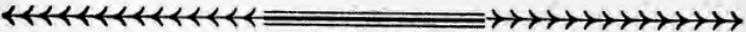
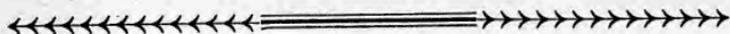


JOHN MILLER DICKEY
From a Portrait Painted by W. B. Waugh in 1870



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Foreword

THE manuscript of this book was prepared by the late George B. Carr, D.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, at the request of John Miller Cresson Dickey, Esquire, son of John Miller Dickey, D.D. By reason of various circumstances, the manuscript was not published at the time of its writing, in 1904, and now with the lapse of years the author, together with almost everyone whose name finds mention in these pages, has passed from the scene of earthly activity. But the deeds of the worthies herein recorded still live on, and their lengthening shadows are still to be discerned in the locality, and in the institutions to which they devoted their energies. Chief among this family group in the general estimation was John Miller Dickey, and the author, while dealing generously with the father and brothers of Dr. Dickey, nevertheless wrote with the definite purpose of devoting himself pre-eminently to the life and times of this particular member of the family.

A younger generation, coming upon the manuscript, and bethinking themselves of the birthright heritage which is theirs, have judged it worth while

FOREWORD

to put it into more durable and readable form, trusting that they, and all who peruse it, may find interest in, and stimulus towards, such worthy and useful lives as these pages set forth.

The editor, in preparing the manuscript for publication, has made such corrections and emendations as passing time and changing circumstance have rendered necessary, but otherwise the author has been permitted to tell his story as he wrote it.

WILLIAM P. FINNEY

Philadelphia, 1929.

JOHN MILLER DICKEY, D.D.
HIS LIFE AND TIMES



Chapter I

COMING OF SAMUEL DICKEY FROM IRELAND TO AMERICA



ACCORDING to a trustworthy family tradition, one Samuel Dickey "came over from Ireland in the first part of the eighteenth century," and landing at New Castle, Delaware, settled somewhere in the adjacent region. The particular year of his coming is not known. But it must have been not earlier than 1730, for in that year his son, Samuel, was born in Ireland, and not later than 1739, for under that year his name first appears in the list of taxables for East Nottingham Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. In 1754, he is first definitely located on a farm, latterly named Palmyra, which lies two miles south of Oxford, Pa., and this tract became the homestead of the Dickey family for several generations.

For some time previous, the Scotch-Irish people of Ulster had been emigrating to Pennsylvania in such numbers as seriously to alarm the authorities both in Pennsylvania and in Ireland. Landing usually at New Castle, Delaware, "the Irish," as Secretary Logan wrote to Penn, "settle generally towards the Maryland line."

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And it was about two miles from the Maryland line that Samuel Dickey found the rest which he and so many of his countrymen sought from Church, and State, and landlord oppression in their native land. For the most part, they or their fathers came to the north of Ireland from Scotland, though the Ulster Plantation had drawn over also a considerable number of English Puritans. But Presbyterian or Puritan, they soon discovered that "black prelacy" in power meant cruel intolerance on either side of the Irish Sea, and that it could even make Jeremy Taylor, now Bishop of Down and Connor, forget the principles of religious liberty he, as a sufferer under Cromwell, had advocated in his "Liberty of Propheying," and turn him into a leader in persecution. Shut out from all government employment, prohibited from teaching a public school or even a private school for their own families, not only forbidden all missionary effort but for long denied legal toleration for their public worship and for the exercise of their Church government, these Ulster Nonconformists were subjected to the further outrage of having their marriages treated as null and void unless celebrated by a clergyman of the State Church, and of having their children pronounced illegitimate before the law. All this was measured out to them in spite of their superior character as citizens, their conscientious loyalty, and their respect for law and order. And even their

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splendid service at the siege of Derry availed little to bring relief.

While Ulster had thus its own peculiar grievances, it shared with the whole island other oppressions, proceeding more directly from the State. Here England was the prime offender. There was sufficient cause for exasperation in seeing Irish confiscated lands, sinecure offices, or pensions, bestowed on royal favorites and royal mistresses, and Irish judgeships and bishoprics distributed among Englishmen on the principle of "No Irish need apply." But one does not require to be an Irishman to feel even now righteous indignation and burning shame at the record of the commercial legislation for Ireland of the selfish and imperious English Parliament. Protectionism there reigned in its extreme form; it was limited only by power. The jealous rival agriculturists of England secured the passing of laws, in 1665 and 1680, excluding from their markets Irish cattle and, indeed, all kinds of farm produce. Between these years navigation acts took away from Ireland also all her colonial trade. There being yet no hindrance to the exportation of manufactures, landlord and tenant turned their attention to growing the excellent Irish wool. And as manufacturers were attracted from Great Britain, and even from abroad, there was established a large and expanding industry. But, alas for poor Ireland, the Irish woolen trade across the Channel stirred up king, and lords, and commons, and, assisted by a subordinate and

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subservient Irish Parliament, there came in 1699, by the prohibiting of all exportation, the utter destruction of the Irish woolen manufacture and the blighting of the brightest prospects ever enjoyed by the unhappy island. This fell blow at Ireland's prosperity was followed by half a century of business depression and widespread poverty, but slightly alleviated by the government's restricted encouragement of the rising linen industry.

Furthermore, a few years before the probable time of Samuel Dickey's emigration, a new and powerful cause had begun to cooperate with ecclesiastical and political tyranny in promoting the exodus from Ulster. The year 1724 saw the first of a succession of bad harvests, leading to famine prices in 1728. And the climax for many a farmer was reached when, on the expiring about the same time of his thirty-one years' lease granted shortly after the Revolution, his hard but successful labors were rewarded by the doubling or even trebling of his rent, carrying with it a corresponding increase of his tithes for the support of an alien and pitiless hierarchy. What wonder that, under this accumulation of wrongs, the first great emigration to the American colonies, consequent upon the destruction of the woolen manufacture in 1699, should grow to the annual thousands of the next century, until the Antrim evictions of 1772 brought to our shores a last numerous company, who, along with their predecessors, were to prove, in the near-at-hand Revolutionary War, the sternest foes of the father-

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land that had so unjustly and harshly driven them across the seas! But just as France, when, drained of her best blood by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, enriched England by the exiled Huguenots, Ireland's lasting loss was America's lasting gain. It has not been left to Scotch-Irish conventions to tell what Ulster has been to these United States. Our best historians bear impartial and emphatic testimony to the share of these earlier immigrants in the "making" of our country—a share not less distinct and influential, not less wholesome and honorable, than that of the Pilgrims and Puritans of New England, or of the Quakers of Pennsylvania. The latest of these witnesses, Mr. John Fiske, says that they "have played a much greater and more extensive part in American history than has yet been recognized. There was hardly one of the thirteen colonies upon which these Scotch-Irish did not leave their mark."

Such was the race to which the first Samuel Dickey belonged—strong-minded, courageous, energetic, enterprising, independent, hardy, dour, and withal dominated by a positive religious faith and morality, by which such qualities are naturally produced and sustained. These characteristic features have not been wholly lost by succeeding generations, as it is confidently believed this narrative will unfold.

The original and larger portion of Palmyra farm was part of a tract of land granted by Penn's Commissioners of Property, in April, 1714, to Morris Rees, and

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surveyed and laid out for him two years later. It is watered by the head branches of the North East and Little Elk Rivers, and has long had a reputation for productiveness. Near at hand are the lands occupied by the first settlers of 1702, the "Nottingham Lots," the Brick Meetinghouse, the historical spring, and an old camping ground of the Indians. This last was on the trail, long known as the Limestone Road, that led from their town at Pequea to the rich fishing grounds which they in their treaty had reserved for themselves on Chesapeake Bay, and also to the old fur-trading post on Palmer's (now Garrett) Island in the mouth of the Susquehanna. But Samuel Dickey and his neighbors had no inconsiderable advantage in being free, as they seem to have been, from the war troubles with the Indians, to which the Ulster settlers a little farther north were so much exposed, and for protection from which it has been humorously, rather than seriously, suggested that the Quaker authorities, to escape the practical difficulties of their peace principles, placed the sturdy Irishmen on the outskirts of the Penn country. It cannot be denied that they served this purpose, and served it well, at the cost, as in most of the colonies, of savage injuries to life and property. Mr. Fiske says plainly, "The policy of the government was to interpose them as a buffer between the expanding colony and the Indian frontier." But the other explanation of the position of the Ulster folk on the borders of civilization is the more charitable one—

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that the land here, besides being good, was more abundant, and cheaper, than in the more settled territory farther east towards the sea, and that the majority of them were poor and had large families.

This last reason did not hold good of Samuel Dickey, with regard to his family. It has been handed down, with a particularity that savors of truth, that Samuel Dickey the first was twice married before coming to this country, and had a son by each wife. William Dickey, the elder son, married Hannah Ross, daughter of William Ross, of Fagg's Manor, and soon after his marriage removed to that district, where his descendants are still to be found. The other son, Samuel, continued with his father, and succeeded him in the occupation of the farm on his death about 1778. His father married a third wife, Margaret Douglas, a widow, who survived him, and who, with her son (by her first husband), John Douglas, "went west," nothing more being known of them.

Samuel Dickey the second, grandfather of the subject of this memoir, was born in Ireland in 1730, and, on June 7, 1759, was married to Mary (born in 1737), daughter of Samuel Jackson. She belonged to an English Puritan family. Her grandfather, David Jackson, emigrated to Maryland in 1685; but when the Church of England was established in 1692 as the State Church, with the usual consequence of intolerance towards dissenters, the family crossed the Maryland line to East Nottingham, where they could enjoy the religious lib-

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erty of Pennsylvania. Mary Jackson's elder brother, Paul, who had served as a surgeon in Braddock's expedition, was one of the seven graduates of the College (afterwards the University) of Pennsylvania, at its first commencement in 1757. He became its professor of languages, having high rank as a classical scholar. On his tombstone in St. Paul's churchyard, Chester, Pa., he is described as "a man of virtue, worth, and knowledge." Her younger brother, David, was one of the first medical graduates of the College in 1768, and appears to have been graduated also from the Royal College of Surgeons in London. He held various offices, military and professional, in the Revolutionary Army until the surrender of Yorktown, and was a delegate to Congress in 1785 before becoming an apothecary in Philadelphia. His son, Samuel, who died so late as 1872, was a distinguished medical practitioner, lecturer, and writer, and for twenty-eight years professor of the institutes of medicine in the University of Pennsylvania.

The farmhouse of the present day at Palmyra dates by tradition from about the time of the marriage of Samuel Dickey and Mary Jackson, though there are traces at a little distance of another home, perhaps the original log cabin of the homestead. The later house is of composite materials, like many of the same age; a substantial, two-story log house, clapboarded, has had added to it, alongside and one with it, an equal-sized dwelling house of brick. The additional building was



EARLY PALMYRA HOMESTEAD OF THE DICKEY FAMILY

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probably demanded by an increasing family; for to Samuel Dickey the second there were born here four sons and four daughters, the youngest of whom had almost reached manhood when his father died on August 16, 1794. He had lived through the French and Indian War, and the War of the Revolution. But he was remembered as "a quiet man," and there is no record of any special part taken either by his father, who survived the Declaration of Independence, or by himself, in the stirring events of those times. But we may be sure that their patriotism throughout the Revolutionary struggle was not less ardent than that of the many representatives of their race who then took a foremost place both in civil and in military affairs. The war never came nearer them than during the march of the British Army from the Head of Elk to the Brandywine, when the troops were spread over a "considerable space of country, in a detached way, from Cooch's Mills to some part of Nottingham." They saw also the Brick Meeting-house turned into a hospital for the wounded soldiers of Smallwood's division after the engagement at Germantown.

In 1794, the old homestead, in accordance with their father's will, came into the hands of Samuel Dickey the third, and his youngest brother, David—Samuel, however, by purchase becoming sole proprietor in 1801. In addition to the labors of the farm, his father had carried on a distillery. These were the days when "strong

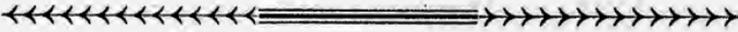
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liquors" were in general use everywhere; and when even in New England the whisky stills outnumbered the grain mills, it is not surprising to find East Nottingham Township, as early as 1758, possessing three out of the thirty-four licensed houses of Chester County, and one of its godly farmers utilizing his abundant water supply in the manufacture of the popular beverage, the use of which was to be condemned so vigorously by more than one of his descendants in their earnest advocacy of the temperance reformation. We are told of the third Samuel Dickey that "he did not follow the distillery business long," and that "he was the first who refused to hand whisky at funerals, handing wine instead"; and we shall see farther on how, in conjunction with his brother Ebenezer, he made a still more important advance in the same direction. In place of the distillery, he now erected on his farm a small cotton factory, operated by a horse, and employed principally in making cotton yarn, gaining thus the distinction of producing the first cotton yarn spun west of the Schuylkill. This was the beginning of the Hopewell Cotton Works, for so many years associated with the name of Dickey. It was about 1812 or 1813 when, for the sake of the water power to be had at Hopewell, the factory was removed to the new site, where, with enlarged buildings and machinery, muslins and all kinds of cotton goods were manufactured. Two years later, in 1815, the farm was finally forsaken, passing by sale to strangers; though

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the interesting fact should be added that for twenty-three years, from 1849 to 1871, it became the residence and property of Mr. James R. Ramsey, Treasurer of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Central Railroad, whose wife was a daughter of the last Dickey proprietor, and who himself was a coworker with her cousin, Dr. John Miller Dickey, in that and other enterprises for the public good.

Two of Samuel Dickey's brothers, John and David, joined him in the extensive business at Hopewell. But it is the remaining brother, as the father of Dr. John Miller Dickey, with whom we have especially, and next, to do—the Rev. Ebenezer Dickey, D.D.



Chapter II

OXFORD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND DR. EBENEZER DICKEY



THE Scotch-Irish immigrants acknowledged the supreme place of religion in their lives. The church was the center of the settlement, and, in the country districts of Pennsylvania, remains its monument. Oxford Township dates back from 1754, when it was taken out of the Township of Londonderry; Oxford town is a growth of this century, and has gathered around the Presbyterian Church, which, as far as known, was at first and for long the only building, except one or two adjacent farmhouses, on the site of the present borough.

Though there appears to be no connection, save that of time, between the one occurrence and the other, the same year, 1754, that saw the formation of Oxford Township, witnessed also the organization of the Oxford Presbyterian congregation. This event marked the advent to the American continent of a new body of Presbyterians. They hailed from Scotland, where they were known popularly as "Antiburgher Seceders," though styled by themselves the "General Associate Synod." The "prevailing party" in the Scottish State

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Church (Presbyterian) was now credited with tolerating a serious departure from the faith, was consenting also to the usurpation by the State of the spiritual rights of the people as to the choice of religious teachers, and was guilty at the same time of flagrant tyrannical disregard both of justice and of ecclesiastical law. In 1733, four ministers protested and seceded, and formed themselves into what was called the "Associate Presbytery." Their protest met with ready and wide acceptance; and, being accompanied by the fervid self-denying evangelism of men of lofty piety and of "simplicity and godly sincerity," the Secession, as the movement was usually named, grew rapidly in numbers and in favor. These things were noised abroad, and somehow soon reached New Jersey and Pennsylvania, where they found warm sympathy from the "New Side" Presbyterian ministers, represented by the Tennents, and sympathy was expressed in correspondence as early as 1736. In 1741, a few months after the division of the Presbyterian Church in the Colonies, Samuel Blair, of Fagg's Manor, for the New Side Presbytery of New Castle, Del., wrote to the Associate Presbytery of Scotland, forwarding a petition from "a number of people in these parts" (Londonderry, which then included the Oxford district) desiring that a minister or probationer should be sent to them. The answer, written by two of the eminent Secession leaders, Ralph Erskine and Adam Gib, was evidently unfavorable, probably because of the difficulty of responding to

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the multitude of urgent similar appeals from nearer home. But ten years afterwards another application was made by Rev. Alexander Craighead, of Middle Octorara, and "seventy-two other persons." It was addressed to the "Antiburghers" or the "General Associate Synod." The Seceders, in the interval, had made great increase, but they also had divided, the "split" being caused by a bitter dispute as to the lawfulness of taking an oath which was imposed on the burgesses of certain Scottish towns, whence the name "Antiburghers," applied to those who held to the negative side of the controversy. After delays from various causes, the petition was ultimately successful, and the result was the ordination of Rev. Alexander Gellatly as a missionary to Pennsylvania, who, with his companion, Rev. Andrew Arnot, appointed to be his coadjutor for a year, arrived in the state in 1753. Their labors led to the organization the following year of the twin congregations of Middle Octorara and Oxford, which thus became the sources of one of the principal streams that flowed on to form the United Presbyterian Church. After four years Mr. Gellatly confined his ministry to Octorara, where he died in 1761.

With this historic Presbyterian congregation of Oxford the Dickey family has been closely identified throughout the century and a half of its existence. Samuel Dickey the first belonged to it and, according to tradition, was an elder in it in the days of Alexander

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Géllatly. His son Samuel, who married the daughter of another elder, Samuel Jackson, himself also held the office of the eldership; and he enjoyed the privilege of having as his nearest neighbor Mr. Géllatly's successor, Rev. Matthew Henderson, who, becoming his minister in 1758, purchased in 1760 a tract of land of two hundred acres lying contiguous on the west to the Dickey homestead in East Nottingham and resided there during the twenty-four years of his pastorate at Oxford.

Our knowledge of Mr. Géllatly is derived almost entirely from his controversial writings, but tradition has preserved much regarding Mr. Henderson. We are enabled to picture him to ourselves as the devoted pastor, a notably large, powerful, erect man, with swarthy complexion and keen black eyes, carrying a silver-mounted walking stick, and setting out on a round of laborious visitation and catechizing in his extensive Oxford parish or mounting his horse for the twenty-two miles' journey to his other congregation of Pencader, near Newark, Del., to which he was required to give one third of his time. We can hear him, too, as the preacher, addressing the assembly, fatherly, familiar, and affectionate in manner, even when reproofing, as he did not hesitate to do, unseemly behavior during worship; using unashamedly his native broad Scotch, and making all his audience take in at least with their ears what he said by means of a remarkable stentorian voice, distinct as well as loud, the impression of which at "tent

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preachings," then conducted in the valley west of Pine Street, has been especially handed down.

In 1782, the Oxford congregation was compelled to part with its pastor, and the Dickeyes at Palmyra with their neighbor. Mr. Henderson that year entered on a ministry of new hardship and toil as pastor of the congregations of Chartiers and Buffalo, in Washington County, Pa., being the first associate minister to settle west of the Alleghenies. After thirteen years in this second field his faithful and unwearied service came suddenly to a close, when he was killed by the fall of a tree on October 2, 1795.

The year of Mr. Henderson's removal to the west was signalized by the union, which took place formally at Pequea, Lancaster County, between the Associate and Reformed Presbyterian Churches in the United States, the united body taking the name of the Associate Reformed Church. In the following year, the Oxford congregation became again conjoined with that of Middle Octorara under one pastorate. Their new minister, Rev. John Smith, from Stirling, Scotland, had been pastor of the latter congregation for eleven years, and he continued in the relationship now formed for a similar period. In 1794 it was brought to an end by his joining the Associate Presbytery, which was made up of those who dissented from the union of 1782; in connection with the step he was taking, he made such a defamatory speech that his old synod at its next meeting suspended him

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from the ministry. His successor the united congregations found in Ebenezer Dickey, one born and brought up among themselves, a son of one of the elders of the Oxford Church.

Oliver Wendell Holmes has somewhere remarked to the effect that a man's training for life really begins a hundred years before he is born, and if this be true it is not amiss in this narrative to tarry long enough to recount in some measure the prospective example and influence of some of his forbears on the chief character portrayed in this book. Among these, none is more worthy of mention than the distinguished father of John Miller Dickey; namely, Rev. Ebenezer Dickey. He, therefore, is thought worthy, at this point, of a somewhat extended notice in these pages, ranking, as he does, in his useful ministry, in the estimation of many, with his better known son.

Ebenezer Dickey was the fourth son of Samuel Dickey the second, of Palmyra, and was born at the old homestead on March 12, 1771. Named Ebenezer in grateful acknowledgment of God's merciful providence, his call to the ministry was an answer to the earnest prayers of his pious mother, Mary Jackson. He was prepared for his college course at a classical school which was conducted by Mr. Ramsey, whose grandson was well known in connection with the Choctaw Mission. It was carried on in a log schoolhouse whose situation is now unknown, but it was a distance involving a walk

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of some miles daily from Palmyra. In 1789, he entered the University of Pennsylvania. It was the college of which, we have noticed, his two uncles, Paul and David Jackson, had been among the first graduates; and his mother doubtless relied upon the oversight and perhaps more intimate care of her surviving brother, David, now practicing in the city. Another attraction to Philadelphia might have been the remarkable man who was provost of the University, and also professor of natural philosophy, while pastor at the same time of the First Presbyterian Church—Dr. John Ewing—who was, like the young student, a native of the Nottingham district. We may be sure that Provost Ewing would be gratified when a Nottingham lad, who stood high as a scholar, was graduated “with great credit” in 1792.

The three years spent in Philadelphia must have been an education in itself to one who had come from the retired farm life of East Nottingham, and whose open eye, just judgment, and graceful pen, amid scenes of foreign travel, were to afford pleasure to many in later years. What an enlargement to the country youth would be the sight of Independence Hall, and of persons as well as places around which gathered the city’s historical associations! Congress had been driven to New York but returned during his stay to its original seat and brought with it the “father of his country,” and other notabilities of the Revolution. Franklin had been for several months on his deathbed, but the students of

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the University he had projected and fostered took their place among the twenty thousand who walked in the long funeral procession to Christ churchyard. One fitted, like Franklin, to incite the youth of that generation was then a familiar figure on the streets of the Quaker city—Dr. Benjamin Rush, nephew and pupil of Dr. Samuel Finley, of Nottingham—a noble man who played well so many parts in the service of his generation as physician, professor, politician, educationist, essayist, philanthropist; known in medical history as “the Sydenham of America”; and honored by his country as a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

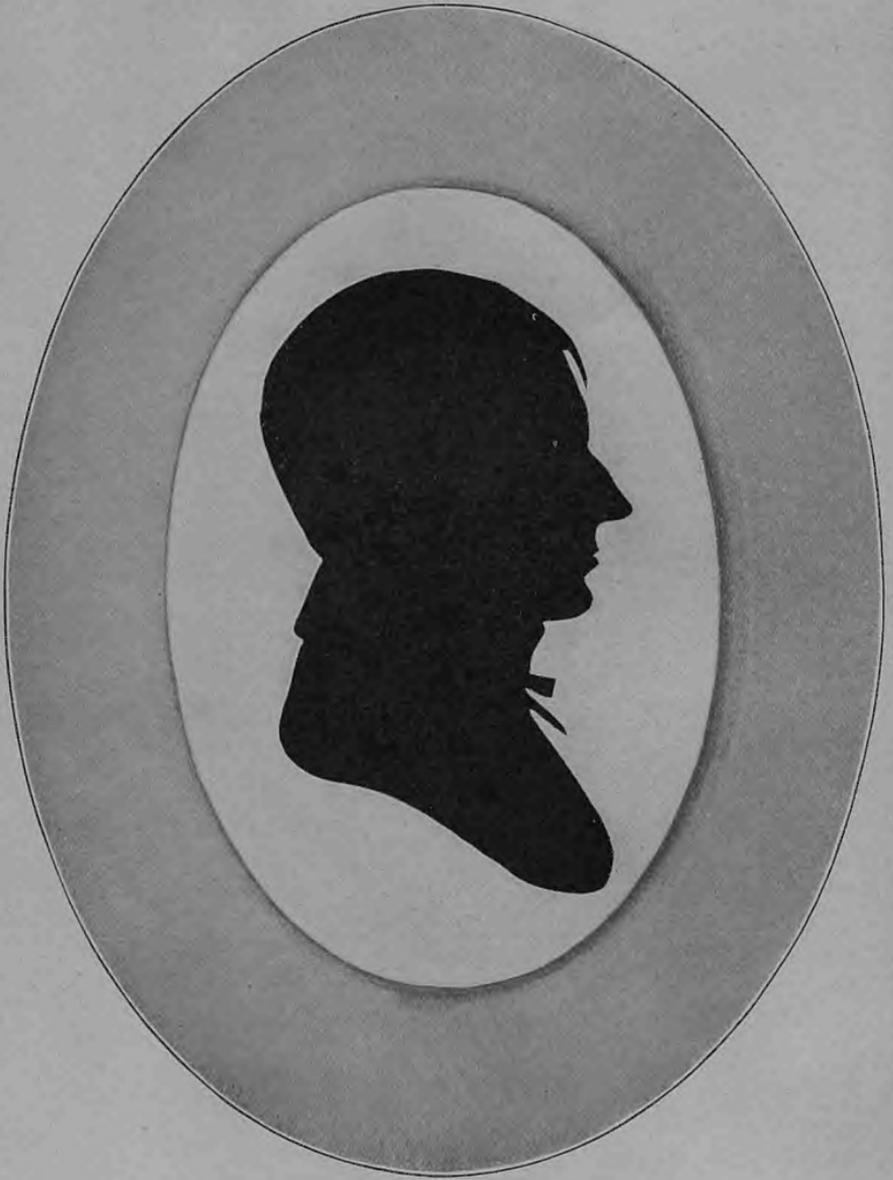
We may assume that Ebenezer Dickey, while in Philadelphia, would receive the helpful ministry of Rev. Robert Annan, of the Scots Church (Associate Reformed), on Spruce Street, a man of commanding appearance and character, yet exceedingly kindly and genial; a diligent student; and, as a preacher, Scriptural, clear, forceful, earnest, and tender. He was one of the leaders of his Church, and, along with Dr. John M. Mason, was chiefly instrumental in accomplishing the union which formed it. Later on he favored also that union with the General Assembly, in bringing about which this student member of his flock was to take a principal part.

