPH 60:4 (Winter 1982) 336-354.
- \_\_\_\_\_, The War against Proslavery Religion: Abolitionism and the Northern Churches, 1830-1865 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Mitchell Snay, eds., Religion and the Antebellum Debate over Slavery (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998).
- Melton, Julius, "A View from the Pew: Nineteenth-Century Elders and Presbyterian Worship," American Presbyterians 71:3 (Fall 1993) 161-174.
- Miller, Glenn T., Piety and Intellect: The Aims and Purposes of Antebellum Theological Education (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990).
- Miller, Howard, The Revolutionary College: American Presbyterian Higher Education, 1707-1837 (New York: New York University Press, 1976).
- Miller, Page Putnam, A Claim to New Roles (Metuchen, NJ: The American Theological Library Association and The Scarecrow Press, 1985).
- Miller, Randall M., and Wakelyn, Jon L., Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983).
- Mitchell, Laura L., "'Matters of Justice between Man and Man': Northern Divines, the Bible, and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850," Religion and the Antebellum Debate over Slavery, edited by John R. McKivigan & Mitchell Snay (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998).

- Moore, Edmund Arthur, "The Earlier Life of Robert J. Breckinridge, 1800-1845," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1932)
- Moore, Moses N., Jr., "Edward Wilmot Blyden: From Old School Presbyterian Missionary to 'Minister of Truth,'" JPH 75:2 (Summer 1997) 103-118.
- Moore, R. Laurence, Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- Moorhead, James H., "The 'Restless Spirit of Radicalism': Old School Fears and the Schism of 1837," JPH 78:1 (Spring 2000).
- Mulder, Philip N., A Controversial Spirit: Evangelical Awakenings in the South (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Mullin, Robert Bruce, "Biblical Critics and the Battle Over Slavery," JPH 61:2 (Summer 1983) 210-226.
- Murchie, David, "Charles Hodge and Jacksonian Economics," JPH 61:2 (Summer 1983) 248-256.
- Murray, Andrew E., Presbyterians and the Negro—A History (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1966).
- Nagel, Paul C., One Nation Indivisible: The Union in American Thought, 1776-1861 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).
- Nevin, Alfred, Encyclopaedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: Including the Northern and Southern Assemblies (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Encyclopaedia Publishing Co., 1884).
- Newman, Richard S., The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
- Niven, John, John C. Calhoun and the Price of Union (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).
- Noll, Mark A., America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to America's God (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Bible and Slavery," Religion and the Civil War edited by Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout and Charles Reagan Wilson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).



- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1991).
- \_\_\_\_\_, A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992).
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., The Princeton Theology, 1812-1921 2d ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2001).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Protestant Reasoning about Money and the Economy, 1790-1860: A Preliminary Probe," in God and Mammon: Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Nord, David Paul, "Benevolent Capital: Financing Evangelical Book Publishing in Early Nineteenth-Century America," God and Mammon: Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 147-170.
- Old, Hughes Oliphant, The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975).
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Shaping of the Reformed Baptismal Rite in the Sixteenth Century (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992).
- Padgett, Chris, "Evangelicals Divided: Abolition and the Plan of Union's Demise in Ohio's Western Reserve," Religion and the Antebellum Debate over Slavery, John R. McKivigan & Mitchell Snay, eds. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998) 249-272.
- Parker, Harold, The United Synod of the South (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988).
- Parkerson, Donald H., and Jo Ann Parkerson, The Emergence of the Common School in the U. S. Countryside (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1998).
- Pegram, Thomas R., Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800-1933 (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1998).
- Perceval-Maxwell, M., The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973).
- Pointer, Richard W., "Philadelphia Presbyterians, Capitalism, and the Morality of Economic Success," in God and Mammon: Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 171-191.
- Pope, Earl A., New England Calvinism and the Disruption of the Presbyterian Church (New York: Garland, 1987).

- Potter, David M., The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861 (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1976).
- Reed, John Shelton, Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996).
- Reilly, Timothy F., "Robert L. Stanton, Abolitionist of the Old South," JPH 53:1 (1975): 33-49.
- Remini, Robert V., Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991).
- Reynolds, Mark Alan, "Charles Hodge's Ecclesiastical Elencitics: His Response to Catholicizing Tendencies in the Churches, 1837-1860," (Ph.D. dissertation, Saint Louis University, 2000).
- Roediger, David R., The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (London: Verso, 1991).
- Rogers, Tommy W., "Dr. Frederick A. Ross and the Presbyterian Defense of Slavery" JPH 1967 45(2) 112-124.
- Rose, Anne C., Voices of the Marketplace: American Thought and Culture, 1830-1860 (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995).
- Rumbarger, John J., Profits, Power, and Prohibition: Alcohol Reform and the Industrializing of America, 1800-1930 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).
- Ryan, Mary P., Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City in the Nineteenth Century (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
- Sandeen, Ernest R., The Roots of Fundamentalism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).
- Sandlund, Vivien, "Robert Breckinridge, Presbyterian Antislavery Conservative," JPH 78:2 (Summer 2000) 145-154.
- Schenk, Lewis Bevens, The Presbyterian Doctrine of Children in the Covenant (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940).
- Scott, Thomas, The Articles of the Synod of Dort (Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle Publications, 1993/reprint).