In the lack of a theological seminary, Mr. Dickey's theological training was received, after the common method in such circumstances, by studying under the

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superintendence of his own minister, Rev. John Smith, who had considerable experience in such work. Whatever the defects of such a method, Mr. Dickey did not illustrate its inadequacy; in his case the product was entirely satisfactory. No one could challenge his worthiness of the recognition of his theological attainments in 1823, when Princeton conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity; "the rank" was "but the guinea's stamp." He was licensed by the First Associate Reformed Presbytery of Pennsylvania in 1794, the year of his father's death, and after a period of labor as a licentiate in the region of the Hudson he became pastor of the United Congregation of Oxford and Middle Octorara, as successor to Mr. Smith, in 1796. The ministry thus begun continued for thirty-five years. Until 1807 it was exercised in the united congregations, three fourths of his time being given to Oxford and one fourth to Octorara, in connection with which there were about one hundred and twenty families and two hundred and thirty adult members; afterwards, until 1826, in Oxford alone, which contained about seventy families and one hundred and fifty adult members; and, from 1826 until his death in 1831 in Oxford, conjointly with the congregation of Upper West Nottingham, the two congregations reporting to the General Assembly an average total of one hundred and eighty communicants.

"The art that can immortalize" has not preserved to us the face and form of Dr. Ebenezer Dickey, except in



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a bust silhouette, the profile giving an impression of dignity, quiet decision, and refinement. In personal appearance he has been described as tall—about six feet—and slim. But various contemporary witnesses have described his mental, moral, and spiritual features, and certain personal and social qualities also, that enable us to understand his record as a preacher and a pastor, as a Church leader, and as a member of the community of Oxford. And the consensus of this testimony is confirmed by the revelation of himself which he later on gives us unawares in his "Travels in Europe." His inquiring, independent, and widely informed mind was clear, comprehensive, well disciplined, and well balanced. Friends who knew him intimately remarked as especially noticeable in him a profound and pervading sincerity and guilelessness, a childlike simplicity, a thorough disinterestedness, and an unconscious humility and modesty. Devout in feeling and irreproachable in life, he was at the same time cheerful, affectionate, and genial; his lively disposition, together with his extensive general knowledge, making him a delightful companion and a valuable addition to the social circle.

As a pastor Dr. Dickey is described as "active and efficient." A communication to the West Chester Local News, on the occasion of the death of Dr. John Miller Dickey, says that his father "was acknowledged to be the ablest catechist in Eastern Pennsylvania in his day. His custom was to visit each family in his charge twice

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every year." Several of his sermons, or probably outlines of them, remain in manuscript. But the diminutive handwriting and the frequent contractions make them difficult to decipher. One sermon, however, has been printed posthumously in the Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine for 1837, conducted by Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge and Dr. Dickey's son-in-law, Rev. Andrew B. Cross. He preached it to the Synod of Philadelphia, at Harrisburg, as retiring moderator, October 31, 1827. It exemplifies all the characteristics of his preaching, as delineated by his contemporaries; namely, unforced direct application of the exact truth of the Scripture in hand to present-day spiritual and moral needs, a power of analysis and logical arrangement, happy Scripture illustration and allusion, amplitude of expression combined with lucidity, vigor, and elegance. The literary style, careful yet easy, involving a taste that may have hindered freedom in the ordinary extemporaneous filling up of his outlines, may account for the statement that his "utterance was labored and slow," if not for this—that "his manner was not graceful." Yet it is testified that his solemnity and earnestness, with occasional tenderness, associated with the intellectual elements previously mentioned, won attention and lodged the truth effectively in heart and memory. The text of the published sermon is Mal. 3: 3, 4: "And he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering

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in righteousness. Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord." And his subject is the purification of the ministry: a purification from ignorance, from sloth, and from a spirit of selfishness, affecting their own offerings in service and the similar offerings of the whole Church; and the work of the Lord himself by his Spirit for this purpose, through the means of education and mutual discipline. From all we know of him we can scarcely doubt that his hearers would discern in the preacher himself one who had enjoyed in good measure the blessing, the seeking of which in all its fullness he was pressing upon them and upon himself.

From an early period of his ministry, Dr. Dickey became a leading member of the courts of the Church. Minutely familiar with the rules of procedure, he possessed moreover the qualities which win both confidence and affection; and though, as was fitly quoted of him,

"Remote from town he ran his godly race,
He never changed, nor wished to change his place,"

he wielded a great influence in all ecclesiastical assemblies. In 1806, when he had been a minister for only ten years, he was elected moderator of the General Synod, an honor which was repeated in 1812; while we find him clerk of the same body in three of the intervening years. In all matters affecting the Associate Reformed Church he was very much of one mind with

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his intimate friend who often visited him at Oxford, the celebrated Dr. John M. Mason, of New York, with whom he was especially associated as a director of the denominational seminary of which Dr. Mason was for fourteen years professor, and with whom he actively cooperated in the various public actions by which they sought to give effect to their convictions. Especially were they agreed in their attitude toward the two great questions that for several years agitated the Church to which they belonged, which assisted to bring about the union with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1822. These two questions concerned their Church's regulation of fellowship at the Lord's Table, which practically restricted it to their own members, and also the compulsory exclusive use of the psalms in public worship. These two friends, however, believed in the full practical application of the catholic principle of Communion laid down in the Confession of Faith, and were persuaded, also, of the liberty of the Church to use in the service of praise other "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" than the psalms of the Old Testament. To the divisions on these questions was added dissatisfaction in the Synod of the South with the decision in a protracted case of quarrel and discipline, the decision being made by a commission of the General Synod, of which Dr. Mason and Dr. Dickey were members. Further, there was the expressed feeling of the northern section of the Church against slavery. All this

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brought about in 1820 the withdrawal of the Southern Synod from the Church.

Distance from Philadelphia, the usual place of meeting for the General Synod, and the difficulty of communication, had led the congregations west of the Alleghenies to withdraw the previous year and form an independent synod. And the existence of the reduced General Synod, including now only the Synods of Philadelphia and New York, came to an end in 1822. Overtures were received from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, proposing an organic union. By a majority the five presbyteries, on being consulted, reported unfavorably; but the General Synod, after a long discussion, resolved, on the motion of Dr. Dickey, to ratify the plan of union, the vote being seven for to five against, four not voting. After the vote was taken, Dr. Dickey, with one of the elders, was appointed to convey to the General Assembly the resolution that had been carried.

Concerning this event, which was of such vital importance to those who were related to it at the time, it is interesting to read, in part at least, the pastoral letter which was issued by the synod to explain and justify the course which had been taken. Naturally there was no little disappointment, and even bitterness, felt and expressed by some who did not favor the union, but the letter in admirable spirit seeks to allay this feeling, and at the same time presents an interesting divergence of

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view as to the purpose and force of overtures sent down to presbyteries and answered by them from that which has ever been held in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., where the answer of the presbyteries themselves is the determining factor:

To prevent mistakes it may be proper to premise that the design of referring questions of general interest to presbyteries is not that presbyteries may decide definitely thereon, but to prevent improper haste, and to prepare the way for the members of the supreme judicatory to make up their minds, and decide on the fullest information, as their consciences shall dictate, agreeably to the Word of God, and the Standards of the Church. The judgment of a majority of presbyteries is no certain evidence of the opinion of the majority of the Church, as presbyteries may be very unequal in numbers, and may decide by very unequal majorities. It would be a perversion of every principle of order, that in deciding a question of general interest the vote of a small presbytery, carried by a small majority, should weigh equal to that of a large presbytery, determining almost unanimously on the opposite side. * * * It must be added, too, as a matter of very great weight in the case, that the providence of God seemed to have shut us up to the necessity of this measure, which seems so clear in point of principle. The defection of our brethren in the West, the separation by mutual consent of our presbyteries of the South, have left us very small in numbers. Our funds are exhausted, and our theological seminary suspended. The prospect of replenishing the one, or reviving the other, is hopeless. Under such circumstances, when all appearances of advantage by keeping up a separate organization are vanished, we are ready to regard the overture for union as an indication by the Head of the Church of the path to be pursued.

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Certainly it is deeply to be regretted that a measure of such moment could not have been carried with the consent of all our members. Had delay promised any advantage, had it even threatened no injurious results, gladly would a decision of this great question have been deferred out of consideration for our dissenting brethren.

The synod felt a degree of responsibility that cannot be well expressed. On the one hand, the situation of those brethren who had so long formed a part of their Church, and our partiality for its continued existence, had that been practicable, were duly felt. On the other, we were shut up to the course we have pursued.

The supreme judicatory of a Church is the only tribunal to which the decision of questions of general interest belongs, and the voice of a majority of that judicatory, particularly after a year's notice had been given to the presbyteries to send such delegates as would fairly represent their views and wishes, is the fair and legitimate expression of the will of a majority of the Church. Private estimates and reports are not to be put in competition with such evidence.

It was with no light heart that Dr. Dickey gave himself to the support of this important measure. An aged member of the congregation of Oxford told the writer that he remembered well the pastor's frequent visits to his father's house, and the earnest and prolonged communings of the two as to the path of duty. The pastor, however, had the satisfaction of having the congregation, with few exceptions, coincide with him in the step he had felt it his duty to take. And he had the further gratifying companionship not only of his friend, Dr. Mason, but also of his two brothers-in-law, Dr. George

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Junkin, then of Milton, Pa., and Dr. Charles G. MacLean, of Gettysburg, Pa.

In accordance with the liberty granted by the plan of union, the Associate Reformed brethren of the Philadelphia district, who had joined the Presbyterian Church, remained for three years as a separate body, called the Presbytery of Philadelphia Second, but at the end of this time they agreed to dissolve their organization, as more "convenient to the individual members, and not injurious to the churches under their care," and to seek connection, as each might find it desirable, with presbyteries meeting near at hand to them. In September, 1825, Dr. Dickey, with the congregation of Oxford, was received into the Presbytery of New Castle, where, and in the other courts of the Presbyterian Church, he occupied much the same influential position that he had held in the councils of the Associate Reformed Church. The minutes of the presbytery show the large place he had in its business up till his death in 1831. He was three times sent as a commissioner to the General Assembly, and we find him on the last occasion, in 1830, appointed to no fewer than six of its committees, of two of which he was chairman. He was also a member of the Board of Missions from 1823.

Chapter III

DR. EBENEZER DICKEY (Continued)

THE characteristics which gained Dr. Dickey so much deference in the courts of the Church made him equally trusted as a counselor in other spheres; also, his soundness of judgment being coupled with transparent honesty and unselfish kindness, he was much consulted on all sorts of business, and his help in difficult and delicate matters was highly prized.

As a neighbor and citizen he was alive to every interest of the district of which he was a native and life-long resident. A farmer's son and a practical farmer himself, he is reported to have said that he "preached lime and religion." He had the Scotch-Irish zeal for education and the higher education. His son, Dr. John M. Dickey, in some notes on the history of education in Oxford, says:

About 1814 an academy was established, which may be regarded as a continuation of the former (the school at which his father was prepared for the University), on a firmer basis, and principally by the efforts of Rev. Ebenezer Dickey. Its location was on a hill between Oxford and Hopewell, half a mile from the former place. It was under the control of trustees, who built for it a two-story brick

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house, in which there was a succession of teachers for a number of years. The first of these was Brogan Hough, followed by Beatie, Donelly, Geary, and others, principally from the "Old Country," and the last of these, Rev. Dr. Kirkpatrick, who made the school very famous, and had a large number of pupils, myself among the number.

Dr. Dickey did not live to see the advent of the total abstinence pledge, but he was an active worker in the temperance movement which led up to it, but which sought abstinence only from ardent spirits. A communication to the Oxford Press in 1867, by Mr. A. P. Osmond, preserves the story of how the agitation of the new reform was introduced into the Oxford district, and possibly, as claimed, into the state, and what part Dr. Dickey had in the event:

Forty-seven years ago (1820) the first temperance society ever convened in the State of Pennsylvania was held in Oxford Township at Lefevre's paper mill. It originated in this wise: The writer of this communication, then a young man of twenty-two years, was teaching school at Hopewell Cotton Works. Impressed with the great evils resulting from the use of intoxicating drinks, he employed his pen in writing a series of communications for the West Chester papers on the subject of intemperance. These met the eye of the late Samuel Dickey of that place, who, on becoming acquainted with the fact that these articles were written by the village teacher, sent for him to take tea and spend the evening with him. In the course of the evening, the articles were alluded to by Mr. Dickey, who said they met his views, but that I was too sanguine. I asked why he thought so. Without replying he took up a paper and read to me this sentence: "The writer of this communication, although arrived at the years of majority, expects to see, if he lives to

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the ordinary age of man, the brandy bottle as an article of hospitality entirely dispensed with." "That," said Mr. Dickey, "you will never live to see; the change is too great to be effected in the life of one man." I replied I thought it might be effected. "How?" he asked. I replied: "By arousing public attention to the importance of abating the evil; and getting up public meetings to be addressed by the best speakers to be had. There is your brother, the Rev. Dr. Dickey, a very able and popular man: if you will get him to speak on temperance, I will call a meeting, and we will begin the good work right here."

The idea pleased the old gentleman, and he agreed to speak to his brother, the doctor, on the next Sabbath about addressing a temperance meeting. The following Monday he sent for me again, informed me that Ebenezer (as he always called him) was pleased with the thought, and would address a meeting in the Mount Vernon paper mill on the next Friday week, if I would call it.

The call was made by written notices posted at all the public places in the neighborhood; a large meeting convened; an able address was then delivered; a society formed; a constitution adopted; and nineteen members signed it the same day. Thus the ball was put in motion. Our meetings were held monthly, and addressed by the same excellent man, the late Dr. Dickey.

About a year later the Rev. Robert White, pastor of Fagg's Manor Church in Upper Oxford, organized a temperance society in his congregation. A little later, the Rev. Robert Graham, of New London, organized a temperance society in his congregation. These three societies were united in one shortly after, under the name of "The Temperance Society for the Southwest End of Chester County." To this locality the subject was confined until the Washingtonian reform commenced in Baltimore. These reformers held meetings in West Chester, and made quite a stir among some of the members of the bar, who were in the habit of

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pleading at more bars than one. West Chester, we were told, was the Athens of the county, and when the Athenians took the matter in hand, of course it became popular, and the efforts of poor old Oxford were forgotten. Such is a brief history of the rise of the temperance reform in Pennsylvania.

Dr. Dickey was chairman of a committee of the General Assembly in 1828, whose report is remarkable for the resolution recommended and adopted, setting forth "the exceedingly heinous nature of the sin of intemperance" and proposing the appointment of a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer in connection with this sin. Of his interest in local temperance work we have suggestive indications in two of the few letters written by him which have been preserved. They were addressed to his strong-minded and benevolent neighbor, General John W. Cunningham, of New London, for twenty-nine years an elder in the old church there.

Oxford, June 4th, 1829.

Dear Sir,

I presume you have been informed that our temperance society meets in Oxford on Monday week after public worship, which will commence at half past ten o'clock A.M. I write to request your attendance and that you would give us a short address. I am confident it would do good, and this I know is notice sufficient to induce you to make the sacrifice of time and some inconvenience. Bring Mrs. Cunningham with you and take dinner with us. Your compliance in both particulars will lay me under personal obligations.

Very respectfully yours, &c.,

Eben^r. Dickey.

General John W. Cunningham, New London X Roads.

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In the following year General Cunningham was appointed prothonotary of the county, involving residence in West Chester.

Oxford, June 21st, 1830.

Dear Sir,

* * * * * Are there a sufficient number of respectable people about West Chester ripe or nearly so for a temperance society? If so, I presume there would not be a dissenting voice among the members of our society against the measure of a county society. If they are not yet nearly ripe about West Chester, would our attempt to accomplish the thing be likely to awaken resentment and increase hostility on the part of those who are not very decided for or against it? In case of a public meeting on the subject, would the presence of four or five clergymen do good or harm to the cause? These are about the items concerning which I would like to have had your opinion. But I have no difficulty in confiding the subject so far as I am concerned to your prudence, and would wish by all means that you adopt the measure you may judge the most likely to help on the good cause as speedily as possible. If only half a dozen influential men can be had in or about West Chester to espouse the cause, I should be at once for attempting a county society, which I presume would be much easier effected than a third society. But I would think a third society, if it could be got up sufficiently numerous and efficient, would be perhaps the best measure. A county society could meet very seldom. * * *

With sincere regard, Dear sir,

Yours, &c.,
Eben^r. Dickey.

General John W. Cunningham, West Chester.

It was given to Dr. Dickey to be not only a worker but also a sufferer in this good cause, through the feel-

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ing he excited against himself by his efforts to abolish the use of whisky in the harvest field. Though, as one of his friends described him, "the very personification of amiability," he took a firm stand where he felt it his duty to do so. It is remembered about Harrisburg how he set the law in operation against carriers from that district, who in passing through Oxford to Wilmington refused to rest on the Sabbath Day according to the Commandment.

Dr. Dickey excelled as a writer, but the humility and modesty by which he was distinguished may satisfy our wonder at the scant bulk of his literary remains. In 1824 there appeared from his pen an important pamphlet of twenty-eight pages, entitled, "Letters on Christian Communion, Addressed to the Members of the Associate Reformed, the Associate, and the Reformed Churches." The following quotation from this first letter gives the basis of his argument in favor of a wide visible communion of the Churches of Christ, enabling us to understand still better his uniting himself with the Presbyterian Church:

Allow me, in the first place, to call your attention to the nature of Christian communion: this will make way for the main inquiry, to whom this communion is to be extended.

The word communion means a participation in the same thing. Wherever different persons have a participation in the same thing, that participation is called a communion. We have communion with all mankind, in all those things of which they and we partake in common. For example,

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we have communion with them in possessing the same nature, in dwelling on the same earth, in breathing the same air, etc. We have communion with them in all the intercourse of life we hold with them. This is called earthly communion, because it is constituted by a participation of the things of earth. Christian communion is the participation of professing Christians in the things that belong to Christianity—as privileges and duties. All who are regenerated have communion in regeneration; they are partakers of the same change. All who love the Saviour have communion in love. All in whom the Holy Ghost dwells have communion in the Spirit; they partake of the same Spirit. This then is Christian communion, a participation in the things of Christianity. It is divided into two kinds, hidden or secret, and outward or visible communion.

Invisible communion is a participation in those things which are not open to the senses, such as faith, hope, love, etc. All the people of God have communion in these inward graces and enjoyments of religion. Those who never see one another, and dwell at the ends of the earth from each other, can never be shut out from this communion by any excommunication, or refusal on the part of any to communicate in acts of outward worship.

Visible communion is a participation in the outward privileges and exercises of religion. Those who sing together the same psalms or sacred songs have communion in praise. Those who join in offering up the same prayers have communion in the duty of prayer. Those who sit down at a sacramental table have communion in the Lord's Supper, etc. This is visible communion, a participation in the outward visible things of religion. Now you will perceive that it is only on the subject of this visible communion about which there can be any difference, with regard to how far it is to be extended. No one will deny that he may join with any human being in loving the Lord Jesus Christ, in trusting in him, etc. The great and mighty question that

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has divided the Church of Christ, and scattered her in fragments over the field of Christendom, is this: With whom may we hold visible communion; or in other words, with whom may we partake in the outward visible acts of religious worship? To the solution then, of this very important question, let us come, humbly looking up for that which we so much need, the teaching of the Holy Ghost to "guide us into all truth."

The American Tract Society, in 1825, the first year of its existence, published anonymously a tract by Dr. Dickey, with the title, "To Parents: the Importance, the Difficulties, and the Best Methods of the Education of Children." No one who reads this little treatise, packed with wise counsel and earnest appeal, will be surprised that after two generations have passed it is still in demand. He will be thankful to God to have read it who at the outset seriously and devoutly asks himself "the first question which," the author urges, "a person proposing to enter the social state should ask himself, not whether he is able to support a family, but whether he is duly qualified to educate one."

During the same year Dr. Dickey began his only other literary production, "Travels in Europe for Health in 1820, by an American Clergyman, of the Synod of Philadelphia." It was published in the Christian Advocate, and took the form of a revision for the press of the letters, twenty-five in number, written to his friends in the course of a nine months' visit to the Old World. From the year 1811, Dr. Dickey had suffered from

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dyspepsia, reducing him at length to such a state of weakness that he was compelled during the summer of 1819 to lessen his pulpit work by one half, and in the fall of the year to give it up altogether. It was hoped that a voyage across the Atlantic and a sojourn for the remainder of the winter in the milder air of the south of France might be blessed to the restoration of his lost health. Sailing from New York for Gibraltar on the third of December, he landed at the Rock of Gibraltar on New Year's Day, 1820. He stayed in Gibraltar for three weeks, his health improving greatly, chiefly through the use of goat's milk. Hearing a good report of the climate of Messina, in Sicily, he took passage in a vessel bound thither, intending to give himself the pleasure of a land journey to his destination in France by Naples, Rome, and the Alps. But his "too sanguine expectation" received an "effectual damper" on arriving at Messina. Plague and yellow fever had recently visited the neighborhood of Gibraltar and he was doomed to quarantine, and afterwards to the lazaretto, for forty-two days. Here an invalid, without ordinary comforts and amid positive discomforts, he suffered much from the windy and wet weather of March, and, above all, from the distressing African sirocco, the effects of which on his system "were such," he writes, "that, had it continued a few weeks longer, I must have sunk under it. This, combined with the long confinement I have experienced, has thrown me back very far in my progress

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towards restoration; so much so that I begin to regard restoration as an event that has almost ceased to be probable." On release from quarantine, passport regulations in the Neapolitan kingdom required him to leave the country in eight days, and thus to relinquish his "fond hopes of traveling classic ground." He was obliged to content himself with a distant view of Rome and the shores of Italy during a tedious passage in a "Delaware mud lark" kind of coasting vessel up to Genoa, where his previous "sixty days' captivity" by sea and land made unspeakably welcome to him freedom and a good hotel. From Genoa he proceeded by boat to Nice, and then by diligence to Marseilles, making a short stay in each place. But on April 25, he set out for Montpellier, "the pleasantness of whose situation," he says, "unitedly with the supposed salubrity of the atmosphere, has made it for ages the resort of invalids in pursuit of health." Here he remained for five weeks, enjoying the hilltop promenade, sauntering through the famous botanic garden, and riding out on horseback almost daily. By medical prescription, he also drank "ass's milk, in connection with a very weak extract of bark," and found himself "certainly a little recruited, though no radical change is yet indicated in my debilitated organs of digestion." Before he left Montpellier he had "become quite tired of the place." He had been advised by his trusted physician there to try the waters of Bagnères, whose medical virtues have been celebrated from the

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days of the Romans. But this watering place being situated among the Pyrenees he must wait till the hot weather set in; and he preferred to pass the time at Montpellier, moved by the society of the Protestant pastor and the use of his library. The fifth of June saw him again a traveler, journeying chiefly by a "very shabby" boat, on the great canal of Languedoc, to the ancient, historical, and still important city of Toulouse. He was delayed here by "cloudy, windy, raw weather," causing a "sensible falling back in health," and making him glad at last to mount the diligence for Bagnères, about ninety miles distant. Nearly five weeks were spent in this place, where he was favored with a comfortable lodging, and formed a friendship with agreeable English and Irish visitors, to whom he ministered by conducting worship, with exhortations, every Sabbath afternoon. He went through a course of drinking, and bathing in, the medicinal waters. He frequently climbed the mountain alongside the town, and wandered from peak to peak, luxuriating in the enchanting scenery towards the Pyrenees, and up and down the valley, and in the exhilarating influence of the atmosphere, "which for a few days at first was something like incipient intoxication." And he gratefully writes that he feels "much recruited, and more like being in progress towards restoration than for years past." "I once more commenced the use of flesh in my diet, and have been enabled to persevere in it, I think with good effect." Towards the end

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of July, Dr. Dickey left Bagnères for Bordeaux, but, "anxious to be home," a week sufficed in that city, and on the third of August he started for Paris by way of Tours. His "curiosity" had become "somewhat blunted," and the journey was fatiguing; he was not roused from "lethargy" until he reached Versailles. Even Paris and its sights could not detain him beyond ten days: "I am in truth in a hurry to be at home, and all Paris put together could not present a spectacle to me half as gratifying as the smoke of my own chimney." The "leading impression" brought away from the French capital was not of its "magnitude and grandeur," but of its "enormous voluptuousness." "It is another Sodom." Taking passage for London by Calais and Dover, he was driven about the Channel for five hours by a "tremendous gale," the sloop being forced back with a rent mainsheet to the wharf from which it had set out. Having arrived safely at Dover, after a second embarkation, he thus expresses his feelings on standing at length on British soil:

Here I did take a last adieu of the French continent, the distant hills of which were dimly visible in the blue horizon. It was an adieu of joy, mingled with no regrets at parting. A dreary sojourn of five months I have had in a land of outlandish people and strange language. Certainly I have no reason to be dissatisfied with many persons and many things in France; and great reason I have to be thankful for having passed through almost the length and breadth of the land without meeting with any injury, and for hav-

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ing been in some degree successful in the one object of my travel—a restoration of health. But alone, a stranger, knowing not enough of the language to enjoy the society of the people, and more than all, subject to the frequent depressions incident to ill health and a debilitated nervous system, you will not wonder if I felt, on getting out of the country, like a captive released and permitted to return to the land of his home. I did look on its distant hills with joy and thankfulness that I was no longer there, and no more to return thither. I did feel a high excitement that I was in old England, among a people of kindred manners, of kindred language, and above all, of kindred religion; where I might expect to enjoy the services of the sanctuary, as I had been accustomed to do in the land of my fathers.

Yet I did feel great regret, not at leaving France, but at the situation in which I left it. It is a great country, inhabited by a vast population of lively, industrious, and in some sense sober people who are destined one day, when emancipated from ignorance, infidelity, and the superstitions of Popery, when brought under the full influence of Bible morality and Bible liberty, to rise high in the history of ages to come. At present, its situation is that of deep depression and, without a hastening in the ameliorating progress of things (for which we have indeed some reason to hope), must remain so for a long time to come. It would seem to me that, according to the slow progress of truth and of liberty, civil and religious, in times past, a century and perhaps more must elapse before the people of France reach the position which the United States now occupy; and will have to make the attainment at the expense of desperate struggles, sacrifices, and blood.

At this moment I appreciate the advantages with which the sovereign mercy of Providence has endowed the Church and people of the United States in a tenfold higher degree than ever I did before. If due improvement be made of the start that has been taken, what are the attainments in

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religion, in morals, in the arts, which our posterity may make, before other nations arrive at the point from which we now set out? I rejoice for my country, but I rejoice with trembling, knowing how frequently the fairest prospects are blasted when the issue depends on human instrumentality. And I tremble still more to think how much the cause of liberty, of religion, and of human well-being generally, is suspended on the course which the United States may pursue. Any serious miscarriage on the part of America, relative to the subject of government, or religion, would have a blasting influence on the best interests of man in every country, but especially in France. It was remarked to me, by the intelligent Protestant minister at Montpellier, that the eyes of the advocates of liberty and religion, in their present struggles, were turned towards the United States, and large calculations were made of the advantages to be derived from our example. God grant that in these calculations there may be no disappointments.

Seated on the top of a stagecoach, and passing through the harvest fields of Kent, weather and scenery combined with "the idea of being in old England, and on the road to London," to make the journey from Dover one of "exquisite enjoyment." The depression produced by the reaction from this "high excitement," by the loneliness of the London tavern, and by even the prospect, to "a very shy mortal," of having to deliver letters of introduction, was happily relieved by the welcome he received from the venerable Dr. Waugh, to whose kind attentions Dr. Dickey records his great indebtedness.

"Two things," he writes, "cannot fail to fill a stranger,

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on his first coming into London, with amazement: the immensity of its size and the vastness of its business." "Anxious to make the most of my brief stay in the place, I have been from morning till night going from place to place, taking a hasty look at the multiplicity of objects which crowd upon the stranger's attention; and the result is a perfect chaos in my mind. By the time I am a few months out of London, it will be to me like a dream that I have ever been in it." He does not attempt to describe what he modestly says "you can find much better described in the printed accounts of fifty travelers who have preceded me." He cannot, however, pass over Westminster Abbey, though hindered from full enjoyment of it by the preparations which were being made for the coronation of George IV. The trial of Queen Charlotte was then in progress, and he gives us interesting light from personal observation on the accompanying popular ferment. The patriotic American traveler here shows himself by making the circumstances a text for unfavorable remarks on the monarchical form of government. At the same time, he is very much surprised at the "very high estimation in which the memory of George III" is held among all classes. "The good old King" is his usual appellation.

It was with regret that Dr. Dickey left London after a short stay of ten days. But health being the main object of his travels he felt it his duty, before sailing for home, to visit the mineral springs of Cheltenham, which

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he had learned were of the same nature as those that had proved so beneficial to him at Bagnères. A journey of two days, giving in passing a glimpse of Windsor and a hasty survey of Oxford, where the stage stopped for the night, brought him to the celebrated health resort. We have his usual minute and interesting account of the place and the people. During his sojourn of about three weeks he had the opportunity of hearing no less famous preachers than Rowland Hill, and his intimate friend, Jay of Bath. From Cheltenham the homesick traveler proceeded on his last land journey on English ground to Liverpool, by way of Birmingham and Manchester. And on the third of October he set sail on the packet for New York. He writes:

Joy predominated from the consideration that I was setting out for home; yet certainly I felt regret as I bade adieu to the shores of England, regret at leaving a land where there is so much to interest, after so short a sojourn in it, and at having seen so little. Prejudice apart, England is a fine country, made so by the industry and intelligence of its inhabitants. The English are a queer people; highly favored in their literature, their arts, their commerce, their agriculture, etc., and, which I believe is the foundation of the whole, their religion. With sincere respect, I took of their shores a last look; and, with a heart I think not unthankful for hospitality received among them, I bade their land farewell. Between them and the people of my beloved country may there be never any strife, but the strife of grace—who will render to each other, and to the world at large, the greatest service—and if in this effort they beat us, to God be the glory, and to them be hearty thanks, and

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an abundant reward. But well assured am I that neither they nor we, if we compare what we are with what we ought to be, and what we do with what we ought to do, will find any cause for self-congratulation.

The vessel was comfortable, the living even luxurious, the weather fine. The company generally were civil, and in some cases pious. And he had the special happiness of having, as the partner of his stateroom, one of whom he expresses the warmest admiration, Rev. William Ward, the companion of Carey and Marshman in the Serampore Mission. Here closes the narrative of travel, but "to guard against idleness in his floating prison," "our ingenuous and entertaining correspondent," as the editor characterizes him, writes a last letter, taken up with a thoughtful and sober speculation on the influence of practical faith upon disease, both as to prevention and as to alleviation and cure. He points out that "there are very few of the disorders with which the human body is afflicted which cannot be traced distinctly to moral, or rather, immoral causes, either the following or others similar, viz.: ignorance, imprudence, intemperance in eating or drinking, slothfulness of body or mind, sinful indulgence of the passions of grief, anxiety, fear, anger, love, etc.;" that "moral remedies, the chief of which is faith, and all of which have their origin in faith, are efficacious in removing the exciting causes, whether these be immorality or an anxious distressed state of mind;

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and that the peace, the tranquillity, the hope and joy, which spring from faith, when in due measure, and acting as a cordial, will have a positive healing efficacy." He recalls the explicit declarations of Scripture: "Let thine heart keep my commandments: For length of days, and long life, and peace, shall they add to thee." "I have one idea," he writes, "further to offer":

Society is already in possession of knowledge, which, but for the immorality that exists, would be adequate to banish nearly the whole tribe of pestilential disorders, and bring salubrity to places the most unhealthful. What is it but war, bad government, avarice, and ignorance, in the mass of the people, that prevents all our cities from being so arranged, so ventilated, and so cleansed, that, with a moral population, they would be quite healthy? And what but the same causes prevent the whole surface of the earth, so far as population has spread, from being so drained and so cultivated that the seed and food of pestilential disease would no longer exist? If society were only moral, with the knowledge already possessed, it would be easy to protect any place, either city or country, from the chief epidemic diseases with which it is infected. But, as the faith and piety of the gospel progress along with all other improvements, medical science will also improve, and discoveries be made, which will greatly add to the health and happiness of men. Yes, my dear friend, the truth and morality of the gospel is just the salt of Elisha, which, cast into the waters of society, will heal them, and heal the very climate and ground where society inhabit, so that there will not be from thence any more death or barren land.

About three years after Dr. Dickey's return from

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Europe his account of his travels began to appear, as has been already stated, in the *Christian Advocate*, the monthly magazine edited by Dr. Ashbel Green and published in Philadelphia. The letters are to be found in Vols. III, IV, and V, for 1825-1827. The preface expresses his desire to "contribute even a little to the entertainment and edification of the readers." And there can be no doubt as to the great success of his endeavor. There is such a happy blending of narrative, description, and reflection; such skill is shown in order and proportion, comprehensiveness of outline, choice of characteristic features, and management of circumstantial details; all is conveyed in a style, though somewhat elaborate and dignified, yet so clear, natural, easy, and flowing as to give the impression that we have here the art which conceals art of the cultivated and practiced writer. We understand how Dr. Junkin could say: "There are few travelers better worth being accompanied; few observers who have given forth more interesting and instructive matter. Indeed, letter-writing was Dr. Dickey's forte, as to the pen. In this department of literature, I might almost say that he was unrivaled." The letters, in spite of revision, retain the vividness of present or recent impression, so that the portrayal of the country, its scenery and agriculture, men and manners, and personal experiences, recalls the poet's praise:

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“With such a pencil, such a pen,
You shadow forth to distant men,
I read and felt that I was there.”

We seem to become acquainted with his fellow travelers and all with whom he became acquainted in his journeyings. And he enables us by his minute representations to share the peculiar pleasure of the traveler in what is new and strange in the lands he is passing through. Ardent preferences for his own “sweet land of liberty” are not wanting, but there is an unusual impartiality and candor, both in his observations generally and in his occasional comparisons of things abroad with things at home. It were well for tourists from either side of the Atlantic to lay to heart the wise and just principle on which he acted:

It is certainly little less than presumption for a traveler passing hastily through a country, as not a few have passed lately through the United States, to undertake to describe the country, its inhabitants, manners and customs, etc., passing sentence decisively on all that has come under his notice, and on much that has not come under his notice. All, I conclude, that a transient stranger has a right to undertake, in his communications relative to the countries of his sojourn, is merely a faithful detail of what he sees and hears, being very sparing of his comments and conclusions.

Dr. Dickey held that “the very first concern of man upon earth is religion; and the primary object of inquiry, with a traveler, to ascertain, if possible, its state

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in the countries he visits. More is to be known of a people, both as regards their present situation and their future prospects, by knowing their religion, and the hold it has upon them, than from any other item of knowledge concerning them. On religion depends morality, and on morality depends prosperity." Accordingly he tells us what he saw of the churches and their worship, and what impressions he formed of the religious condition of the people in every country or town he visited. Romanism, of course, prevailed everywhere except in England. He meets it first at Gibraltar, and is ready to learn from it:

If appearances are to be trusted, there is much sincerity and reverence in the minds of many of these Roman Catholic worshipers, which does them credit, and which ought to put to shame the profane thoughtlessness and levity that mark the appearance of many Protestants during their pretended worship: for surely the worship is only pretended where reverence and sincerity are wanting.

He also remarks, with regard to an invalid Roman Catholic, the only one of his fellow passengers on the outward voyage in whom he saw "anything like piety":

With his procedure I have been both pleased and edified. Every morning, after being dressed by his colored man who waits upon him (his extreme debility requiring such assistance), his prayer book was put into his hands, and a proper time appeared to be occupied in private devotion. His prayer book I have looked into, and found, to my great surprise, much animated and evangelical devotion, with a great deal less of what is exceptional than I expected in a

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Roman Catholic composition. * * * The tears rolled down his cheeks as he shook my hand, and bade me good-by. Fondly do I cherish the hope that this estimable man, though greatly mistaken in his attachment to that fallen Church, at whose head the "Man of Sin" sits, is not without a golden grain of faith that will stand the fire on that day when his wood, hay, and stubble will be consumed. We know a man may be zealous in a certain way for all the leading doctrines of the gospel, and yet perish at last. And it is not for us to say how much error, and gross error, too, may be mingled with the faith of God's own children.

In Protestant London, on the other hand, "the proud superiority of the churches (buildings) of the establishment over the chapels, as the houses of worship belonging to dissenters are called," was "not a little grating to a republican and a Presbyterian." And the service in St. Paul's Cathedral, "in parade and formality appeared very nearly to correspond with the Popish mass I have so often witnessed in France. To me, the whole exhibition was more like anything else than devotion." His first contact with Roman Catholic worship was in Gibraltar, and here, too, his intercourse with the Methodist Society brought about a practical advance for himself in true catholicity. Of the occasion of his preaching in their chapel he writes:

The novelty of an American preacher, the first that had ever been heard in Gibraltar, filled the little chapel to overflowing. I found myself quite in a novel situation, and felt a little awkward in it. For a strict communion Presbyterian to be all at once mingling with Methodists, and worshipping with them, seemed like a Jew keeping company and going

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unto one of another nation. But I think I have been taught with Peter that what God hath cleansed I ought not to call common. If God has not a people among this society, then I have no skill in the operation of divine grace on the human heart, and in forming the human character.

This enlargement of heart, to which the whole journey contributed, received a special impulse in the English metropolis, where he had the great gratification, through his friend Dr. Waugh, the chairman of the Board, of attending a meeting of the managers of the London Missionary Society, the oldest missionary society and one that marked the awaking of the modern Church to the Macedonian cry, whose constitution and method corresponded closely to those of the American Board of Foreign Missions. He was deeply impressed by the unsectarian character of the men and their work. Particular notice is taken by him that these brethren of different denominations had sat at the same Communion table in connection with their common labors in the cause of foreign missions. This fact, along with his intercourse with Dr. Waugh, doubtless had a share in preparing Dr. Dickey for the step which, as we have seen, he took soon afterwards of seeking union with the Presbyterian Church. Dr. Waugh was, like himself, a minister of one of the branches of the Associate or Secession Church. But Dr. Dickey observed in London that like Dr. Mason, himself, and others on this side of the Atlantic Dr. Waugh, with the majority of his

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brethren in Great Britain, had modified his principles and his practice in the matters both of Communion and of psalmody; while Dr. Waugh had the honor to have been the framer of the fundamental catholic principle of the London Missionary Society.

The following extracts illustrate Dr. Dickey's social disposition, which his narrative shows prompted him to seek friendly intercourse with his fellow men everywhere, the line being drawn only at profanity and manifest immoral character:

Our company at setting off seemed to be all strangers to each other, as well as to me, and as is usual under such circumstances little conversation took place. By the time, however, we had gone a little beyond Windsor they had dropped off, one after another, and a new set had taken their place, among whom was a Scotsman of cultivated mind and sociable habits, who proved a great acquisition to our party, and the pleasure of whose society made me pass the chief part of what remained of the day's travel in almost entire inattention to passing objects around. On hearing that I was an American, he turned the conversation to our country, and to my surprise, though he had never been in it, discovered more acquaintance with our public characters and national affairs than many of its natives who pass for respectable citizens. And he is the only man I have yet met with in England who has evinced much knowledge on the subject, or much curiosity to be informed. Certainly the mass of the English people do not take half the interest in American affairs that we do in those of England; and this is evident from the fact that the English newspapers do not contain half the amount of extracts from the American papers that ours do from the English.

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It was with real regret I parted from our Scotchman, a little before we arrived at Oxford. The gratification of his company made me think what an increase of happiness our world would receive if its inhabitants generally were educated sociable beings, disposed to, and capable of, giving and receiving the gratification that is found in instructive conversation. I am sure it would add exceedingly to the usual comfort of stage traveling, in which it is little less than a calamity to be crowded from day to day with a set of beings among whom you are annoyed at one time with the loquacity of ignorance and at another with the taciturnity of pride; but the last the worst. It is really provoking to witness the demure silence of a self-important being who refuses to communicate the little he knows lest, unhappily, he should chance to let himself down to company who might be found to be below the level of his fancied rank. Christianity, felt in its power, would cure this with other evils. It would fill our hearts with the milk of human kindness, ready to flow out to every human being we met with in any way in which we could minister to his profit, or afford him innocent pleasure. Heads well instructed, united to hearts well tempered, would give us a paradise in society, where we often find only a desert.

A few weeks later he writes:

The evening of my arrival at Liverpool succeeded a wet day, in which, of course, the traveling had been unpleasant and fatiguing. The inn at which the stage stopped was crowded, but I was solitary and dejected, without a being to take the smallest interest in anything that interested me. After moping some time by the coal fire, which the rawness of the evening rendered very necessary, I ventured to accost a genteel-looking man, whose countenance indicated complaisance and good nature. I found in him nothing of the shyness and distance I have usually met with from the English when an introduction was wanting. He proved to

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be a merchant belonging to a town in Wales, very communicative, and I hope a man of piety. On hearing that a merchant of New York, a friend of his, was also a friend of mine, a man who has laid the religious community both in Europe and America under some obligations (the late Divie Bethune, Esq.), he appeared at once to take a particular interest in me, and I spent a very pleasant evening in his society. The next morning he took me to the house of a widow lady of his acquaintance, with whom I was accommodated with comfortable private lodgings while I remained in the place. The frank, open-hearted kindness of this man has left a relish on my mind which will not soon wear off, and made me reflect on what has often occurred to my mind before: the immense happiness which would accrue to society if mankind were generally well-instructed Christians, disposed to treat each other, wherever they met, with confidence and kindness. Then would the stranger find friends wherever he went, and enjoy the solace of kind attention in every inn where he tarried only for a night. What a substitute would this be for the shyness, the neglect, the suspicion, the scrutinizing inquiry, and ill-natured remark, so frequently to be encountered by the traveler in all countries!

Dr. Dickey had been advised before leaving home to become a Freemason, and thus secure a "passport to kindness among strangers in Europe." "Prejudices against it on several accounts" prevented this, but he had cause from experience to testify warmly and at length as to the "superiority of Christianity above Freemasonry," and "its value as a bond of union, and a spring of kindly feeling, between strangers." In companying with others, between whom and himself this highest bond did not exist, the opportunity and duty of

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soul-winning was not forgotten. He writes of "overcoming the criminal shyness, to which I too frequently give way, of introducing topics of religion into conversation with persons not known to be religious." And he relates interesting incidents, which are marked by admirable courtesy, wisdom, and charity and which disclose the heart of the evangelist.

The "Travels in Europe" are confessedly varied by "moralizing remarks," for which the author begs pardon as a "besetting propensity." But no apology is needed in respect of either their quality or their extent. His reflections are not confined, any more than his narrative proper, to the strictly spiritual aspect of things. Yet these are manifestly uppermost with him, and his thoughts about them have the ease of devout habit, the sincerity and freshness of present feeling, and the sobriety of a well-balanced intelligence.

Unless it be the humility which Dr. Junkin emphasizes—"As a Christian, humility was perhaps the strongest point of his character"—the most striking manifestation of Dr. Dickey's piety in these letters appears in the spirit in which he met the trials, great or small, of the traveler's lot. He was not insensible to the blessing, under these trials, of a cheerful disposition. With a healthy Scriptural humanness and breadth he lays stress upon this in the account of the diligence journey from Paris to Calais:

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As usual in French staging, we rode all night; and as very frequently occurred to me, I had heavy complaint to make of the climate, on account of the cold, the wind, and the dust. Not that I suffered much personally, being protected by closing up the carriage. But our English companions on the top, when daylight returned, exhibited a blenched and bedusted appearance that was not a little deplorable. One of them was an uncommonly fat, jolly man, who turned it all into jest. Next to grace, it appears to me that good humor is the best qualification a man can possess for getting comfortably through this world. It is as Solomon says: "He that is of a merry heart hath a continual feast." But the man who has grace and good humor too, with a competency of that "prudence which is profitable to direct"—he is the favorite child of heaven.

But he needed and proved the stronger consolations of faith. The promise—"The Lord preserveth the strangers"—and the name—"the stranger's shield" (Psalm 146, Rouse's Version)—became very precious to him. Nor is other exercise of the heart wanting:

I find shipboard to correspond very much with Dr. Johnson's account of it, viz.: "The confinement of a prison with the chance of being drowned." However, I think it much better to call it a school of instruction, where dull scholars like myself are tasked to the hard lessons of patience, submission, and trust. To learn these all-needful lessons by compulsion is indeed neither very desirable nor very creditable, but still it is much better thus to learn them than not at all. Only a little progress in these first of Christian virtues will amply compensate all my privations; and in this way, which was certainly little thought of when I left home, I may make far greater gain than by success in the immediate



THE HOME OF EBENEZER DICKEY AND BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN MILLER DICKEY

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object I have had in view; namely, invigorating the organs of my digestion.

But what is there from which the Christian may not profit? The misery of compelled idleness may operate as a salutary correction for the neglect of duty when the season of useful industry was enjoyed; and whatever produces repentance for sin is to be ranked among the first of blessings.

I am here still, in a state of "durance vile" (the lazaretto at Messina); but which, however unpleasant, I hope will result in good; if not otherwise, at least from the necessity it imposes of learning patience and submission to the divine will. When I shall have acquired enough of these all-important articles of spiritual instruction, I may expect to be released from the school that is designed to teach them. But while my deficiency remains so great, I certainly ought to be thankful that the lessons are multiplied. Impatience on account of protracted hardship is decisive evidence of an existing necessity for the continuance of these very afflictions, the removal of which is so anxiously desired.