- Scroggs, Marilee Munger, A Light in the City: The Fourth Presbyterian Church of Chicago (Published by the Fourth Presbyterian Church of Chicago, 1990).
- Sellers, Charles, The Market Revolution, 1815-1846 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- Shankman Kimberly C., Compromise and the Constitution: The Political Thought of Henry Clay (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 1999).
- Sher, R. B., Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literature of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1985).
- Sherrill, Lewis Joseph, Presbyterian Parochial Schools, 1846-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932).
- Shepperson, George, ed., "Thomas Chalmers, the Free Church of Scotland, and the South," Journal of Southern History 1951 17(4) 517-537.
- Smith, Morton H., Studies in Southern Presbyterian Theology (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1987/1962).
- Smith, Timothy L., Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1980/1957).
- Snay, Mitchell, Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
- Spangler, Jewel L., "Proslavery Presbyterians: Virginia's Conservative Dissenters in the Age of Revolution," JPH 78:2 (Summer 2000) 111-124.
- Sparks, Randy J., "'To Rend the Body of Christ': Proslavery Ideology and Religious Schism from a Mississippi Perspective," Religion and the Antebellum Debate over Slavery, edited by John R. McKivigan & Mitchell Snay (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998).
- Stadenraus, Philip J., The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).
- Staiger, C. Bruce, "Abolitionism and the Presbyterian Schism of 1837-1838," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 36 (December 1949) 391-414.
- Startup, Kenneth Moore, "'A Mere Calculation of Profits and Loss': The Southern Clergy and the Economic Culture of the Antebellum North," in God and Mammon:

- Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 217-235.
- \_\_\_\_\_, The Root of All Evil: The Protestant Clergy and the Economic Mind of the Old South (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1997).
- Stauffer, John, The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002)
- Suttles, Dennis E., "Schism on the Prairie: The Case of the Free Portugese Church of Jacksonville, Illinois," JPH 75:4 (Winter 1997) 211-222.
- Sweeney, Douglas A., Nathaniel Taylor, New Haven Theology, and the Legacy of Jonathan Edwards (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Szymanski, Ann-Marie E., Pathways to Prohibition: Radicals, Moderates, and Social Movement Outcomes (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
- Thompson, Bard, ed., Liturgies of the Western Church (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1961).
- Thompson, Ernest Trice, Presbyterians in the South (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963).
- Tise, Larry E., Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840 (Athens, GA, 1988).
- Troxel, A.C. "Charles Hodge on Church Boards: A Case Study in Ecclesiology," Westminster Theological Journal 58 (Fall 1996): 183-208.
- Troxler, George, "Eli Caruthers: A Silent Dissenter in the Old South," JPH 45:2 (1967): 95-111.
- Turner, James, "Charles Hodge in the Intellectual Weather of the Nineteenth Century, in Charles Hodge Revisited: A Critical Appraisal of His Life and Work, edited by John W. Stewart & James H. Moorhead (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) 41-62.
- Vallandigham, James L., A Life of Clement L. Vallandigham (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1872).
- Valeri, Mark, Law and Providence in Joseph Bellamy's New England: The Origins of the New Divinity in Revolutionary America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

- Wallace, Peter, "The Defense of the Forgotten Center: Charles Hodge and the Enigma of Emancipationism in Antebellum America." JPH 75:4 (1997).
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Mark A. Noll, "The Students of Princeton Seminary, 1812-1929: A Research Note," American Presbyterians 72:3 (1994) 203-215.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Visible Saints and Notorious Sinners: Puritan and Presbyterian Sacramental Doctrine and Practice and the Vicissitudes of the Baptist Movement in New England and the Middle Colonies," unpublished paper, 1999.
- Westerkamp, Marilyn J., The Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625-1760 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- Whalen, Robert, "Calvinism and Chiliasm: The Sociology of Nineteenth Century American Millenarianism," American Presbyterians 70:3 (Fall 1992) 163-172.
- Wigger, John, Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Willey, Larry G., "John Rankin, Antislavery Prophet, and the Free Presbyterian Church," American Presbyterians 72:3 (Fall 1994) 157-172.
- Winter, Robert Milton, "James A. Lyon: Southern Presbyterian Apostle of Progress," JPH 60:4 (Winter 1982) 314-335.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Shadow of a Mighty Rock: A Social and Cultural History of Presbyterianism in Marshall County, Mississippi (Franklin, TN: Providence House, 1997).
- Wyatt-Brown, Bertram, Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969)