The supreme trial of separation from wife and children was with him all the time; from the outward voyage, when he wrote of "going farther and farther from home, whose power of attraction over my heart seems to increase as I recede from it," to the passage homeward when the "heart untraveled" breaks out: "You have seen from the place where I date that I am once more embarked on Ocean's bosom, a confinement which to me is irksome in no small degree. The chief alleviation is, that the winds are moving me every hour rapidly towards the land of my home. Home! You will never know the charm which this word contains, until you

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have had the waves of the Atlantic rolling for a year between you and the dear place." Our last extract tells how he was wont to seek relief from this homesickness, and also may exemplify his general style:

On one side of the city (Marseilles) is a craggy promontory that towers to a vast height. From its bare and ragged summit, to which I ascended with no small labor, there is to be enjoyed a prospect of great interest; though it exhibits nothing like a land of promise flowing with milk and honey. Immediately before you is to be seen the whole widespread city. You look down into its streets and lanes and see its whole arrangement, with all its suburbs and its beautiful harbor, so filled with masts of shipping as to look like a forest, the whole so near that you are ready to think you could almost leap into it. On the left, you look over a vast space of the Mediterranean, far as your eye can carry its power of vision, until the blue water and the blue sky seem to meet and mingle. Beyond the city, in front of you, and all on the right hand, you look over an immense territory of bare and barren country, but little cheered with pasturing flocks, or the smiling habitations of men. The whole furnishes a sight truly sublime, for its immensity and its wildness. But dearly did this delightful prospect, on a delightful day of April, seem to be purchased, when I looked away to the west for the land of my home, far, very far from my vision, and felt myself a lonely stranger on one of the mountains of France. I confess to you that to have seen my own humble habitation, and to have been able to recognize the little domestic circle which I call mine, in health and in peace, would have been a joy most gladly purchased by a surrender of all the sublime prospects which France, or which Europe, has to present. But still I enjoyed a privilege, which, could I have made the proper improvement of it, is ten thousand times greater than that of beholding all I

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call mine, in health and in my possession, a privilege which he who knows its value would not surrender for all that earth can give. It was the privilege of kneeling down on the mountain top, and by an act of faith and prayer casting myself and mine on the mercy and the care of that great Being, who is everywhere present, and whose command is, "Casting all your care upon him; for he careth for you." There is a cordial in complying with this injunction, I verily believe, to the body as well as to the mind. Often do I need it. Often, very often, may I and you know its refreshment. It will help us to forget the sorrows incident to our being strangers and sojourners in a vale of tears.

The flock at Oxford was neither forgotten nor neglected by the absent pastor. From Messina he writes:

Cut off from the privilege of ministering to the flock I have left far behind, and uneasy in mind for the very little I have done in time past for their profit, I have endeavored to contribute a mite towards applying my former lack of service, by furnishing them with a token of my very affectionate remembrance in the following pastoral letter, a copy of which I beg you to receive, in lieu of anything further at this time.

This pastoral letter also was printed in the *Christian Advocate*. Wise, loving, and faithful, it is written in a high spiritual tone, with special appeals to true believers, to those who have only a "name to live," to the elders, to heads of families, and to the young. He asks prayers for himself and for them in the hope of his restoration to them, while he charges them as to the speedy choice of a successor, "should it be the Lord's will to remove" him. With wonted prudence and plainness,

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he adds an exhortation to "grudge not the expense of a well-qualified godly minister," telling them he has seen, in the course of his travels, "people poorer than you, spending much more to support superstition that destroys them than it would cost you to support a well-gifted minister of grace, to break the bread of life to you and to your little ones from Sabbath to Sabbath."

In the brief account of Dr. Dickey, contributed to Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," by his son, Dr. John Miller Dickey, and Dr. McJimsey, we are not surprised to read that "these letters were read very extensively and with great interest, and would have been published in a volume if the author's consent could have been obtained." The refusal to publish is in accord with his distinguishing modesty. "On the subject of your satisfaction in the perusal," he writes from the Mediterranean, "I make myself quite easy, knowing that curiosity and friendship will be gratified with details, which would be otherwise perfectly insipid."

Dr. Dickey, during his absence in Europe, had the comfort of knowing that his children and home were in the exceptionally good hands of one who had now been his helpmeet for fourteen years. Mrs. Jane Miller Dickey was a daughter of John Miller, of Philadelphia. He was a native of Hawick, Roxburghshire, Scotland, and his wife, Margaret Irvine, was from the same neighborhood. They emigrated from the border town, then a weaving village of a little over two thousand, in 1786, when he

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was twenty-two years of age, and his eldest daughter, afterwards Mrs. Dickey, was a child of fourteen weeks. A ten weeks' voyage brought them from Greenock to Philadelphia. Mr. Miller, whose father had died when he was twelve, had served as an apprentice marble cutter in England for five years; and on landing he was taken into partnership by Mr. Traquair, who arrived a short time before him and was the first to exercise their trade in the Quaker City. A memorandum by Mrs. Dickey says: "He was very successful; God's blessing seemed to be on all he engaged in. He relinquished his business about ten years before his death." Latterly he lived in a "marble house just round the corner (Tenth and Market), and had also a country seat at Valley Forge. He died worth more than \$100,000. He was active and generous to every good object." The generosity of the prosperous emigrant son did not omit his widowed mother in Hawick, to whom he "sent money while she lived to keep her comfortable. He often spoke of her Christian kindness and care over him."

In the memoir of another son-in-law, Dr. Junkin, we are told that "on terms of close intimacy with the celebrated Dr. Rush, he coöperated with that eminent philanthropist in many of the public charities of the city, and was distinguished for his courageous and self-denying labors with the sick and distressed during the visits of that terrible scourge, the yellow fever. Remaining in the city whilst others fled, he contributed by his

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means and his personal attentions to alleviate the distress and horrors of those awful calamities. He was prominent in the establishment of the almshouse, the hospital, and other charitable institutions of the city, and was recognized as one of its benefactors."

Mr. Miller's four daughters (he had no sons) were married to well-known ministers: the eldest, Jane, to Dr. Dickey; the second, Helen, to Dr. Charles G. McLean, of Gettysburg; the third, Margaret, to Rev. William Finney, of Churchville, Harford Co., Md.; and the fourth, Julia, to Dr. George Junkin, Founder and President of Lafayette College, and latterly President of Washington College, Lexington, Va.

Before his death, which occurred in 1814, Mr. Miller dictated a farewell address to his children:

October 9th, 1814.

My beloved family:

In the prospect of a final separation in this world, the hour of which seems nearly come, I would leave you my dying testimony to the value of the gospel.

I set to my seal that "God is true" in all that he has revealed and promised.

Christ crucified, as set forth in the word of his gospel, is my alone hope.

That you should make him your hope, and cling to him with your whole souls as the rock of your salvation, is my dying injunction.

Cling to his righteousness as the alone foundation of your acceptance with God.

Cling to his holy commandments as to the certain road to comfort and usefulness here, and hereafter; and remem-

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ber that one of his commandments is that you should "love one another."

That he should be yours, and that you should be his, has been the subject of my frequent supplications at a throne of grace.

It now sums up all I have to ask with my last breath, on your behalf. May his mercy grant it, and that we may all meet again in a better world, to part no more. Amen. Farewell!

These words are added in an appendix to a sermon preached at the funeral of Mrs. Finney by her pastor, Rev. W. W. Ralston, Churchville, Md., who justly remarks:

The humble yet firm faith of this believer in Jesus Christ was the faith of each of his daughters. They lived to honor his teaching and principles by walking in them, and until their dying day each of them felt a reverence for his principles which they sought to be perpetuated in their offspring. * * * Few children have had such parents and seldom do they follow as closely in the footsteps which they marked out.

Mr. Miller died in his fifty-sixth year, but his widow survived him thirty-three years, dying March 18, 1847, in her ninety-first year. Her last years were spent in Oxford with her daughter, Mrs. Dickey.

She retained her faculties in a remarkable degree, holding fast her faith and integrity. For many years she read nothing but her Bible, in which was her delight. She was a godly woman from an ancestry eminent for their faith. At one time seven of her near relatives were acting elders in the Church of Scotland.

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We may reasonably suppose that Dr. Dickey became acquainted with the Miller family during his student days in Philadelphia, when he would, as a Seceder, worship at the Scots Church, of which Mr. Miller was a ruling elder. Married to Jane Miller in 1805, their wedded life extended over twenty-six years, during which there were born to them four sons and four daughters: John Miller Dickey; Samuel Dickey, minister of Union Church, Coleraine, Pa.; Ebenezer V. Dickey, M. D., Oxford; Mary Jackson, who was married to Richard J. Cross, merchant, Baltimore; Margaret Irvine, who was married to Rev. Andrew B. Cross, Baltimore, brother of her sister Mary's husband; Helen, who died unmarried; and David and Jane Miller, who died in infancy.

When Dr. Dickey sailed for Europe in search of health he left home, he tells us, "under considerable apprehension that I might never return." Twelve years of life, however, yet remained to him, and there does not appear to have been any slackening of his pastoral or his public work. But the painful disease from which he suffered, though relieved by his travels, was not removed. Its distressing nature may be imagined from one of his remembered sayings that "annihilation would be a comfort." The end was noticed in *The Philadelphian*, of June 10, 1831:

Departed this life, May 30, 1831, at his residence in Chester Co., the Rev. Ebenezer Dickey, D.D., in the sixtieth

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year of his age, having been for thirty-five years pastor of the congregation of Oxford. The domestic, the ecclesiastical, the civil, and benevolent circles in which he moved, furnish the best, the most unequivocal evidence of his character, his talents, and his worth.

A deeply sorrowing widow and six weeping children, in the fullness of their affection and in the sincerity of their respect afford the best testimony to his character as a husband and a father. * * *

In the Church of Christ he occupied an eminence which few are permitted to reach with as little envy, censure, or opposition as he experienced; and in that station few are allowed to send out an equal influence, and yet lose so few friends, or make so few foes. In all her discussions, doctrinal or practical, for the last thirty years (so fruitful in both), he was deeply, uniformly, and extensively engaged, and though he stood in the forefront of the advancing column of Scriptural truth and practical Christianity, yet few of his brethren in gospel armor have died with their motives less impeached, or their characters less assailed.

In his civil relations, whatever promised to advance the interests of his country, purify her institutions, beautify her character, or render her more stable, whatever would make his fellow citizens more intelligent, more happy or useful or virtuous, always engaged his mind, his pen, and his untiring efforts.

In all that distinguishes the present day, by benevolence of every form and of every degree, he took the same active, persevering, and efficient part.

As he approached the closing years of his life, his devotedness to his conjugal and parental responsibilities increased. His dying chamber presented scenes of tenderness, holy prayerfulness, and sanctified solicitude, which the wife and the children will never forget. The same spirit mingled itself with all his other connections of every kind; so "that it appears, as he came up to that point where he was to

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stand before his Master, his energies became more concentrated, his application more intense, his zeal more fervent, and his success more signal and extensive."

This pathway of life he was enabled to select and pursue because God had given him a mind of great strength, fine discrimination, rich resources, and uncommon piety; a heart full of affection, ever ready to forgive, and free from revenge. But that which distinguished him from most other men was a caution which seldom or never deserted him in any situation in which he might be placed. And it was especially on that account that he was enabled to do all that he did, in the manner and with the success so peculiar to himself.

Such is the character of the husband, the father, the Christian minister, the patriot, and the philanthropist, whom the grave has just received in trust. As a spirit going into eternity, his own hope was in "Christ, and him crucified." He was calm, serene, assured with respect to his ultimate acceptance; not joyous, triumphant, or seraphic. While we sorrow, therefore, we are called to do it not as those who have no hope. Our Father in heaven has taken a spirit, ripe for glory, home; and we say, "Thy will be done."

Nineteen years of widowhood passed before Mrs. Dickey rejoined her husband, and when that event took place on October 23, 1850, the rare treasure which her husband and family, and the congregation and community of Oxford, had possessed in her was thus set forth in a general address by one who knew her well, her brother-in-law, Rev. William Finney:

In this church, for almost half a century, she was a constant worshiper, and in its members, collectively and individually, she felt a deep and ceaseless and tender interest. She loved the gates of Zion everywhere, but this church, where she listened so long to his voice who was the hus-

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band of her youth, and afterwards to his who was the son of her vows, could not fail to occupy uncommon space in her ardent and enlarged affections and generous heart. Here she met the kind and familiar faces of early friends, and the cordial grasp of another generation, whose fathers and mothers she had followed to the grave. She had done more than follow them to the grave. She had smoothed, in many instances, their pillows of death, had watched the parting struggle, had calmed the troubled spirit, had pointed the dying to the cross of Calvary, and gently spread the shroud over the father's or mother's face, upon which had fallen the tears of the young, and tender, and bereaved. She had taken those orphan children by the hand, and with an earnestness of manner, almost peculiarly her own, which could not fail to impress, besought them to seek the God of their fathers.

Her position in this congregation and neighborhood seems to have made her character and example a kind of public property.

* * * * *

Left many long years in the desolation of widowhood, she might have retired to her own friends, and there have brooded over her heavy bereavement, and in the estimation of the world been blameless. It is true she felt that as a mother solemn responsibilities devolved upon her, and well and nobly did she discharge them. But she possessed a strength of nerve and a spirit of enterprise that carried her beyond the narrow circle of home. Her feelings were not of the negative or passive kind. She hesitated not, and slumbered not, over what she believed to be her duty, but promptly and efficiently and at every hazard performed it. If in the ardor of a noble temperament she chanced to trespass on the feelings of another, she never failed to make a prompt, candid, and full atonement. Her force of character was calculated to tell, not only upon her family circle,

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but upon all with whom she came in contact. As the natural result of her constitutional temperament, she was incapable of doing anything by halves. Her whole soul was thrown into all her undertakings. The current of her feelings flowed in a rapid stream, more like the torrent of the mountain than the listless unruffled lake. She was qualified rather to lead than to be led, rather to govern than to obey; and possessed, in an eminent degree, all the essential elements of a mind and heart of the highest order.

But while she exhibited a noble specimen of energy and perseverance, she manifested, in many of its varied and beautiful forms, the humble spirit of the Christian. Attentive to the temporal wants of all around her, and ready to lend a helping hand, she failed not faithfully to warn and diligently to minister to their spiritual necessities, as the case required. Her fidelity in imparting religious instruction to all who were committed to her care has seldom been surpassed. She was the friend of all, but especially of those in need. On one occasion she took up the carpet from her own floor, and went through the snow to nail it to a log house for the protection of a mother and her newborn babe. The colored population around her shared largely in her sympathy and kind instruction. She had no enemies, and could have none.

Her deathbed illness was tedious and painful in the extreme, but she was a patient, unmurmuring sufferer. Her anchor was cast within the veil and fastened to the Ark of the Covenant. There was little of rapture or animal excitement in passing over Jordan, but there was that which was more to be relied on, a calm, decided, unwavering confidence in the pardoning blood of Christ.

* * * * *

It is not strange, then, that possessed of so many attractive qualities and such an extended influence, all hallowed by a spirit of deep-toned piety, she should have gone down

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to the grave to-day with the affections of a bereaved and sorrowing family, and the sympathies of this large assembly clustering around her.

The grief of her surviving children and her children's children, and her continued interest in them, is suggested by "Lines" printed as an appendix to Mr. Finney's address. They were among the early efforts of her niece, Margaret Junkin Preston, who now, as one of the poets of the South, holds an honorable place in American literature:

Thus heart-wrung and desolate, palsied with grief,
No reason nor faith could allay;
They clung there as tho' they enfolded her still,
And not the rent veil of her clay;
While she with the fullness of joy in her soul,
The path of the purified trod:
Exultingly passed through the crystalline gates,
And gazed on the glory of God.

She cannot look back to the group she has left
So smitten and orphan'd and lone:
She cannot withdraw her rapt vision from Him
Who sits in the midst of the throne:
In the bliss of beholding the long-lost and wept,
So bright in their angel array,
What wonder if every remembrance of time
Were blotted forever away!

But when with a vision more strengthened to bear
The glories that burst on her sight,
The thrill of her rapturous spirit subsides
To the calm of a seraph's delight,

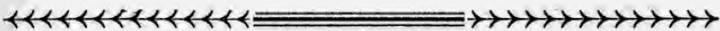
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She will turn with emotion that never had known
The depths of such tenderness yet,
To the loved ones whom even the converse of heaven
Would win her in vain to forget.

The reader of the foregoing sketch of the life and work of Rev. Ebenezer Dickey, if he shall follow this story to the end, will not fail to notice certain features of his character, which reappear in his eldest son. But John Miller Dickey rather reminded those who knew him of his remarkable mother. There was strong mutual attachment and devotion between them; and her influence over him until the day of her death was as helpful as it was great. It is told that she would sometimes exercise a mother's privilege by saying to him, "John, how could you say that in the pulpit to-day?" He exemplified one of the closing exhortations of his printed sermon on "Filial Piety":

Have you parents? Cherish them; never give them, by your conduct, an unnecessary pang. They are your best friends. Yield kindly to their authority and instruction, even after your childhood is over. God will not pass it by. Obey for his sake who has interests for you beyond this life. They are his representatives here.

And when both the father and the mother had passed away, the devoted sons and daughters united in placing on the stone which covers their resting place in the Oxford Cemetery the simple but significant inscription: "The hope of meeting such parents gives an additional attraction to heaven."



Chapter IV

EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF JOHN MILLER DICKEY



JOHN MILLER DICKEY was greatly favored, not only in his parents and home training but also in his various teachers, who were all outstanding men.

Named after his maternal grandfather, he spent much of his boyhood with him in Philadelphia, and here he had the privilege of attending a private classical and scientific academy, conducted by Dr. James Gray and Dr. S. B. Wylie, both of them natives of Ulster and distinguished graduates of Glasgow University. Dr. Gray, of whom Dr. J. M. Mason said that he was "the greatest man he ever knew," was Mr. Miller's near neighbor and intimate friend, besides being minister of the Scots Church, in which, we have already noticed, Mr. Miller was an elder. Dr. Wylie was also a minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, whose scholarship and teaching gifts elevated him afterwards to the chair of ancient languages in the University of Pennsylvania. His name is still preserved in the Chambers-Wylie Memorial Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.

The thorough training the Oxford boy received at

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this academy was continued in his native township by one not less capable than the teachers he left behind in the city. As has been mentioned in the sketch of Dr. Ebenezer Dickey, about this time there had been established close to Oxford—on the hill opposite Dr. Dickey's house—a classical school which had the advantage, from 1820 to 1822, of the labors of an afterwards celebrated teacher, Rev. David Kirkpatrick, D.D. He, too, like Dr. Gray and Dr. Wylie, was from the north of Ireland and, after being graduated with the highest honors at Glasgow, had taught the classics in Belfast Academy and mathematics in Belfast College. Oxford, however, was not to retain him long. He found here a strong friend and admirer in Dr. George Junkin, who met him often on his visits to his brother-in-law, Dr. Dickey. Dr. Junkin was now in the early years of his pastorate at Milton, in Northumberland Co., Pa.; and among his diverse enterprises for the public good was the founding of Milton Academy, for the principalship of which he succeeded in obtaining Dr. Kirkpatrick. Four of his Oxford pupils accompanied him to Milton, among them being John M. Dickey.

Dr. Kirkpatrick was no common man and no common teacher. Tall (exactly six feet), with smoothly shaven face, wearing an habitually grave expression, he won the profound respect of his pupils. They were all proud of him, as well they might be, considering the rank he enabled them to take at Princeton, Dickinson

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and Jefferson, where they found that little was added to the scholarship they had gained in their school days under this forceful teacher. Dr. Wickersham, in his "History of Education in Pennsylvania," writes:

Few teachers in Pennsylvania have left so deep an impression upon their pupils or upon the community in which they labored as Dr. Kirkpatrick. An Irishman, with the quick perception, ready wit, enthusiasm, and sympathy of the Irish nature, he was a teacher of rare skill.

It was chiefly in Oxford that John Miller Dickey enjoyed the benefit of Dr. Kirkpatrick's efficiency; he appears to have been with him at Milton only for a few months in the spring or summer of 1822, probably to finish his preparation for college. During these months he was under the home care of his uncle and aunt, Dr. and Mrs. Junkin; and in considering influences bearing on his life work we cannot overlook the example of public-spiritedness and of abundance in labors which was thus brought immediately before him in his eminent relative, the indefatigable pastor and the future college founder and president. The horseback journey up the Susquehanna of the boy of sixteen, cheered by the prospect of finding familiar faces both at home and at school, was enlivened by reading "The Lady of the Lake"; so he mentioned by chance long afterwards, during a country ride, to one of his sons, to whom he was able to recite the passage describing the death of "the gallant grey."

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The autumn of 1822, the year of his leaving Milton, saw him enter as a student at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. Dickinson had just begun a new stage in its checkered career during the first half century of its existence. For five years its doors had been closed. During this period of abeyance, the way was being opened for the advent of Dr. John M. Mason as president, and for the inauguration by him of a new régime.

For a long time this great preacher had been doing the work of several men, but at length, in 1816, his health gave way, and he was compelled to seek release and rest. A year spent in Europe yielded only a partial and temporary restoration. In the spring of 1819, he writes of his "shattered constitution"; in the autumn he twice suffered slightly from paralysis; and in the following February his memory failed in the pulpit, and his people set about providing an assistant. In the midst of their endeavors, there came an invitation to Dr. Mason to undertake the presidency of Dickinson. For this position he was eminently fitted, not only by his rare gifts and scholarly tastes and accomplishments but by his high educational ideals and his powers of organization and administration, which had been proved during his long and earnest labors as professor in the Associate Reformed Seminary, and as trustee, provost, and lecturer at Columbia College. It was thought, too, that the duties of such a position, with relief from the overburdened life of the city minister, and the change

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of air and scene in the healthful, pleasant, and retired Cumberland Valley, would not be beyond his reduced strength. He accepted the call and removed to Carlisle in December, 1821.

Dr. Mason was allowed to choose his own faculty, and he found colleagues who were men of mark in their several departments. Rev. Joseph Spence was professor of languages. Dr. Alexander McClelland, who held the chair of rhetoric and metaphysics, had been a neighbor pastor with Dr. Mason in New York, and gained an extraordinary reputation both as a teacher and as a preacher. He was so attractive as a lecturer that the educated townspeople asked permission to attend his classes. And Dr. Crooks tells us, in his Dickinson centennial oration, that "of Dr. Mason's faculty, none has left such a tradition of oratorical power as McClelland. His fame still lingers in Cumberland County. When announced to preach in the Presbyterian Church of the borough, the seats, aisles, and windows would be packed with hearers, who listened with rapture to his brilliant rhetoric." Dr. Henry Vathek, the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, was a man of varied and large attainments, who held professorships at various colleges, and was afterwards provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

The high estimation in which the new president and faculty were held drew a promising number of students at the reopening of the college, and at the beginning of

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the second year, when John Miller Dickey matriculated, there were eighty-six students in attendance in the college, and twenty-eight in the preparatory school. Obviously there was a special reason why Dr. Ebenezer Dickey should send his son to Dickinson: it must have been a great pleasure to place him under his close friend and fellow worker of many years, Dr. John M. Mason.

During the period that John Miller Dickey was in attendance at Dickinson College he kept a diary, and while the entries are brief and fragmentary, nevertheless in the portion preserved we have the story, in part, of his early college experiences. Briefly summarized, the record begins with the arrival on Saturday, August 31, 1822, of John Miller Dickey at Carlisle, Pa. Promptly the following week he applied for entrance, and upon examination was admitted to the junior class. Attendance at church services, with names of the preachers and their texts, and at the prayer meetings is regularly recorded. Incidents of various sorts having to do with the experiences of college life are set down, some transient and amusing, others solemn and of abiding import.

Only a few weeks of his first term had passed when there appears in his journal an entry that James Mason, son of the president of the college and at that time serving as a tutor, had died after a very brief illness. This sad and mysterious providence produced a profound impression on the whole community, and at the

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funeral, as the coffin was being lifted, the stricken father said to the bearers in never-to-be-forgotten tones: "Tread lightly, young men, ye bear a temple of the Holy Ghost!" Then, dropping his head on his friend's shoulder he added, "Dear McCartee, say something which God may bless to his young friends." Dr. McCartee was an eloquent and fervid preacher; besides well-trained mental gifts, he had, according to the sketch of him in Wilson's "Clerical Almanac," "an emotional nature quickly and deeply moved, and a voice of great power, flexibility, and compass, and could without any effort clothe his thoughts in the most appropriate words." Dr. Irenæus Prime said of him:

We have often listened with rapt attention to his solemn appeals, while the tears which were flowing down his cheeks and his tender words were answered by the tears of his hearers.

So was it now. "He spoke," it is said, "as if by inspiration, a lesson suited to the occasion. Many people remarked that they had never seen such a graveyard, and all seemed in tears and many in agony. The address was wonderfully blessed of God; a revival, powerful and precious in its fruits, began in the college and town." A letter by Dr. Duffield, published in the memoir of his brother-in-law, Dr. Bethune, one of the student converts, refers to the meetings and services mentioned in the college journal:

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The death of poor James Mason struck a peculiar awe upon the youth in college. Brother McCartee's address at the grave was remarkably owned, and the hearts of many quaked at the thought of death. On the following Tuesday eight of the students met with us under deep and anxious concern about the state of their souls. The number was increased to fourteen on the Thursday after, of every one of whom we now entertain hopes. There are yet four or five more deeply impressed, known to be so, but how many more it is impossible to conjecture. The church was crowded yesterday, and the audience as solemn as the grave. I never saw in any place such deep and fixed attention, and such evident struggling with feeling. What may be the present extent of the impression we know not, but that it is not confined to the college, the appearance of the congregation yesterday showed. * * * On Monday last it was whispered among the pious students that there were several of their fellow collegiates distressed in their minds. On Tuesday an invitation was given to brother McCartee and myself to meet with them.

On February 9 about one hundred united with the Church. Among the many students in this number, and one of the eighteen who became ministers of the gospel, was John Miller Dickey.

In the same year, 1824, the youthful graduate of Dickinson, who had not completed his eighteenth year, became a student at Princeton Seminary. The New Jersey village had at this time only about a hundred dwelling houses, but even then, as now, historical and academic associations gave it a position of interest and importance independent of its size. The seminary was the earliest theological school of the Presbyterian

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Church, and, now in its thirteenth year, successfully rivaled the college in the number of its students and in its general prosperity. The two original professors, Dr. Archibald Alexander and Dr. Samuel Miller, were in their prime, and had reached the height of their great power and influence as teachers. Their youthful colleague, Dr. Charles Hodge, was beginning his fifth year as a teacher, and his third year as full professor of Oriental and Biblical literature. The number of students had grown from three to one hundred and eleven, the number entering with John Miller Dickey being thirty-seven. Eight were from Dickinson, among them being his fellow students, Messrs. Holmes Agnew, William Annan, and John C. Young. George W. Bethune had come the previous year; and six others appeared the following session, of whom one was Dr. Erskine Mason. Mr. Patterson, his old roommate, did not enter till Dr. Dickey's last session.

Dr. Dickey took the whole course of three years at the seminary, in contrast with the considerable number of students who attended for a shorter period, which circumstance was a subject of frequent complaint and resolution by the directors, and by the General Assembly about this time. His notebook, from July, 1825, to the close of the summer session of 1827, has been preserved, having been handed over by him to his brother Samuel, who entered the seminary in 1839. The little volume contains notes of the lectures of all three professors:

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Dr. Alexander's, on didactic and polemical theology and on pastoral care, along with names of authors treating of the various points in hand, subjects of essays, and lists of questions, according to Dr. Alexander's characteristic method; Dr. Miller's, on Church government and on the composition and delivery of sermons, and also a separate manuscript-compend of Dr. Miller's textbook, Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History"; and Dr. Hodge's on the first five chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. He had not the benefit of Dr. Hodge's instruction during the last year of his course, the young professor being absent in France and Germany, whither he had gone for study. But his place was well filled by a recent graduate, Mr. John Williamson Nevin, afterwards professor in the Allegheny Seminary, and president of Franklin and Marshall College, but best known as the founder of the Mercersburg School of Theology. These notes of Dr. Dickey impress one afresh and independently with the completeness of the teaching and training given to their students by the fathers of the Princeton Seminary, while they testify to his own diligence as a student, and his ability to seize the gist of the professors' prelections.

The Theological Society of those days held a large place in the life and practical preparation for the ministry of the students of the seminary. On Tuesday evenings it took the form of a "preaching society," supplementing the teaching and criticisms of Dr. Miller,

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whose meetings, open to the public, were "in presence of most of the ladies of Princeton." The meeting on Friday evening was for debate, and the times made the subjects of debate of living interest. The great controversy, which was to issue in the division of 1838, had been going on for some years, and the professors were in various ways more or less involved in it. Dr. Dickey's notes show that Dr. Alexander had treated Hopkinsianism at length in his lectures on polemical theology. It was at this particular period that the names of "Old School" and "New School" were first applied, and that the plan of union with the New England Congregational Associations became a practical question of dispute. Many of the students, born or quickened, like Dr. Dickey, in revival seasons, had a keen interest in the intimate bearing of the new doctrine upon revival work, as well as in the revival methods, known by the name of the "new measures," which were associated with the labors of Dr. Charles G. Finney. And all of them had the prospect of being required to determine, immediately on their leaving the seminary, both their conviction and their action on the various topics of debate. At the Theological Society meetings, the professors were always present, but perfect liberty of utterance was permitted. The professors, however, usually gave concluding remarks suitable to the crude or the ripe thoughts of the young theologues.

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The professors of the seminary were faithful and earnest in fulfilling the pledge made to the Church at the foundation of the institution, "to endeavor to make it, under the blessing of God, a nursery of vital piety, as well as of sound theological learning." They never lost sight of it in the introductory lecture, delivered by them in turn, and often it formed the particular theme. But besides, if not above, all other means employed for this end was the Sabbath afternoon religious conference of professors and students, of which Dr. A. A. Hodge has said that it was "a grand special characteristic of Princeton Seminary, and in many respects the most remarkable and memorable exercise in the entire seminary course."

In Dr. Dickey's time the familiar, colloquial discussion on the previously announced subject was opened, and continued as time allowed, by the students. Latterly the professors alone spoke. The topics dealt with were experimental and practical, or were experimentally and practically treated. The heart rather than the head was addressed, and the utterance was the heart's outpouring. The peculiar features of each professor, spiritual, intellectual, temperamental, or expressional, naturally appeared most truthfully in these free and less formal Sabbath afternoon addresses and, in addition to the general devoutly acknowledged great and lasting spiritual results, confirmed the influence exerted by them individually in the classroom and other spheres upon

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the mental, moral, and other qualities of the students. We have no record, by himself or others, of the influence thus exerted, consciously or unconsciously, upon John Miller Dickey by the distinguished men at whose feet he sat in the Princeton Seminary. But it is not difficult to see resemblances in him to them, which we can but ascribe in some measure to his three years' close contact with these influential personalities.

Among those of Dr. Dickey's fellow students who became eminent, besides those already mentioned who came with him from Dickinson, were, of his own year: Dr. W. S. Plumer, pastor, professor, and author, moderator of the General Assembly in the critical year, 1838, and of the Southern Church in 1871; Professor Henry White, of Union Theological Seminary; Professor Cyrus Mason (another son of the president of Dickinson), of the University of New York; and the last survivor of the class, Dr. T. L. Janeway, pastor, and latterly Secretary of the Board of Domestic Missions; in lower classes: that versatile genius, Professor Dod; Dr. Gulick, missionary in Hawaii and Japan; and Dr. Nicholas Murray, of Elizabethtown, author of the famous "Kirwan's Letters on Romanism."

John Miller Dickey was received, as a candidate for the gospel ministry, under the care of the Presbytery of New Castle, at a meeting held in Lancaster about the beginning of his last year at the seminary, on October 3, 1826. Almost exactly a year later, on October 2,

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1827, having scarcely completed his twenty-first year, he appeared before the same presbytery at Newark Academy, Del., with trials for licensure; an exegesis on "*An Necessesse Sit Peccatores Renasci?*"; a critical exercise on Eph. 2:8; a lecture on Luke 16:1-9; and a popular sermon on I Tim. 2:6. On the following day, October 3, his trials were completed, and he was licensed to "preach the gospel of Christ as a probationer for the holy ministry, within the bounds of this presbytery, or wherever else he shall be orderly called." During the fall and winter he appears, from some fragmentary notes preserved of places and texts, to have preached in various churches of the presbytery and sometimes beyond it. But in the following March he was appointed by the Board of Missions "for two months to supply the vacant congregations of Stroudsburg and Smithfield in the counties of Pike and Northampton, and for six months thereafter to the counties lying along the northern borders of Pennsylvania." Of this mission to northern Pennsylvania we have an explanation and account by one of Dr. Dickey's friends and fellow workers, the venerable Rev. N. G. Parke, D.D., Pittston, Pa., who gave a long, faithful, and successful ministry to the same region of the state. In a memorial address, delivered at Lincoln University in April, 1896, he says:

When he commenced his work as missionary on horseback in northern Pennsylvania, there was but one Presbyterian

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pastor in Luzerne County, viz.: Rev. Cyrus Gildersleeve, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Wilkes-Barre, at that time a Congregational church sustained by the American Board of Missions. Just what led him in this direction we do not know certainly; but while in the seminary he became acquainted with John Dorrance and Zebulun Butler, whose homes were in Wilkes-Barre, and who were deeply impressed with the need of missionary work in this part of Pennsylvania; and the probabilities are that his association with them had something to do with the matter. These young men, who were the representatives of prominent families in the Wyoming Valley, were earnest Christian men and did efficient work in the valley during their vacations. Through their influence Thomas L. Janeway and Edward Kirk, who were their classmates, were induced to spend some time in mission work along the north branch of the Susquehanna, and in the Lackawanna Valley. Through the influence of these young men, with whom Mr. Dickey was associated in the seminary, he probably became interested in this region. Most of this time he preached in Wysox, near Towanda, and in Stroudsburg on the Delaware. In both of these localities his work abides, and he is spoken of with interest by the children of those who heard him and learned to love him. To this season of mission work he always referred with pleasure.

The minutes of the Board for August 4 record the reception of the report of his work at Stroudsburg and Smithfield. The report has not been preserved, but a communication from Dr. Ely, Secretary of the Board, to the Christian Advocate, tells of his labors in the former place:

Messrs. Joseph Kerr and Amos Miller, ruling elders in the newly organized church at Stroudsburg, Pa., have in-

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formed me by letter that about one year ago there were but two professors of religion of the Presbyterian order in the place.

After an account of previous efforts, the letter goes on to say:

Lately they have been revived by the two months' labor of our missionary, Mr. John M. Dickey, son of the Rev. Dr. Dickey. For his services they express the warmest gratitude, and state that through his preaching thirteen new communicants have been added to their church. In conclusion they add: "We are not at present able to contribute much to the support of the gospel, yet we think that if there was another missionary sent to this place, a man that would be as pleasing to the people as Mr. Dickey, and one of equal talents, we should very soon be able to do considerable towards his support."

In the Annual Report of the Board of Missions to the General Assembly of 1829, we read:

A report has been received from Mr. John M. Dickey of six months' services performed in Potter and other northern counties of Pennsylvania. It appears from the journal that Mr. Dickey was very diligently and usefully employed during the whole time of his appointment, and that much good was accomplished by his instrumentality.

His own report of this latter mission was published in the Christian Advocate for 1829:

I have to report that I have spent four months as a missionary in the northern counties of Pennsylvania. My intentions were to have continued six months, agreeably to your directions, but from unforeseen circumstances I have been prevented. The counties in which I labored were Brad-

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ford, Tioga, Potter, McKean, and Warren. Some of these are thickly settled. Potter and McKean have but few inhabitants, and are yet in a wilderness state. Most of the people are from New England and, if not Presbyterians in their principles, are favorable to Presbyterian preaching. They are very destitute of the means of grace, and in every place received me gladly; and often on parting I was requested to thank you for remembering their wants. They gave as a reason for seeking missionaries and sending them soon that the country contains a number of small congregations which are kept together even without preaching. Many of the New England settlers were members of the Church before coming into this wilderness, and they have pitched their little tabernacles in most of these settlements, so that there are now foundations laid, which, if not occupied, will be swept away with those who first emigrated to the country. Religion is stationary, although the population is rapidly increasing, and one missionary will be of more service now (humanly speaking) than ten some years hence. During the four months, I preached 75 sermons, attended a number of prayer meetings, visited 8 schools, formed one missionary society, and received \$22.75.

Dr. Ely published also the substance of a letter from one of the counties mentioned:

A letter was received and read in the Executive Committee, on the 24th of September, from Mr. John Peters, clerk of the church in Lawrenceville, Tioga Co., Pa., in which he informs us that the communicants of that church are about 20 in number; that the village in which it is situated contains about 40 houses; and that our missionary, Mr. John M. Dickey, has lately preached there on two successive Sabbaths, to about 200 hearers, in such a manner as to excite general attention, and give universal satisfaction. The little church appears of late, he says, to have been stirred up, not only to pray but to act. They collected

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\$15 for a tract society, and have lately organized an association auxiliary to our Board of Missions, which expects before the close of the year to remit \$70 to our funds. They are urgent that Mr. Dickey should be directed to labor among them for a time at least; and they feel confident that they could for his support during the first year contribute \$200.

In response, however, to an appeal from Rev. Horace S. Pratt, of St. Mary's, Ga., asking for a missionary to labor in the vicinity of that place or at St. Augustine, Fla., the Mission Board appointed Dr. Dickey early in 1828 to a field which he must have found a great contrast in climate and in circumstances to northern Pennsylvania. The well-worn commission to this work is still extant, with its minute instructions and wise and faithful counsels. It is signed by Dr. Ashbel Green, as President, and Dr. E. S. Ely, as Corresponding Secretary. A journal kept by Dr. Dickey gives brief notes of his experiences during the first three months of this appointment:

Feb. 12th, 1829. Left home for Baltimore in company with Col. D. Very cold; stopped at Aunt M. F.'s.*

13th. Drove over the rough ruts to Baltimore.

14th. In the evening landed at Washington.

18th. Finding the roads so bad I have concluded to return to Baltimore, and go by sea to Savannah. Arrived in B. in the evening.

19th. Came this morning on board of the "United States," a large ship bound to Savannah, A. Kennedy, Master. Dropped down 7 miles, and came to anchor, while the captain returned to town.

* Mrs. Margaret Finney, Churchville, Md.

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20th. Last night a violent storm; a vast field of ice came up the bay and nearly drove us ashore; exceedingly cold and no fire. Captain came on board after rowing for us most of the day nearly frozen; lost his boat.

21st. Frozen up; all solid ice around us.

22nd. Ice broke with the wind, and tried all day to get the anchor. I have on 2 pairs of drawers, 2 do. pantaloons, four flannel and a number of linen (shirts), one waistcoat and three coats and cloaks, and cannot undress for fear of being frozen before getting into my berth.

23rd. Stood down the bay; strong breeze; left our pilot and got to sea in the evening. At 11 o'clock we had a tremendous storm.

24th. A rough sea, high wind, and contrary current carrying us up the Gulf Stream.

March 1st. Tables, trunks, and chairs flying from one side of the cabin to the other; storm continued.

4th. Fair weather and trying to gain what we have lost; not yet free from Cape Hatteras.

7th. Storm for some days; waves mountain high; all sails in but the fore-topsail to keep "strong" helm lashed "a lee"; all hands asleep but the watch. Dinner within one day's sail of the West Indies.

8th. Sabbath. Stove most of our water casks; vessel nearly foundered, but wind fair.

12th. On soundings.

13th. Land seen this morning; made the lighthouse about dusk, and fired guns for pilot, but none to be had; compelled to stand out to sea; all night nearly blown upon the breakers.

14th. Fired guns all morning; calm and foggy, cannot see the land. At 2 o'clock pilot came on board; all had gone up to Savannah yesterday with English vessels; some had been

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out 90 days, and some had gone to sea in a pilot boat with Stephens.

15th. In Savannah, at City Hotel.

19th. Started for Darien in the stage; raining very hard; barren, sandy country; arrived in the evening, 60 miles. As there is no public conveyance further, I must go on with the mail carrier. At 10 at night crossed the Altamaha, 6 miles wide, in a canoe.

20th. Arrived at Turtle River; 5 mile ferry over the marshes. Traveled all day through a country uninhabited except in the lowlands, and there cultivated with rice and cotton. At dark got to Jefferson, 60 miles from Darien.

21st. At St. Mary's, 23 miles from Jefferson.

22nd. Sabbath. Preached 3 times for Mr. Pratt.

23rd. Visited some families in St. Mary's, especially Major Clark's.

24th. Rode with Mr. Pratt to Jefferson to survey my missionary ground. Stopped at Mr. McIntosh's, who 12 years ago was a leader in the Florida rebellion; very rich, a sugar planter.

26th. Preached in Jefferson, in the courthouse, to about 60 persons.

27th. Rode to another missionary station, Waynesville, 24 miles; put up with Mr. King, a cotton and sugar planter; appointed preaching for Sabbath week.

28th. Returned to Jefferson; lodged with Mr. Ashley, the lawyer of the place.

29th. Preached in the morning to a large congregation, and in the evening in St. Mary's; saw great numbers of parakeets, a bird similar to the common parrot, on the trees.

30th and 31st. Visiting with Mr. Pratt.

April 1st. Preached in the evening.

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2nd. Rode to Jefferson, and preached to a large and attentive audience; some feeling among the people, and I hope there are blessings in store for them.

3rd. Spent the day with Mr. McIntosh on his plantation, examining his sugar mill and rice fields.

4th. Rode to Mr. King's, at Waynesville.

5th. Preached to an attentive and weeping audience at the academy; find very strange views among the people concerning Presbyterians. The Methodists have told them that we are a proud money-seeking sect, who send all infants to perdition, and who will have all other sects reprobate by birth, ourselves the elect; conversed with many and found them willing to be convinced that I was not such a terrible being as they imagined.

6th. Spent the day with Mr. King.

7th. Do. with Mr. Fort, a planter on the Satilla.

8th. Rode 20 miles to Hardy's Neck to make my next appointment; put up with a Mr. Berry.

10th. Spoke at a little Methodist meeting; the people exceedingly savage, some very kind; visited some families, Mr. Hull and Mr. T. Hardy.

12th. Preached to a full log meetinghouse, and rather disconcerted some by raising the tune myself, as they would not.

13th. Returned to Jefferson, 25 miles; passed over the "Cross Swamp" on a causeway paved with moccasin snakes and bristled on both sides with alligators, a horrid place; the cypress, and long drapery of moss rendered it more dismal.

14th. Visited some families in Jefferson.

15th. At Mr. Atkinson's.

16th. Went to St. Mary's; spoke at a funeral.

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19th. Sabbath. Preached three times for Mr. Pratt, while he supplied in my place at Jefferson.

22nd. Preached in the evening.

23rd. Rode to Jefferson and preached; have for some days been unwell, and very much discouraged, disposed to murmur at my lot, but feel more cheerfulness in the performance of duty and in the service of God.

24th. At Waynesville.

25th. Engaged in writing home.

26th. Preached twice to a large audience, and felt in some measure the worth of their souls.

"27th. Dined with a gourmand on turtle soup and Southern delicacies. Mr. King says "his only trouble to-day is what he shall eat to-morrow."

28th. Rode 9 miles and preached in a private house (Capt. Stockton's) to about 13 whites and 70 slaves, the latter an interesting congregation; promised to return.

29th. Rode to Waynesville.

May 1st. To Hardy's Neck.

2nd. To Major Hardy's; spent these two days in hunting deer and alligators; as the population is thinly scattered, it is difficult to visit them.

3rd. Preached in the church to a respectable audience.

4th. Returned to Jefferson.

5th. Preached at Mr. Bunkley's, a poor drunken, worthless vagabond, but he has some good desires, when not drowned in whisky.

10th. Preached twice to-day, and the congregation increasing in numbers and interest. There appears to be some reformation as it regards selling at the stores on Sabbath.

11th. Rode to St. Mary's; stopped at Major Clark's.

12th. Visited Cumberland Island, the residence of General Green, now occupied by his daughter, Mrs. Shaw.

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13th. Returned and preached at St. Mary's.

14th. Rode to Jefferson, 23 miles, and preached to a middling audience.

15th. Exploring the country.

16th. To Waynesville.

17th. Preached at 12 o'clock, and attended Sabbath School. One man came forward to avow his conversion and desire to belong to the Church.

18th. Preached in the boarding house attached to the Academy.

19th. Rode 9 miles to Stockton's, and preached to about 30 persons; some came 10 miles. Attended the funeral of an old Negro woman at night and spoke; they were very thankful, and went afterward to their African customs on such occasions.

20th. At Waynesville; rainy.

21st. Very wet; unwell.

23rd. Rode to Hardy's Neck in the rain.

24th. Preached to the largest audience we have yet had; Methodists not quite so jealous.

25th. From Mr. Hardy's to Mr. T. McIntosh's.

26th. To Jefferson; very unwell with fever the remainder of the week.

31st. Only able to preach once in the courthouse.

June 1st. Rode to St. Mary's, and spoke at monthly concert.

3rd. Preached in the evening.

7th. Twice for Mr. Pratt.

8th. In day school prayer meeting.

10th. Preached in the evening.

11th. Start for St. Augustine in company with Mr. Pratt.

The journal here breaks off. The only other knowl-

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edge of his mission in Georgia and Florida we have from a report printed in the Christian Advocate for August, which a comparison with his journal and with the minutes of the Board's Executive Committee shows to have been from Dr. Dickey (dated June 24, 1829):

Two months have elapsed since my last report, which was dated the nineteenth of April, and I now write to give you an account of myself since that time. Until the twelfth of this month I continued upon the circuit marked out by the St. Mary's Missionary Society, preaching alternately at Waynesville, Hardy's Neck, and Jefferson, in Georgia. At Waynesville there was some excitement, the people manifested interest on the subject of religion, and a few were under deep concern; there might be a church formed of ten or twelve members. Of Hardy's Neck I scarcely know what report to give; there was good attention to all religious meetings, and great hospitality and kindness, but there appeared to be much more concern about "serving" than choosing the "better part." At Jefferson, the state of things was exceedingly interesting; and although there were no open conversions, there was a great change in the morality of the place, especially as it regards the observance of the Sabbath and the use of spiritous liquors. I generally preached four or five times every week and performed a number of pastoral visits, although I lament a want of faithfulness in this respect among the more wealthy part of the community. The slaves made up generally about one third of the assemblies, and I was sometimes permitted to preach to them separately on the plantations, and words cannot express their thankfulness on these occasions. I have never seen them inattentive, but they listen as those hungry for the Bread of Life, and often have tears of joy followed each other down their cheeks, when hearing of a day of rest and freedom, which they might soon enjoy in a better land.

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I took opportunities of speaking to them at their funerals, which they always attend in the night, and with many African heathen customs. As my station lay in the low country of Georgia, and in an unhealthy region, I did not consider it prudent to remain longer, traveling from place to place; and the population was not sufficient to warrant my spending all the time in one place. I was almost constrained to tell the people that I would either return myself in the fall, or procure some one else. I arrived at this place, which is 105 miles from Waynesville, on the thirteenth, in company with the Rev. H. Pratt, of St. Mary's; and as he has often described to the Board the state of this Spanish Catholic city,* I need not take up your time with a further account. We have both preached frequently since, and he dispensed the sacrament of the Supper on Sabbath last. The Government House, or place of meeting, has been crowded constantly, and I trust some good may be done.

Mr. Cresson Dickey says that his father "never forgot his work in Florida":

"It was Africa in America." He often told us about his everyday experience among the people. The woman (mentioned in the journal) was buried at midnight, and he was very much impressed. He was also impressed by the soldiers at St. Augustine.

These scanty records of Dr. Dickey's probationer life are placed under the head of "Education and Training," but they have made evident that it was a time also of acceptable and successful ministry, of gathering the first fruits of the good harvest which his Master granted to him during his half century of labors as pastor, and teacher, or evangelist.

* St. Augustine.

Chapter V

PASTORATES AT NEW CASTLE AND OXFORD

THERE were efforts made to secure the services of the youthful licentiate permanently in the South; calls were addressed to him by the church at St. Mary's, and also by the Second Church of Savannah. These, however, were declined; his life work was to be done nearer home.

At a meeting of the Presbytery of New Castle, held at Leacock (Leaman Place) Church, Lancaster Co., on April 6, 1830, a call was presented to, and accepted by, Dr. John Miller Dickey, from the congregation of New Castle, Del. Further trials were dispensed with, "as he is a licentiate of this presbytery, and has exhibited trials to the full satisfaction of the presbytery." On May 19 he was ordained and installed, his father being appointed to preside; Rev. Robert White, Fagg's Manor, to deliver the charges to pastor and people; and his uncle, Rev. William Finney, of Churchville, Md., to preach the sermon. Another uncle, Dr. George Junkin, was also present.

Dr. Dickey's last regular ministry as a probationer had been exercised in the oldest town of the United States, St. Augustine, Fla., long Spanish and Roman

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Catholic, yet ever interesting as associated with the Huguenot colonists of Admiral Coligny, and their massacre by the bigoted and barbarous rivals sent out by Philip II, with orders to "gibbet and behead all Protestants in those regions." His lot was now cast for some time in a little town (New Castle), younger only by eighty years, and with historical associations both more abundant and more important. Here, and in one or two neighboring settlements, were the beginnings of the State of Pennsylvania, as well as of Delaware. Here William Penn landed, and producing his deeds of grant before the inhabitants assembled in the courthouse, received the solemnly presented symbols of possession, earth and water, and assumed authority over the still wilderness, where he would found "a free colony for all mankind." The town had been possessed by the Swedes, the Dutch, and the English, successively; and French Huguenots and Scotch-Irish immigrants, or their descendants, were also among its mixed population. That population, as a resident population, has always been small, but, for over a century, this city had a large floating population of immigrants who had landed at its port. And in and beyond Dr. Dickey's time, it gave shelter to passengers by the most frequented route to the South and West, who disembarked at its quay from the Philadelphia boat, and resumed their journey across the peninsula the following morning. Doubtless the young minister, who, as one of his New Castle con-

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gregation remembered after nearly seventy years, had "a good deal of fun," had before he was settled here read and laughed over Knickerbocker's story of General Van Poffenburgh and Peter Stuyvesant at Fort Cassimir, as New Castle was once named. Nor would he be insensible to other memories of the quaint old town, or to the charm of its venerable public buildings, churches, and homes. From the house where he boarded with the family of one of his predecessors in the pastorate of the congregation, he looked out on the pleasant and busy broad waterway of the Delaware River, and the undulating and well-cultivated New Jersey coast beyond. Nearer at hand was the spot where it is probable that his ancestors, about a hundred years previously, first stepped on the shores of their adopted country.

The Presbyterian Church of New Castle goes back in its history as far as any other on this continent. A small wooden church was found here by the English when the town was surrendered by the Dutch in 1664, which we may assume was the place of worship of a Dutch Reformed congregation founded, we know, in 1657, two years after the Dutch conquest. A provincial classis or presbytery was formed in 1679. The British Presbyterian immigrants and the French Huguenots seemed to have united in worship with their Dutch brethren. But in 1684 it became an English-speaking congregation. The Presbyterian church buildings of

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New Castle occupy ground adjoining the graveyard of the old Dutch church, which was abandoned before 1700. And it may be reasonably inferred that the Dutch Presbyterian was merged in the British, whose first minister came to them from Boston in 1698, and preached in the courthouse. A new church was erected in 1707. This was enlarged in 1712, and is the well-preserved, comely old building, now used as a church hall, in which Dr. Dickey ministered, as did his predecessors and also his successors, up till the opening of the present elegant edifice in 1854. The local, historical, and ecclesiastical position of this old congregation gave the name of the town to the district presbytery, when that body was organized in 1717. And it still continues to bear the name, though the little Delaware town, with its deserted quays and its grass-grown streets, has lost much of its prestige, and the congregation has suffered along with it.

Dr. Dickey was the eleventh minister of the congregation, and the membership at the time of his installation numbered 169. Distance of time and the short duration of his pastorate hinder any detailed account of his work in this first charge. No particulars have been preserved, and the recollections of almost the only surviving member of his day are few and general. The personal characteristics which were always helpful to his ministry are well remembered: the fine voice, the pleasing manners, the sympathetic and social disposition. His

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great popularity, the attachment of the people, and their deep interest in him also stand out in the backward vista of fourscore years.

"Mr. Dickey was a good deal away at Oxford—from Monday to Friday"—probably toward the time of his father's last illness and death. The beloved aged lady from whom these reminiscences have been obtained has, however, one precious relic of the pastor of her girlhood. He had written in her album in addition to the following lines from Kirke White:

Once on the raging seas I rode;
The storm was loud, the night was dark;
The ocean yawned, and rudely blowed
The wind that tossed my foundering bark.
Deep horror then my vitals froze,
Death-struck, I ceased the tide to stem;
When suddenly a star arose,
It was the Star of Bethlehem.

It was my guide, my light, my all,
It bade my dark forbodings cease;
And through the storm and dangers' thrall,
It led me to the port of peace.
Now safely moored, my perils o'er,
I'll sing, first in night's diadem,
Forever and forevermore,
The Star, the Star of Bethlehem,

"O when will this Star arise upon the soul of Mary, and guide her to the port of peace?"

The law courts of the State of Delaware had not yet been removed from New Castle; and among those who

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attended upon Dr. Dickey's ministry were the State Chancellor, Kinsey Johns, and Judge James R. Black, of the Superior Court. With the family of the latter he maintained a lifelong intimacy, and it must have been a privilege for the young minister to have as a friend one whose tomb in the old churchyard at New Castle has this notable inscription:

In the hearts of his fellow citizens is engraved an epitaph more honorable to his memory than the hand of the warmest affection could inscribe upon this marble.

Dr. Ebenezer Dickey, as we have seen, died on May 30, 1831. As the congregation of Oxford, seeking a pastor and teacher, had thirty-five years before turned to the father, one brought up among themselves, so they now bore the same significant witness to the spiritual and moral character of the son. On October 5, at a meeting of presbytery held at Upper Octorara, calls were presented from Oxford and Upper West Nottingham to the young minister of New Castle, Mr. Wilson and Dr. Thompson appearing as commissioners from the two congregations. At a meeting held in the First Church, Baltimore, on October 27, Dr. Dickey gave as his answer to the calls that he was willing to accept them, and rather felt inclined to do so. The only question with him was that of duty. He, therefore, confiding in the wisdom of presbytery, referred the question to his brethren and fathers for their advice and decision. A remonstrance was handed in by the commissioner, Mat-

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thew Kean, from the congregation of New Castle, which was read. The commissioner was then further heard, and following him, Mr. Wilson, the commissioner from Oxford. The final decision was delayed for five months; Dr. Spottswood, one of his successors, in his history of the New Castle congregation, says it was reached "after much deliberation." But at a meeting of presbytery held at Donegal, on April 3, 1832, Dr. Dickey accepted the call, the congregation of New Castle acquiescing.

The installation took place at Oxford on June 15. Mr. Barr, of Middle Octorara and Leacock, preached the sermon; Dr. McGraw, of Lower West Nottingham, presided; and Mr. Graham, of New London, gave the charges to pastor and people.

Dr. Dickey began this second and lengthened period of his ministry amid the familiar scenes and faces of his youth. Loving and loved friends, grandmother, mother, brothers, and sisters were in the old home; a large number of uncles, cousins, and other relatives were office bearers or members of the congregation; schoolmates and old neighbors were about him. But the fact that he already knew his flock well, and had possessed their friendship from childhood, would probably have been rather disadvantageous to the altered relationship of pastor but for the good report, both in the church and among them that were without, which he by the grace of God had obtained from his early years, to which was



OXFORD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, ERECTED IN 1833

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now added their conviction and experience of his unmistakable sincerity, earnestness, and kindness of heart and hand.

The congregation at this time still assembled in the brick church in which Dr. Ebenezer Dickey had ministered so long. It had taken the place of the log church of the first Seceders, which stood near the oak tree on the site of the old burying ground. This first brick church was removed and a new building was erected on the same site a year or two after Dr. John M. Dickey commenced his ministry in Oxford. From one of his notebooks we learn that Dr. Dickey "preached at the opening of the new church from Matt. 5:13, 'Ye are the salt of the earth.'" After about twenty years the building was altered and enlarged, and it served the congregation until it was taken down for the erection of the present church in 1866.

Services were held at Oxford every Sabbath morning, save once a month during four months of the year when the pastor preached at Nottingham, the services at the latter place being held during the other months of the year on one or two Sabbath afternoons a month. This Upper West Nottingham Congregation, as it was then called, had separated from the Lower Congregation of the same name at the beginning of the century, and had enjoyed the services, first, from 1810, of Dr. McGraw, and later, as has been noticed, of Dr. Ebenezer Dickey. They also worshiped in another building than

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that now occupied by their successors; it stood until very recently in the Nottingham graveyard. On the Sabbath afternoons on which he was not engaged at Nottingham, Dr. Dickey preached in the schoolrooms at Mount Vernon, Barnsley, Union, Hopewell, and Maple Grove. The old Seceder custom was observed of omitting services at churches or schoolrooms when the pastor was absent assisting at the Lord's Supper elsewhere. This feast of the Church was at that day accompanied with a greater or less number of week-day gatherings for preparation and for thanksgiving. In the Oxford church the custom seems to have prevailed even until near the close of Dr. Dickey's pastorate in 1856.

On admission to membership Dr. Dickey asked few questions, but these were pointed and experimental. The more peculiar Seceder feature of using Rouse's Version of The Psalms was continued as long as Dr. Dickey was pastor, at least to the extent of having one sung at every service. He was wont to say it was due to the older members. It appears that until his coming this old version alone was used in worship, for at a meeting of session on August 12, 1832, it was resolved "that the singing of hymns be occasionally admitted in the Oxford church." Along with Rouse's Version there was the naturally accompanying Seceder exclusion of instrumental music. The praise of the congregation was led by a choir, composed almost entirely of full members of the church and widely admired for the excellence and

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devoutness of its service. It was conducted and trained during many years by one long worshiping with the congregation, Mr. Alexander McCormick.

The weekly prayer meeting was not held in the church building, but circulated from house to house. The pastor did not usually lead, but offered remarks with others. These were sometimes brief and simple, but characteristically practical. It is remembered that, at one of the meetings held at Hopewell, Dr. Dickey summed up the conversation, which was on repentance, by giving his opinion that the best definition of it was in the prophet's exhortation: "Cease to do evil; learn to do well."

Dr. Dickey had the true pastor's heart. It might have been expected that one so abundant in other labors would feel himself compelled to confine his pastoral work to the pulpit, or, beyond it, only to the afflicted of his flock. But like that marvelous apostle pastor who with his own hands ministered to his necessities and to them that were with him and yet taught "publicly and from house to house," warning "every one night and day with tears," this man, active in extracongregational work from the beginning, could find time for that shepherd's care to which his feelings ever prompted and for which he had a rare fitness. Sedulous and tender in ministering to the sick, the bereaved, and the aged, he watched over the young, and, as one who knew well both him and the congregation has said, he

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was "sleepless in inquisition as to the state of the people, always alert for their spiritual good. He was indefatigable day and night and, it might be truly said, in all their afflictions he was afflicted." As the Oxford Press bore witness at the time of his death:

Notably he was kind-hearted, full of generous impulses. Working men and women, the poor, the afflicted, the penitent, were always sure of his tender sympathy. In ministering to their needs he would never spare himself. Other claims upon his time were made to wait upon the needs of the sick and the inquiring. All the resources of his mind and his heart were at their service. It was not the least among his excellencies that widows and orphans, aged and helpless sufferers were gladdened by his visits, directed by his advice, and blessed by his ministrations.

It has been related also how "he was a friend in need to members of the church who were struggling with financial difficulties, and not only by suggesting ways but also by assisting with money means."

In the early part of his ministry at Oxford, the names of families to be visited on certain days were given out from the pulpit. At each home Scripture was read; the children, before the Sabbath school took up this work, were examined in The Shorter Catechism, and especially on the Fourth and Fifth Commandments (sometimes two or three families were asked to meet together for this exercise); and the family were led in prayer. The intimate mutual knowledge and the strong heart bands resulting from these various pastoral labors help us to

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understand how he commanded the confidence, respect, and love of his congregation, and how it could be said that "he controlled it without visible machinery." One sober, trustworthy testimony is that "they followed him like a flock of sheep; they had no thoughts of their own in ecclesiastical matters."

To one note preserved by him of Dr. Alexander's lectures on pastoral care he gave diligent heed: "Encourage and promote Sabbath schools." It was during his pastorate that these schools were established in the various neighboring country districts. At the Sabbath school celebration on July 4, 1840, five hundred children were present. He was a lover of children; to them and to young people generally he was very sympathetic and kindly. They were not afraid of him, but were attracted to him and loved him.

To the ordinary means of grace there had been added, a few years before Dr. Dickey's entrance on his ministry, an extraordinary means, which continued in common use for forty years or longer and was known by the name of "the protracted meeting." It was during the extensive revivals of religion which took place in western New York State in 1826-1827, under the conduct of Dr. Charles G. Finney, and it was one of the warmly opposed "new measures" of that noted evangelist and his upholders. But the objections to the "four days' meetings," as this particular measure was also sometimes called, were not on grounds of Scripture, nor

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of evils inherent in the system, but were based rather on avoidable dangers in connection with the arrangement or management of the gatherings. It is while he was minister at New Castle that Dr. Dickey first comes before us in relation to the long popular institution with which an older generation still affectionately associates his name. At a presbytery meeting held at Wilmington in April, 1831, a committee, of which he was a member, that had been appointed to "devise and report measures for the more effectual revival of religion within the bounds of the presbytery," states that "having deliberately and prayerfully considered the subject, they have unanimously agreed to recommend to the presbytery to make trial of 'four days' meetings,' which have been adopted by our brethren both of the East and West, and attended by the most blessed effects." The "Narrative of the State of Religion," presented by the General Assembly the following year, states that revivals were reported from 68 presbyteries and about 700 congregations, and the following judgment is expressed on the "protracted meeting":

Upon another subject of deep interest there is a general, unbroken testimony from all parts of the Church, which have been blessed with a refreshing from the presence of the Lord. * * * Whatever honest difference of opinion there may have been as to the utility of such convocations (protracted meetings), whatever fears may have been cherished as to their tendency, the question now seems decided, that the Lord has signally owned and abundantly blessed

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them, and that the seal of divine approbation is visibly and indelibly fixed upon them.

It is shortly after this report that we have the record in Dr. Dickey's notebook, already quoted: "Tuesday, 14th. (August, 1832.) A protracted meeting commenced; continued until Friday evening." A previous note tells of preparation for the meeting, both by God's providence in the threatening judgment, and by penitential waiting upon him: "Aug. 9, 1832. This day observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, appointed by the Governor, to supplicate the mercy of God and deliverance from the cholera." This appears to be the meeting described by a correspondent of the West Chester Local News at the time of Dr. Dickey's death; it was held two months after his installation.

It is an interesting fact that the first protracted meeting ever held in Oxford was during the early part of the ministry of the deceased. He was assisted by Rev. R. J. Breckinridge and Rev. Stephen Williams, of Baltimore; Rev. James Barr, of Pequea; and all the neighboring clergymen. The services lasted about a week, Mr. Breckinridge preaching in the forenoon of each day, and all yet living who heard him on that occasion can testify to the power of his preaching. The fact that over fifty gray-headed people professed conversion marks the event as one of great spiritual power, and one long to be remembered.

Dr. Dickey's own statement as to numbers is: "One hundred and thirty and upwards came forward professing concern. On Monday afternoon the following persons attended the anxious meeting, and were con-

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versed with by John Dickey and myself." Seventy-five names are given, and four colored women are expressly mentioned.

John Dickey was a son of Samuel Dickey, of Hope-well, and a cousin, therefore, of the pastor, who was a few months his senior. Educated at Oxford, Dr. McGraw's Academy at West Nottingham, Jefferson College, and Princeton Seminary, his probation was spent chiefly in Virginia and North Carolina, where he carried on a very successful mission. In 1834, he accepted calls to the churches of New Bloomfield, Landisburg, and Buffalo, in the Presbytery of Carlisle, among whose members he was, as testified in their Centennial volume, "distinguished for his devoted piety and eminent usefulness." A memorial sketch explains this coöperation with his cousin in their native congregation of Oxford:

It was in this year that protracted meetings began to be held for the first time in New Castle Presbytery. Remarkable success attended these meetings, and great numbers were added to the churches generally. John's father, having a desire to see his son, and thinking that he could be useful at these meetings, wrote to him, recommending him to come home and labor for a while at them. Accordingly he returned and preached with great acceptance at these meetings for several months. His sermons, being particularly pointed and searching, were well adapted to such occasions.

The only other record known of a protracted meeting in Oxford is from Dr. Dickey's hand:

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June 13th, 1842. A protracted meeting commenced in Oxford. Present: Dr. Grier, McBain, Du Bois, McIntire, S. Dickey, J. G. Balston, J. Latta, A. Hamilton, with myself. On this day, Sabbath, the 18th, conversed with about sixty inquirers; great solemnity; may our merciful Saviour still show us greater blessings!

This was also at a time of remarkable revivals of religion among the churches generally, the Assembly's narrative reporting them from 53 presbyteries and 400 congregations. One consequence of the ingatherings from these meetings, and from the ordinary work of the pastorate, was, of course, a large increase in the membership of the congregation of Oxford and Nottingham, which, standing unitedly at 175 at the time of Dr. Dickey's installation, had risen in 1837 to 465, and though when he resigned his charge in 1856 it was no longer the only church in Oxford, a Methodist Episcopal congregation having been established in 1851, the membership of the conjoined Presbyterian churches even then remained as high as 407, 60 of these probably belonging to Nottingham. It may be added that the contributions to the Boards or schools of the Church had advanced from \$45 in 1830 to \$430 in 1856.

Dr. Dickey's abounding share in protracted meeting work beyond his own congregation has a just place in the obituary notice of the Oxford Press:

He was widely sought for as a preacher in the extensive revivals of that period, and was always a favorite among the churches. The older people in York and Lancaster and

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Chester Counties remember the impressiveness of his earnest eloquence.

In the sketch of Dr. Dickey, contained in Futhey and Cope's "History of Chester County," we are told that "during 1832-1833, he was accustomed to go from church to church and preach at protracted meetings, day and night. About this time also Dr. Dickey received numerous calls, among them one to Washington, D. C., and two to Philadelphia, one of the latter signed by many clergymen (Albert Barnes and others) urging his acceptance."

We have, however, a valuable individual and particular reminiscence of this period by Dr. N. G. Parke, who in the memorial address previously quoted speaks thus of his evangelistic gifts and graces:

I first (in 1834) met Dr. Dickey at the old Slate Ridge Presbyterian Church in York County, of which my father was the pastor. It was during what was known at that time as a "four days' meeting." At this meeting there was a large representation of ministers belonging to the New Castle Presbytery. Among these were J. N. C. Grier, of Brandywine Manor; Robert White, of Fagg's Manor; Samuel Martin, of Chanceford; William Finney, of Churchville, Md.; Dr. McGraw, of Cecil Co., Md.; and John Miller Dickey, who was the youngest of the company. These ministers all traveled on horseback, and I had something to do in caring for their horses. Mr. Dickey was then a tall, spare young man, and apparently not strong. Among the preachers who took part in this meeting at Slate Ridge, and in meetings of the same kind throughout the presbytery, his services were very much in demand, and he did not

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spare himself; his heart was thoroughly in the type of work called for at the time. There was that in his spirit and manner and mode of presenting truth, and in the tones of his voice, which was very suggestive of what we have read of Whitefield. He could not so pronounce the word Mesopotamia as to open the fountain of tears in the eyes of his hearers, but in that old Slate Ridge Church, and in many other churches throughout the presbytery, he did so preach the glorious gospel of Christ as to move many to ask, "What must we do to be saved?" He never thundered in the pulpit, nor pounded the Bible. His voice was not far-reaching, but it was marvelously musical, tender, and persuasive. During the meeting at Slate Ridge, he preached a sermon from the words of Elijah on Mount Carmel: "How long halt ye between two opinions?" of which the old people of the congregation have not ceased to speak to this day. He did not hesitate, during any part of his ministry, to preach the terrors of the Law, but, as MacCheyne would say, he did it tenderly and lovingly, ever using the Law as a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ. He drew men to Christ rather by lifting up Christ than by holding up the pictures of Milton's "Paradise Lost." * * *

While he did his life work very largely as a pastor, it was not all done in that position. His field of labor for Christ was not circumscribed by the lines of his parish; it was the world. He was first the servant, the *doulos* of Christ, then his apostle, and then pastor of the flock over which the Holy Ghost made him overseer. He had, from the time that he entered the ministry, a decided taste for evangelistic work, and he was adapted to it. This was illustrated in the character of his preaching, which was illustrative rather than didactic. While he was a student, and a scholar, and a theologian, he never lost sight of the fact that he was an ambassador for Christ, sent to tell men the "old, old story," and to beseech them to be reconciled to God. He studied systematic theology in Princeton, and preached the

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gospel in the pulpit. * * * His zeal was not so much for orthodoxy as for bringing men to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.

Dr. Dickey's labors in connection with protracted meetings introduce us to the religious work in which he engaged beyond his own congregation. Two successful efforts in which he took part in his own neighborhood are narrated by his friend and neighbor, Rev. R. P. Du Bois, of New London, in his interesting manuscript autobiography:

In 1846, four pastors settled around the village called "the Brick Meetinghouse," in Maryland, Messrs. Dickey, Burrowes (West Nottingham), De Witt (Rock), and myself, at the request of a few Presbyterian families, and led by the first named of the four, having by contributions raised among their people aided these families to erect a small frame chapel, began a mission work by preaching in turn once every fortnight on Sabbath afternoons. This continued three years, when, their numbers being strengthened by frequent immigrations of Presbyterians from Bucks County and New Jersey, they were organized into a church, and built a much larger brick house of worship at Zion, a pleasant village two miles south, when they invited a resident preacher to minister to them. Others in turn officiated among them, but being too weak to stand alone they at length, in 1863, united with the Rock Church in calling Rev. John D. Johns to be the pastor of the united charge.

A minute book of the Zion congregation states that the church was organized on November 20, 1850, by Messrs. J. M. Dickey, De Witt, and Du Bois, ministers, and S. J. Dickie and John Nivin, elders, in the house at

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the village at the Brick Meetinghouse, where the people had been wont to worship. The sermon on the occasion was preached by Dr. Dickey from Ps. 66:16. "In the summer of 1847," Mr. Du Bois also tells us, "colportage work was carried on by the presbytery through a committee composed of Messrs. J. M. Dickey, Hamilton, and Du Bois. Two Princeton Seminary students were employed, who, each with horse and wagon, visited all the congregation."

Mr. Du Bois is careful to mention that there was no debt left by the effort, and adds, "This was a laborious undertaking both for the colporteurs and the committee, but it no doubt paid well morally."

Dr. Dickey was a regular attendant at the meetings of the presbyteries of which he was at different times a member: first, that of New Castle, and, latterly, that of Chester. He took an interest in every congregation. Along with such fathers as the late Rev. James Latta, of Upper Octorara, and Dr. Grier, of Forks of Brandywine, he was a recognized leader in council. Having a natural facility of speech, he was always prominent in debate. He was seldom absent from the meetings of the Synod of Philadelphia, of which he was a member for forty-seven years, though he took little part in its business or in that of the General Assembly, to which he was three times a commissioner. It is noteworthy that, at the meeting of the Philadelphia Synod in 1835, he voted in favor of rejecting the appeal of his uncle, Dr.

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Junkin, in the case of Rev. Albert Barnes, in this action following the course taken, as we have seen, by his father in 1830. He was appointed moderator "by acclamation" of synod when it met in West Philadelphia in 1863. And in the following year he opened the meeting at the First Presbyterian Church, Lewistown, Pa., by a sermon on Neh. 2:18, "And they said, Let us rise up and build." During the afterproceedings, it was resolved:

That the Rev. John M. Dickey, D.D., be requested to prepare for publication an abstract embodying the facts and arguments of his excellent discourse delivered before synod on the duty of the people to build parsonages; and that synod will order a copy of such tract to be sent to each ruling elder within our bounds, to be paid for by the treasurer of synod, on the order of the stated clerk. Also, that a committee be appointed to report upon the subject of parsonages and ministerial support, Rev. John M. Dickey, Rev. J. M. Crowell, and Ruling Elder Robert Scott to report to next synod; and meantime synod earnestly recommends churches and sessions to act in the matter of parsonages.

From some cause, difficult now to ascertain, no action followed these resolutions. It is explained that a tract on the subject of parsonages was already on the Board's list; and Dr. Crowell says that the committee was not called together. Ashmun Institute probably required all the energy Dr. Dickey could spare at this time from his ministerial work. In connection with another meeting of synod it is told that he so spoke on behalf of a missionary's two children, sent home for education, that

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members rose from all parts of the house offering to take them.

The General Assembly appointed Dr. Dickey to the Board of Foreign Missions in 1838, the year after the Board was instituted, and he was several times reappointed for terms of four years. His own congregations of Oxford and Nottingham, it may be mentioned here, gave during his ministry a contribution to the cause of Foreign Missions ranging from \$60 to \$160, the Boards of Domestic Missions and, especially, of Education coming in latterly to compete for their offerings.

Another sphere of service for the Church was occupied by him from 1858, when he was elected a director of Princeton Seminary. The election was repeated until at the time of his death he had filled the office for twenty years during two of which, 1864 and 1865, he acted as secretary of the Board. In April, 1860, he preached the annual sermon before the directors, professors, and students in the First Presbyterian Church, and took part in the conference in the afternoon. In 1863, he gave the address to the graduating students. His colleagues tell how greatly his counsels were valued at their meetings, and in their report to the General Assembly for 1878 their appreciation is thus expressed, "The Board of Directors experienced a sad loss in the death of the excellent, faithful, and beloved Rev. John Miller Dickey, D.D."

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Before passing to the subject of Dr. Dickey's philanthropic and public work, the events of his domestic and family circle during the period of his Oxford pastorate may here be chronicled. The most important of these was his marriage, on June 12, 1834, to Sarah Emlen, daughter of Warder Cresson, of a well-known Philadelphia family. Warder Cresson was descended from Pierre Cresson, a Huguenot refugee, who, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, settled in Holland, where he entered the service of William the Silent. Emigrating to New York, he lived in the district which has the name of "the Bowery," from the flowers with which he surrounded his home. Shortly afterwards, in 1696, his grandson came to Philadelphia, and others of the family followed, becoming members of the Society of Friends, to the orthodox section of which their descendants belonged.

Mrs. Dickey, who was a beautiful, gifted, highly educated, and bright-minded lady, was born on July 1, 1806, about five months before her future husband. To them were born, on August 12, 1837, their only daughter, Mary Warder; on July 19, 1839, Ebenezer; on January 6, 1842, John Miller Cresson; and on August 12, 1844, Clement Cresson. Dr. Dickey's eldest sister, Mary Jackson, was married a few months after his installation at Oxford to Richard J. Cross, and in 1836 his second sister, Margaret Irvine was married to Rev. Andrew

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Boyd Cross, brother of Richard. In 1847, he was called upon to mourn his venerable Scottish grandmother, Margaret Irvine Miller, who had cared for him during his school days in Philadelphia. She had survived till her ninety-first year. Two years afterwards his sister, Mrs. R. J. Cross, died in her forty-first year. It was but a short time until the entry was made in his notebook: "Jane Miller Dickey, my dear mother, died Wednesday, Oct. 23, 1850, 25 minutes before 5 A.M." But before the close of this period there fell upon the home a sorer stroke of bereavement that changed it into a house of mourning, from which the cloud, though largely lifted by the comfort of a calm faith, never wholly disappeared. The beautiful, bright, accomplished, and genial only daughter was taken away in her sixteenth year.* A relative says: "Dr. Dickey was never the same in spirit after Mary's death. His expression became sadder, and he perceptibly aged." He had been the object of her peculiar love and attention; she had soothed him with her music; she had been like sunlight in the home. It was some time before he could resume his duties at the Female Seminary. And when he did return one of the pupils remembers how he could scarcely get through the prayer, so heartstricken had he been at entering because of the absence of the hat that had so long hung under his in the hall. Like the prophet, he now went

* Her gravestone bears the inscription: "Saved early in Christ."

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softly all his years because of the bitterness of his soul. There was, however, no slackening of his large-hearted and self-sacrificing labors. It was from the "valley of the shadow of death" that he entered upon his monumental life undertaking; that same year he brought before the presbytery his plan for the establishment of Ashmun Institute.

Chapter VI

PHILANTHROPIC AND PUBLIC WORK

JOHN MILLER DICKEY, in obeying the apostolic exhortation, "Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children," exhibited what Jeremy Taylor calls "that godlike excellence, a philanthropy and love to all mankind." He could have taken to himself more truly than most the oft-quoted words of Terence: "I am a man, and nothing human is foreign to me." In his philanthropy there was no limit as to man; his good-doing was to all men, and not only to "the household of faith." Neither was there any limit as to man's ills and needs. The lesser as well as the greater good touched his large heart, and moved his self-denying, untiring, and generous hand. He ever sought first "the kingdom of God, and his righteousness." But he sought fellowship also with "the great Philanthropist, the Friend of man," in adding all other things of which our heavenly Father knows we have need.

As might be expected from his father's son, he early in his Oxford ministry became a zealous worker in the cause of temperance.

About this time the limited pledge of abstinence from

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the use of ardent spirits was being abandoned in favor of the principle of abstinence from the use of all intoxicating drinks as beverages. The State Society of Pennsylvania adopted this new pledge in 1836, and in the same year a national temperance convention took the same step. New societies appeared as the movement grew, but Dr. Dickey was ready to give his hearty assistance to each, various as were their methods or scope. The Washingtonian agitation of 1840, with its strictly moral suasion platform, held its meetings in the Oxford church. And when there sprang from it, ere it decayed, a new organization, called the Sons of Temperance, a semisecret order, with a benevolent or sick benefit society attached to it, and conducting its meetings with ritual and regalia, he and his brothers were not ashamed to take their place among the members and to put on the symbols and decorations worn by them at their assemblies. The story is told that at a meeting in Cochranville, under the auspices of the order, an elderly brother minister of the neighborhood, who, while favorable to the total abstinence cause, was strongly opposed to some features of the new organization, was giving expression to his views on the "foolery" of the regalia. Dr. Dickey, who was sitting behind him (they were great friends) rose quietly, took off his own regalia, and threw it gently over the speaker's head, who, alas! did not relish the humor of the situation but removed at once the obnoxious badge and stamped it underfoot!

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Nor did he content himself with contributing to the cause his influence and his powers of persuasive oratory; his money was spared no more than his time and his strength. It was like his bold and disinterested self to purchase, along with his brother Samuel, the Oxford Hotel, turn it into a temperance house, and run it for a time at a loss. Toward the end of his life his interest was unabated and his help was still ready. In August, 1869, he was fitly honored to preside at a great mass meeting of the friends of temperance, held at Nottingham, when, it was estimated, about five thousand were present, and an address was given by Horace Greeley. The following invitation to the meeting appeared in the same week's Oxford Press:

Will the friends of temperance remember the meeting on Thursday of this week, and make some sacrifices, if necessary, to attend it? Come and give thanks that you are not the slaves of alcohol; come and deliver some dear one, it may be, from its power; come and encourage those who have been working so faithfully in this noble cause. You will do good, and we believe have a pleasant day.

John M. Dickey.

A month later he addressed the Sabbath school at Oxford on the occasion of its anniversary, and made "a strong appeal to the children to abstain from the intoxicating cup, illustrating his remarks by the exhibition of paintings of the human stomach by the late Dr. Sewell, of Washington, which showed the awful effect of the use of alcohol." And in the following year we

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find him delivering a temperance lecture in the lodge room of the Good Templars.

Dr. Dickey's deep and practical interest in the cause of education began as early as his labors on behalf of the temperance reformation. His public life coincided with the forty years during which successive acts of the legislature established and perfected the present excellent educational system of Pennsylvania. And in all the necessary preceding agitations he took a foremost place. There was much need for reform in this direction. William Penn's Second General Assembly had enacted universal and compulsory education, but the diverse elements in the population of the colony had prevented the execution of this law, so wonderfully far in advance of its time. Though Dr. Rush had appealed to "the legislature and citizens of Pennsylvania" in 1786, "Let there be free schools in every township, and in districts consisting of one hundred families," only meager attempts were made until 1836, when at last an act was secured providing for the carrying out of this part of the public-spirited doctor's plan. In the long interval from Penn's time, the failure of the state had been met by the churches, at least as to the wants of their own families. In Presbyterian settlements the erection of the home and the church was speedily followed by the building of a school. But private enterprise proved insufficient, and the institution and completion of the state system was felt by all intelligent patriotic citizens to be a clamant

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necessity, though it meant campaigns and battles, and the repeated bitterness of defeat before the satisfaction and the blessing of victory. It must have been gratifying to Dr. Dickey that the prominent leaders in the most eventful period of the long struggle were fellow graduates of the old Milton School, Governors Pollock and Curtin, and Secretary of State and Common Schools Superintendent Hughes. This doubtless was one reason why their venerable teacher, Dr. Kirkpatrick, found his way to Harrisburg from the West on the occasion of the inauguration of Governor Pollock, when ten of the "old boys," including the Governor and the Secretary of State Curtin, surprised him with a banquet, at which he "wept like a child, as he recalled the happy memories of other days, and pointed to the now mature and eminent minds he had shaped in boyhood."

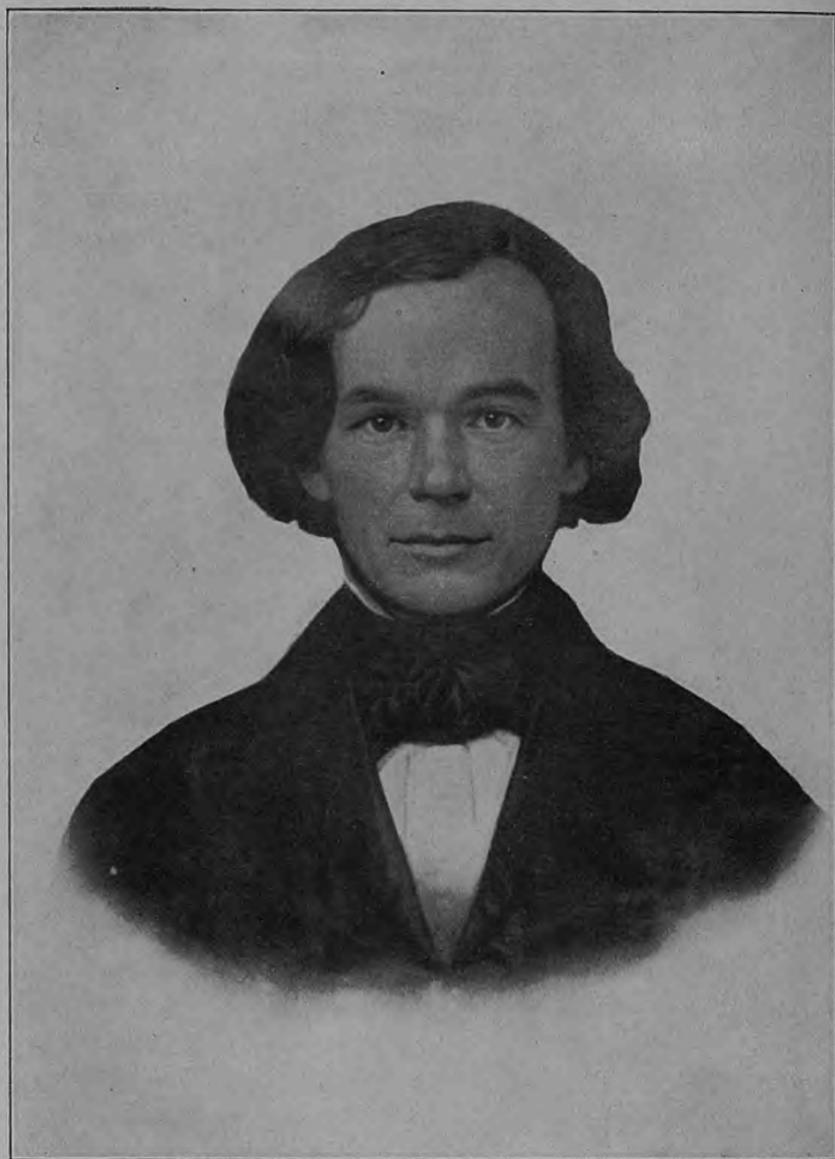
The Presbyterians of Pennsylvania were not satisfied with instructing their children in "the three R's." All around Dr. Dickey at Oxford there were, or had been, historical Presbyterian classical academies—historical because of the distinguished pupils they had sent forth to the service both of the Church and of the State—Brandywine Manor, New London, West Nottingham, Chestnut Level, Donegal, Pequea, Upper Octorara, Fagg's Manor.

We have seen how his father had maintained the good traditions of his race and Church by originating and maintaining the old Oxford Classical Academy. And

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while he himself extended his sympathies, influence, and active help to the promotion of free education in the state, he felt it his duty to effect, if possible, the establishing of a school for higher education in Oxford, and even to devote some portion of his time to the personal work of teaching. It is in connection with a brief notice of this local undertaking that Dr. Dickey is mentioned in Wickersham's "History of Education in Pennsylvania," as "an earnest friend of education in all its departments." In founding this school, which was called the Oxford Female Seminary, he was influenced partly by the advantages which he believed Quaker ladies possessed from the superior education received by them at the Westtown Boarding School in the same county. He desired similar advantages for the young women of the Presbyterian churches. But the supply of good female teachers also was a prominent object. The great necessity for normal schools weighed much with him. Though advocated and discussed, none of these were yet in existence. In 1835, Dr. Dickey called a public meeting to consider his proposal, and being opened two years thereafter the seminary anticipated the first normal school upon this continent, which was opened at Lexington, Mass., as late as July 3, 1839.

The seminary was organized by Rev. Samuel Bell, for many years pastor of St. George's and Pencader congregations, Delaware. In 1841, he was succeeded in the principalship by Rev. James Grier Ralston, latterly



SAMUEL DICKEY

From a Portrait Painted During the Period of His Teaching in Oxford Female Seminary

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D.D., LL.D., a native of Chester County, a pupil of Hopewell Academy, and a graduate of Washington College and Princeton Seminary. He had recently been licensed as a preacher of the gospel, but the state of his health hindered him from entering the regular work of the ministry. Dr. Ralston was accomplished both in literature and science, especially in the latter. He afterwards became the founder and head of the well-known Oakland Female Institute at Norristown, Pa.

After Dr. Ralston's removal to Norristown in 1845, Dr. Dickey undertook the principalship of the Oxford Seminary and held the office for fifteen years. In this work he was associated with his two brothers, Samuel and Ebenezer. This was but one of the many labors for the public good in which these three brothers wrought together in close and loving fellowship.

Rev. Samuel Dickey was the second son of Dr. Ebenezer Dickey, and was born at Oxford on April 17, 1818. Graduating in 1836 from Lafayette College, of which his uncle, Dr. George Junkin, its founder, was at this time the president, he took the usual three-year course in Princeton Seminary, to which was added a fourth year by reason of his being awarded a fellowship, and was licensed by the Presbytery of New Castle in 1841. On October 9, 1844, he was ordained and installed as pastor of Union Church, Coleraine, about six miles from Oxford. Here he labored for nine years, refusing a call to succeed Dr. Martin at Chanceford, York

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Co. Mr. Dickey was a clear, acceptable, and profitable preacher, and a faithful and tender pastor. Precious memories of his ministry survive among the people of his charge, which, however, he was reluctantly and sorrowfully compelled to resign in 1853, because of failing health, particularly affecting his throat, which, as a letter from his brother John, addressed to him at Princeton shows, had been delicate from student days. He now, to quote from the memorial minutes of the Presbytery of Chester, "entered the field of useful effort which remained open to him; and with capabilities seldom equaled and an energy that was unsurpassed, he became a benefactor to the whole community. The impress of his hand was on every institution which advanced the temporal or spiritual welfare of those among whom he lived. He was at the start of every great business enterprise of his native place, and his efforts ceased only with his death." For twenty-four years he was president of the Octorara Bank, and its successor, the National Bank of Oxford. He was a director of the Baltimore Central Railroad, in the bringing of which to Oxford all three brothers had a principal share; and he was also superintendent and a large owner of the stock of the Peach Bottom Railroad. Like John and Ebenezer, he served for a time on the Town Council. In these and other public positions, as well as in private, his great business qualities and his high personal character obtained for him universal esteem.

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Samuel Dickey took a deep and active interest in the ancestral church at Oxford. He was a man of piety, of earnestness and power in prayer, of unquestioned integrity, of unostentatious benevolence, and of genial manners. While of one mind with his elder brother, and coöperating with him in most, if not all, of his multifarious plans for the service of their generation, he was especially helpful to the crowning enterprise of Dr. Dickey's life. For many years he was a trustee of Lincoln University and a member of the Executive Committee, and at the time of his death had been treasurer of the board for eighteen years, giving to the institution, besides his money contributions, much valuable time, wise counsel, and unwearied efforts. We cannot doubt that it would have been a source of much gratification to him that the Greek chair in college and seminary should be occupied for a time by his eldest son, bearing his own and the family name of Samuel Dickey.

Mr. Dickey was twice married; first, in 1850, to Eugenia, daughter of Henry Cazier, of New Castle Co., Del., who died in 1862, leaving two daughters, Sarah Eugenia and Mary Irvine; and in 1868 to Jennie, daughter of John B. Rutherford, by whom he had two sons—Professor Samuel Dickey, of McCormick Seminary, Chicago, and Irvine Rutherford Dickey, of Oxford, Pa., a member of the Chester County Bar.

He was the last survivor of the three brothers. On January 14, 1884, accompanied by Mrs. Dickey and

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Mr. S. Ralston Dickey, his nephew, he went to Philadelphia to attend the annual meeting of the Baltimore Central Railroad Company, and at Tenth Street was suddenly seized in a street car with sickness, which was discovered after death to have come from heart disease. He was borne into a store, near the site of his Grandfather Miller's once familiar residence, the first to be erected in Philadelphia with a marble front, and there passed away in a few minutes without speaking. His wife and his nephew waited for him at another part of the city, and learned of their loss only when after some hours they went to Broad Street Station. Three days later a large company of friends and fellow citizens gathered at the Oxford church to carry him to his burial, addresses of appropriate thanksgiving, comfort, and exhortation being given by Rev. Drs. I. N. Rendall, W. R. Bingham, and Caspar W. Hodge.

Dr. Ebenezer V. Dickey, the other and younger brother, left behind him a like impression of character and a like record of good-doing. This impression and this record, with the leading facts of his life, are well told in a communicated press notice which appeared at the time of his death:

Died at Oxford, Chester Co., Pa., on the 31st ult., Ebenezer V. Dickey, M.D., in the thirty-seventh year of his age, leaving a widow and three children. He was the youngest son of the late Rev. Ebenezer Dickey, D.D., of the same place. He died in the house in which he was born and in which his father died.

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The death of Dr. Dickey, though comparatively a young man, makes no ordinary breach in his county. His cheerful disposition, sympathy for the suffering, consideration for the condition of others, and energy of character; the strong confidence which the community had in his judgment, his strict integrity; and the interest which he took in every public improvement, with his constant kindness, opened a way to the hearts of all who knew him; though as decided in his opinions as he was earnest in accomplishing his purposes, he had their confidence and good will.

In his own family he was all that such qualities could constitute. In the ninth year of his age his father died. On his deathbed he laid his hand on his son's head and said, "God bless you, my son, and make you a good boy." That dying benediction was a watchword during his life. On his own deathbed, with deep feeling, he spoke of the impression it had made upon him, and that from the time it was uttered until then it had been his prayer that his parent's prayers might be answered in him.

In his fifteenth year he united with the church to which his father and eldest brother had ministered. His Christian character was decided. In his practice as physician, many patients found him a spiritual counselor, commending them at a throne of grace to the Great Physician. When afterwards engaged as the president of the Baltimore Central Railroad Company, as delegate from his county to the legislature, and in positions and associations of peculiar temptation, he retained his steadfastness, and maintained his Christian integrity without suspicion.

In the winter of 1856 an attack of rheumatism from a severe cold affected his heart, an ailment which threatened to be permanent. In 1857 he visited Europe, hoping that a sea voyage and change of climate might benefit him. He returned little benefited, and suffered severely at times, although he was in some measure relieved.

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About the middle of July his last attack came on. It was accompanied with intense agony. No complaint or murmur escaped his lips. He said God had been very good and kind to him. When his friends prayed for him, he said: "Don't pray so much for my life, as that I may be fitted for heaven." "I have ceased to be solicitous about my recovery." "I am in God's hands, who will do what is right; and I am resigned to his will." His faith and confidence in Christ were without wavering. He knew that he had believed in Christ. He was his All in all. "He is my Saviour."

For some time before his death there was an increasing fervor in his devotions observed by his friends; but little did they apprehend that it was the stirring up of that spirit that was so soon to take its flight. His heavenly Father was gradually sundering the cords that were holding it here; but not until the last tie was being broken did the reality of the coming change force itself upon his friends. Let God be praised for his life, and for the hope in his death. "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

To this notice it may be added that Dr. Dickey had the high stature of his father and his brother John. He was educated at Hopewell and New London Academies and Lafayette College, and graduated as a doctor of medicine from the University of Pennsylvania in 1844. At once beginning practice in his native place, he attained a high position in his profession as well as in other spheres. His most notable public efforts were in connection with the building of the Baltimore Central Railroad, and the obtaining of a charter for the Octorama Bank, of both of which he became president. He was succeeded as president of the bank first by his

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brother Samuel, and then by his own son, Samuel Ralston Dickey.*

This remarkable trio of brothers, who, notwithstanding their individuality, were so much united in heart and in work as to seem, it has been said, rather one man than three, divided their labors in the seminary according to their several tastes or accomplishments. Dr. John taught history, *belles-lettres*, logic, mental and moral philosophy, natural theology, and evidences of Christianity; Rev. Samuel, Latin and Greek, mathematics,

* Samuel Ralston Dickey, son of Ebenezer V. Dickey, M.D., and Frances (Ralston) Dickey, was born in Oxford, Pa., November 30, 1849. He was educated in the schools of Oxford and Hopewell, and in the academy located at Union, in Lancaster Co., Pa. In 1868, at the age of nineteen years, with the assistance of his Uncle Samuel, he established a warehouse business in Oxford, which continued in successful operation under his name for forty-eight years, until sold in 1916. In 1884, upon the death of his Uncle Samuel, he was elected president of the National Bank of Oxford, and continued to fill that office until his death forty-two years later. In connection with this important position he became associated with many other local business interests, in a number of which he held office. He took a deep interest in the affairs of the community, and his counsel and judgment were sought in many matters. He was warmly devoted to the church of his fathers, and served it in the varied offices of trustee, treasurer, and ruling elder, during a period of more than thirty years. He was also a trustee of Lincoln University. He was twice married: first, in 1882, to Marion G. Rutherford, who died in 1905; and then, in 1907, to Anna E. Rutherford. On September 23, 1926, while riding together, he and his wife were both instantly killed in an automobile accident. Mr. Dickey was survived by a son, John B. R. Dickey, and a daughter, Frances (Dickey) Conner.
W. P. F.

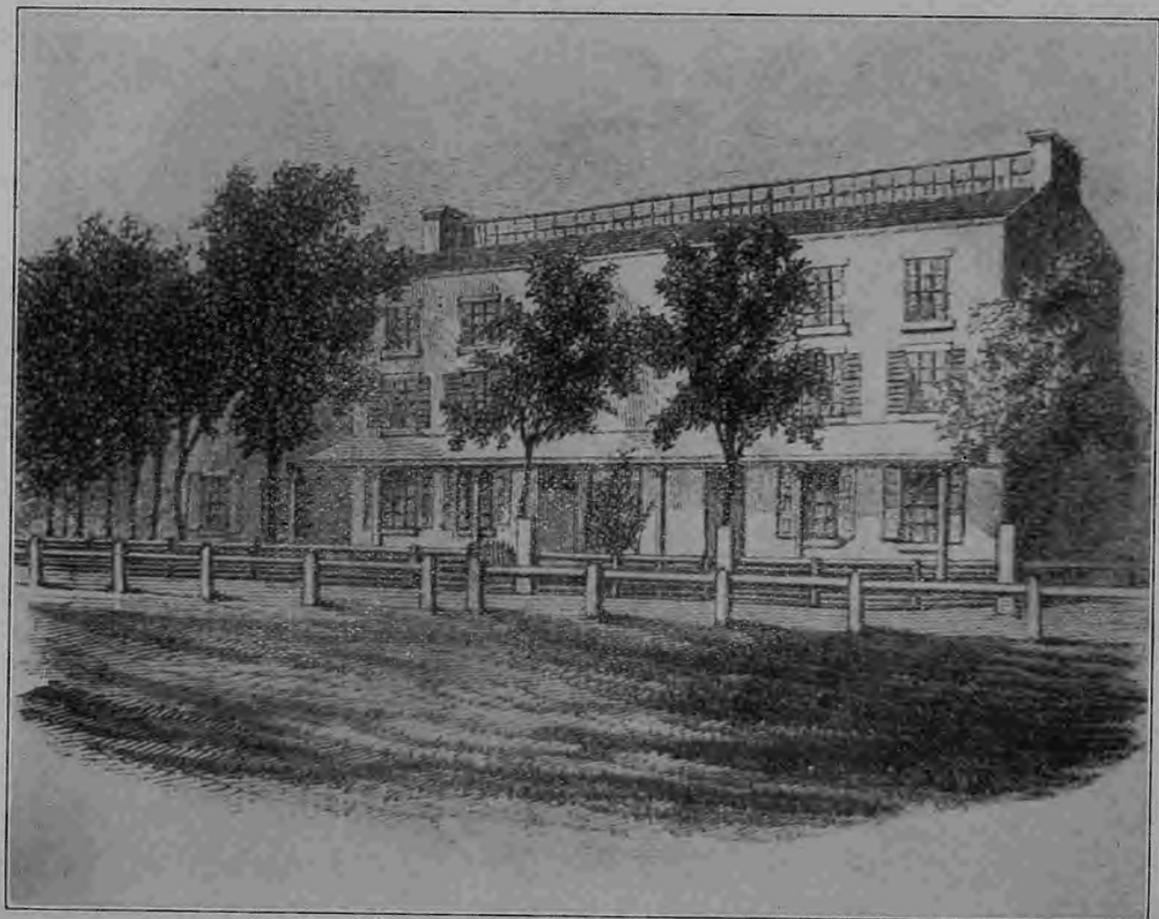
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natural philosophy, astronomy, and botany; Dr. Ebenezer, chemistry and physiology. All three brothers were much liked by the pupils. There were lady teachers for the preparatory department, and for French, music, drawing, and other extra branches. One of these, Miss Henrietta Baker, afterwards Mrs. Ziba Lamborn, became in 1859 associated in the responsible management of the institution. Dr. Dickey entertained the pupils once or twice a year at his home. His relationship with them was much like that of father and children. At the same time, it is not forgotten how strict he was as to respect and obedience, how rigidly he exacted the closing of books at recitation, and how indignant he could become at a breach of these requirements.

The educational convictions and methods of the directors are thus set forth in the catalogue:

This school is not sectarian, so far as evangelical religion is concerned, but it is decidedly Christian. An enlightened and liberal religious cultivation ought to be regarded as essential in every school. * * * Moral training must be based on sound religious views.

Dr. Dickey and Mr. Samuel Dickey conducted the daily worship alternately. No calls or visits were allowed on the Sabbath. In addition to attendance at public worship, the pupils were required to spend part of the day in the study of the Bible. Mr. Samuel Dickey conducted a Bible class every Sabbath evening. Dr.



OXFORD FEMALE SEMINARY
Contemporary Pencil Sketch

Courtesy of D. E. Brinton

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Dickey had private conversations on the subject of personal religion.

The subjects presented and our mode of teaching are designed to qualify the female sex for the wider sphere of usefulness opening before them, especially in the education of the young. While we reject the ultra and fanatical views advanced in some quarters concerning their occupations in life, we admit their ability to be much more useful to society than they have been, and that these claims require that they receive an education equal to that of young men. And as it so happens in this world that where the divine Disposer of all things has given most mind and energy, and disposition to do good, there is often a scanty worldly property, we regret much that there is no female education society to meet the wants of this class, as among Christian sects generally for young men; as far, therefore, as is in our power, by indulgence as to time of payment, we are willing to offer such the facilities of our institution, commending to the benevolent the endowment of schools for female education as one of the most desirable charities of the age.

During the greater period of its existence, the seminary occupied the block on Third Street, facing Market Street, to the left of the National Bank, the school premises comprising the houses which now [in 1904] form the Octorara Hotel and the adjoining store. For several years it was conducted under trustees, Dr. Dickey being president of the board, but it afterwards became the property of the three brothers. It was not, however, carried on for profit, and the terms were made the "lowest practicable." The charge for boarding was \$45, or latterly \$50. The tuition fee was \$10, this being remitted

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for ministers' daughters. The number of pupils was limited, and the limit, which was about seventy, was usually reached. The pupils came chiefly from Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. In 1848 there were no fewer than eighteen from the scene of Dr. Dickey's early ministry in New Castle Co., Del.

God's favor rested on the aims and endeavors of the unselfish promoters, who were able to say, at the close of their first decade:

This institution has been in successful operation for ten years, and has sent out at the end of each session a greater or less number of the young of the sex we ought most to cherish, well qualified to fill honorable and useful stations in society.

The seminary carried on its beneficent work for twenty-three years. Then the Civil War cut off the supply of pupils from south of the Mason and Dixon's line, completing what had begun some years previously from the prejudice created by Dr. Dickey's efforts on behalf of the education of the Negro in connection with Ashmun Institute. This, along with the simultaneous rise in prices and the lessening of the need of the school through the increasing number of similar institutions, decided the surviving brothers to give up their self-imposed and gratuitous labors.

As early as his active interest in the promotion of temperance and education were Dr. John Miller Dickey's efforts for the temporal prosperity of the village and

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community to which he belonged by birth as well as by residence. At the time of his return to Oxford as its minister in 1832, the six houses which formed the village in 1816 had increased only to fourteen or fifteen scattered villas, along with two stores and two hotels, the hotels being the resting places for the night of travelers by the stage from Philadelphia to Baltimore and Washington. Yet its inhabitants were hopeful and enterprising enough to secure an act of incorporation into a borough in the following year. Of the first town council, elected on May 11, 1833, Dr. Dickey was a member. The records are imperfect, or the act was in abeyance until 1838, from which time until 1859 he served eleven times. In 1860 the population had grown to 482. But in the previous year there was accomplished the work which was to begin a rapid advance of the little borough; namely, the opening to Oxford of the Baltimore Central Railroad. After seven years we have such suggestive figures as these: In 1866 there were erected fifteen buildings, stores and others, at a cost of \$51,300, besides the new Presbyterian church, at a cost of \$30,000. At the end of the decade the population had reached 1152.

In the railroad undertaking, Dr. Dickey had a large share. It is interesting to remember that his father is credited with the prophecy: "The time will come, and is not far distant, when a man will journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh in one day." His uncle in Hope-

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well constructed in one of his meadows a wooden railroad, with a car on wooden wheels, to run up a certain grade. To the car, containing several tons of stone, a horse was attached to show what could be drawn by reducing the friction. His ultimate object was the construction of a railroad to his limestone quarries, he being the first in that end of Chester County to burn a kiln of lime for agricultural purposes. In connection with the survey of a proposed route from Philadelphia to Baltimore by Parkesburg and Oxford, ground in the borough was actually graded, and wooden rails were laid for the cars, in order that the charter might be preserved. But the more southern route was preferred; Oxford was "sidetracked," and many years elapsed before it enjoyed the benefits of railroad communication. The Baltimore Central Railroad was incorporated in 1853. The line, however, being from Wawa to Octopara Junction, was dependent largely on an agricultural population, and had no interested cities and towns of importance to assist in raising the necessary capital. Hence the construction of the road, carried on mainly by credit, proved a costly business and required heavy indorsements, as well as much anxious labor, from the public-spirited and self-sacrificing directors. In the notice of the railroad in Futhey and Cope's "History of Chester County," John Miller Dickey is mentioned first among the "names of worthy citizens who were steadfast workers during the protracted struggle, extending

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from about 1853 to 1869." His two brothers, his cousin of Hopewell, and his relative, Mr. James R. Ramsey, have also a place in the honorable list. Dr. Dickey was one of the commissioners named in the incorporating act, and gave special help by addressing meetings on behalf of the project. He was elected to the first board of directors, and served for three different terms, the last of these extending to the time of his death.

On August 28, 1872, Dr. Dickey was honored with the privilege of turning the first sod of the Oxford and Peach Bottom Railroad. Two years before this event he had spoken on behalf of this undertaking at a meeting held in its interests at Walker's Grove, Little Britain Township. The report of his address, though probably not a full report, is valuable as giving an explanation of his labors for the temporal well-being of society:

I have been engaged in the ministry about forty years, and my best efforts have been employed in the advocacy of religion, and in showing the paramount importance of those duties that are connected with our eternal welfare. Every work, however, that is calculated to add to the happiness of others I would advance. If to educate men were to add to their happiness, that consideration would lead me to be an educator. If to improve men's fortunes were to add to their happiness, then I would cordially advise them to make use of those means that would better their fortunes. To impress the claims of Christianity upon the ignorant is difficult. To teach the hungry and half-clad religion is impossible. I therefore very cheerfully comply with your invitation to address you, and to endeavor to show the great interest you have in the construction of the proposed railroad.

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The state of the public highway of a country is a very fair index of the condition of the people. If these are kept in good condition, you may fairly judge that the people are industrious, prosperous, and law-abiding. If they are neglected, you may with equal certainty conclude that the people are indolent and thriftless, and lack in their obedience to the law of the land. There is quite a contrast between the roads of our country and the mule paths of Palestine, where neither life is safe nor property secure. The necessity for good common roads, and for macadamized roads, still exists, but at this day a railroad is also a necessity. You are a prosperous people, as the condition of your farms and excellency of your buildings indicate, and are well able to build this road. And it is your interest to do so. Its construction would add twenty-five per cent to the value of the land within three miles of the road, an added value that would defray the whole cost of the construction. The successful prosecution of an enterprise of this kind requires united effort. I am very sure that the construction of the road is within your ability, and that your united will, properly directed, will accomplish the work.

In the service of the Borough of Oxford, besides his Town Council work, Dr. Dickey was the foremost promoter of the waterworks before they became a borough institution. He was also one of the principal stockholders of the Public Hall Company, and was for three years a director. He became a large stockholder in the Octorara Bank, the predecessor of the National Bank, when it was incorporated in 1857. And he still further aided the commercial life of the community by importing trees from Europe via Baltimore and Port Deposit, and establishing a nursery on the site of the present

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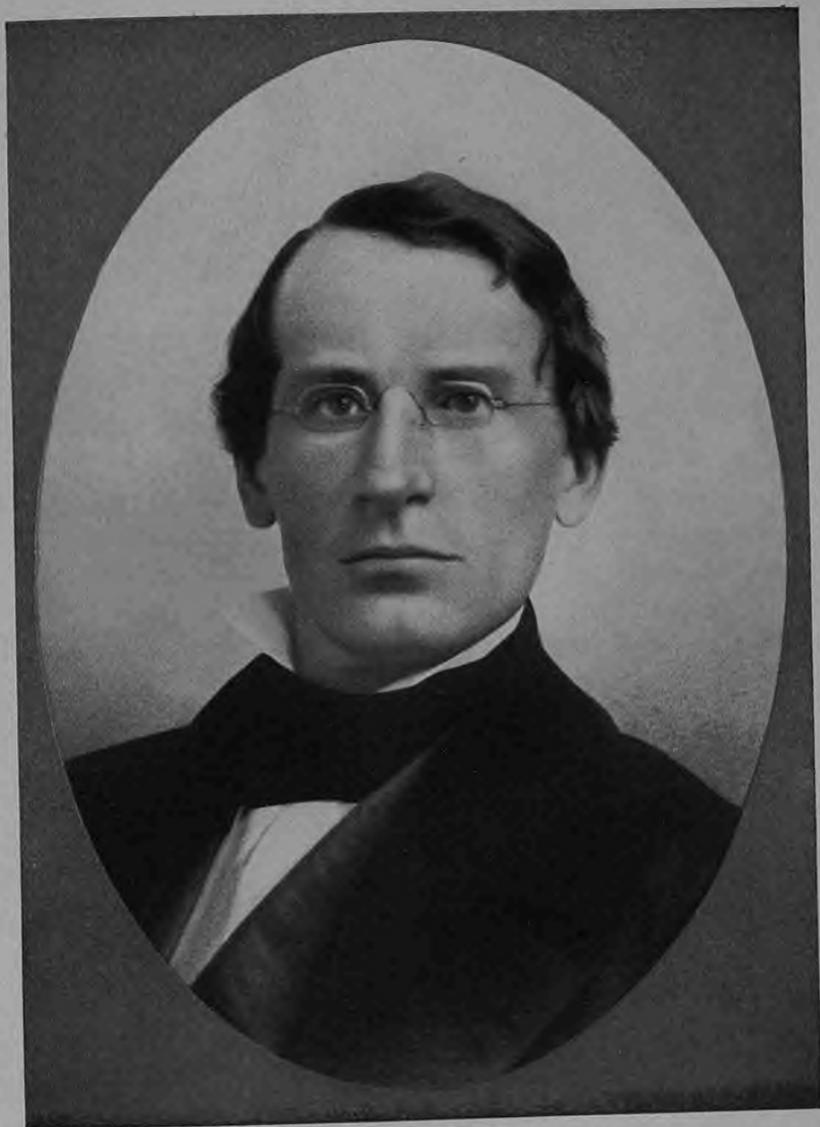
tennis ground. He brought guano, too, from Callao, Peru, for the farmers. Other schemes for the public good sprang up and were fostered in the fertile heart and brain of this unresting philanthropist—schemes which a kind friend, it is said, would endeavor to laugh him out of as impracticable. But he was no visionary; his benevolence was never dissociated from his strong practicality. And his greatest benevolent scheme, that of Lincoln University, must doubtless have seemed as impracticable beforehand as these others about which his friend thought it well to make merry.

One incident in the year 1852 illustrates the variety of circumstances in which, in private as well as in public affairs, Dr. Dickey's help was sought and given. A ghost story got abroad in the neighborhood, was told with varying differences as to details, and created no little excitement. We have a printed version of it given by a correspondent of the Village Record, who could speak as a witness of the strange visitation. For several nights, with one or two intermissions, the house of a respected farmer living about a mile from Oxford was subjected to loud and terrifying noises, proceeding from no visible or discoverable cause. The sounds were those of the rattling of a carriage down the lane, rapping like the blows of a heavy hammer at the kitchen door, knocking at one of the windows, varied by raps on different parts of the weatherboarding. The demonstration usually closed with noises like the rushing of wind and

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the trampling of many horses, resembling the movement of a troop of cavalry up the lane. A neighbor who was "a man of iron nerve and dauntless spirit" volunteered to watch, and, immediately after the usual performance on the window and house, began a thorough search, but in vain. A second night, though assisted by others, he was equally unsuccessful. The following night the distressed family obtained the attendance of Dr. Dickey, with whom was his brother, Dr. Ebenezer Dickey. No noises occurred until after the other visitors had left. Then a modest tap was heard at the accustomed window, which was that of a room occupied by a young woman who had been long of the household. Dr. Dickey hastened upstairs, and just as he entered the room he was greeted by three violent raps. He felt the young woman's pulse; it was regular. He asked if she had been asleep; she said she had been. With exceeding plainness he charged her with untruthfulness. She grew faint or sullen, and could not or would not answer any more questions, or speak at all; she appeared to be in a languishing condition. But the knocking ceased. Dr. Dickey was deeply impressed that she was in some way the author of the alarming or annoying phenomenon, and in spite of opposition on the part of the suffering family he secured her speedy removal, with the consequence or the coincidence that the mysterious disturbances were discontinued from that day.

The appeal to Dr. Dickey, his ready interest and as-



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sistance, his quick judgment and decision, and his energy of action were very characteristic of him and of his relations with the people of Oxford and the neighborhood. This is testified strongly by Dr. A. A. Hodge, who knew him well from having been for some time pastor at West Nottingham, and also through his brothers, Caspar and Frank, who were successors of Dr. Dickey in the Oxford pastorate. Visiting a friend at Oxford on one occasion, he asked him, "Did you ever know Dr. Dickey?" He replied that he had not met him, and Dr. Hodge remarked: "Well, you ought to have known him. He was a most remarkable man, the only absolute monarch that I have ever known. He was king of this whole country. Nobody thought of getting married or buying a farm without first having his approval. He took an interest in the community in every possible relation. He was in the best sense the parson of the community."

This position was seldom challenged. Any symptom of rebellion would be met, it is said, by the question of indignant surprise: "Would you contradict Dr. Dickey?" It is accounted for simply by a rare character calling forth a rare confidence. And the grace by which he was what he was so preserved him amid the dangers to which the possessor of such a commanding influence is exposed that no whisper of its abuse has ever been heard.



Chapter VII

AFRICAN COLONIZATION—THE PARKER CASE



It was not the beginning of Dr. Dickey's warm sympathies and earnest labors for the African race when he was led to conceive and carry out the plan of an institution for the higher education of suitable and worthy young colored men. He had a hereditary interest in the Negro. His father was one of the original managers of the Chester County Auxiliary Colonization Society; and of his mother, in the address at her funeral, it was said, in connection with her benevolent work: "She was the friend of all, but especially of those in need. The colored population around her shared largely in her sympathies and kind instruction." He could scarcely have passed through Princeton Seminary without being affected by its colonization influences and associations. Dr. Robert Finley, the founder of the Society, was a native of the borough and a graduate and tutor of the college, where he was in close friendship with Dr. Witherspoon, whose love of liberty extended beyond political independence, reaching also to freedom for the slave. At Princeton was held the first public meeting to consider Dr. Finley's beneficent scheme. It was a small gathering, but the

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professors of the college and the seminary students formed a large part of the audience. Dr. Archibald Alexander, who was the founder at Philadelphia of the first African Presbyterian Church established in the United States, was an intimate friend of Dr. Finley and shared his enthusiasm for colonization, becoming later the historian of the movement. And in Dr. Dickey's time, the theological students had their own auxiliary society. We have noticed how his interest in the slave was deepened by his experience as a missionary in Georgia and Florida. His marriage five years later to Miss Sarah Cresson, daughter of Warder Cresson and sister of Elliot Cresson, the latter a generous friend of the Colonization Society, naturally brought him into closer relations with that society, of which he became an active and formidable champion. The objects of the Colonization Society, it may be remembered, were: "First, to rescue the free colored people of the United States from their political and social disadvantages; second, to place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train." It had been indorsed by the churches, both officially and through the declared and practical sympathy of their members. The high character and pure motives of the multitude of its ardent friends and helpers were acknowledged occasionally by the more candid of its opponents. Its infant colony of Liberia, notwithstanding many difficulties,

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was justifying its promoters. As had been its hope, emancipation by individuals was multiplied in the Southern States, where up to this time few had defended slavery as a system, and general legal emancipation was beginning to be discussed and to gain large favor. But the Colonization Society declined, as a society, to take part in the new agitation for immediate abolition, and resolutely adhered to its distinctive immediate and practical design. Moreover, its membership embraced all—even slaveholders, if they chose—who supported its great practical object of creating and fostering a colony in Africa of the socially banned and degraded free colored population. Hence arose the controversy, keen and long-continued, between the Colonization Society and the American Antislavery Society. The latter, led by William Lloyd Garrison, were the assailants. Dr. Dickey entered into the conflict as a strong believer in the former society's purposes and plans. He was indignant at the unjust charges brought against himself and his fellow colonizationists, and his indignation was intensified by the treatment dealt out to his philanthropic and self-sacrificing brother-in-law, Mr. Elliot Cresson. The churches also, as supporters of the Colonization Society, were attacked, and he stood out in their defense. Further, the authority of the Sabbath law, rejected by Mr. Garrison, was brought into frequent discussion, which, coupled with the religious profession or sympathies of Mr. Garrison's coworkers, explains how Dr. Dickey's

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debates in the schoolrooms about Oxford with the Anti-slavery Society's lecturers were, and still in memory are, associated with infidelity as well as with slavery and colonization. These debates revealed his powers of vigorous and skillful dialectic and ready wit, and brought him much contemporary and traditional fame as a controversialist. The principal question of difference between these who thus sought a common end, while conscientiously divided as to the means of its accomplishment, has happily now been long settled, taken by the providence of God out of the hands of both societies.

One of the chief attractions to Dr. Dickey of the Colonization Society was its hope and promise, not only of gradual and complete emancipation but also of present benefit to the Negro; just as one of his chief objections to abolitionism was its relegation to a remote future, as he believed, of any good to the colored population. In accordance with his practical habit of thought and feeling was his new scheme for the betterment of the race. It was on May 8, 1849, that there dawned upon him the vision of the enterprise which was to take and hold possession of mind and heart and hands during the remaining twenty-nine years of his philanthropic life. The Presbytery of New Castle had met at the old historic church of New London, Pa., for the ordination of the Rev. J. L. Mackey, pioneer missionary to Corisco, on the west coast of Africa. It was in the course of these proceedings that the project occurred to Dr. Dickey of

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an institution for the training of colored missionaries for the evangelization of the Dark Continent. He himself gave the charge to the newly ordained missionary. But it was during the ordination prayer, which was led by the Rev. James Latta, of Upper Octorara, that there came to him with irresistible force the duty of the Church to provide in this other way for her African missions. As, along with his brethren, he laid his hand on the head of their young friend, he felt that he was ordaining Mr. Mackey to death, that he was sending another precious life to the "White Man's Grave," even while round about him, in the land from which he went, there were thousands of the race to which he was going who were possibly better fitted for the deadly climate by their bodily constitution, and who by the blessing of God might be fitted by training for this missionary work. The statistics of the West African mission field before this time enable us to understand better how on this occasion Dr. Dickey's spirit was stirred within him:

Rev. Mr. Pinney has shown by a calculation made several years ago that the missionary life of white missionaries in western Africa has been less than two and a half years, whilst that of colored missionaries even from this country has been ten or twelve times as long. The loss of life in the British expeditions to the Niger goes to confirm the same facts. In Park's party of 38 Europeans all fell, including himself. The Liverpool Company of 1832-1833 lost 40 of 49 whites. The celebrated expedition of 1842 lost 42 of 145

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whites, while, on the other hand, out of 158 colored men that formed a part of it there was not a death, and only three or four sickened.*

The mission to Corisco, of which Mr. Mackey became the honored founder, has a similar painful story to tell. Dr. Dickey was right; he was ordaining the young missionary to death. Mr. Mackey's own medical knowledge and his new precautions as to residence failed to save this trusted and beloved servant of the Church, who had become eminent for good judgment, tact, and energy as well as for integrity and whole-hearted devotion. After fifteen years of diverse toils and trials, the once strong man was reluctantly compelled to leave a now prosperous mission. Returning to New London, he attempted to resume his old profession of teaching, being appointed to the charge of the Academy. But after two years' struggle with the disease contracted in Africa his earthly service came to an end.

While the deep feeling excited in Dr. Dickey by the New London ordination is justly regarded as the starting point of this new idea which evolved itself in his fertile mind for the betterment of the colored race, and which later eventuated in Ashmun Institute and in Lincoln University, yet some years were to pass before his purpose took the definite form which it finally assumed. The first endeavor was to induce Mr. Mackey to remain in America and undertake a training school

* Dr. Dickey's sermon on "Ethiopia."

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for colored missionaries to Africa instead of going himself. Between the failure of this effort and the next forward movement there occurred the famous Parker kidnaping case, which occupied much of his attention and activities for fully twelve months. It was a time of general commotion over the slavery question. Fifteen months previously the Compromise of 1850 had been completed, and the Fugitive Slave Law and its workings had kindled the outraged antislavery feeling of the Northern States. It was made plain that there were limits to the concessions they felt constrained to make to the South for the sake of the Union. Rioting and rescue were not confined to Boston. Chester County had been invaded by the slave hunters and the captured prey dragged back to their masters. Further excitement had been caused by the unsuccessful attempt to execute the law in the neighboring county of Lancaster, at Christiana, about fourteen miles from Oxford and it was now only a few weeks after the trial and acquittal of those who had taken part in the uprising and bloodshed which that attempt had occasioned. At this time there were living at a little distance north of Mason and Dixon's line, in the south of Chester County, two colored girls, sisters, named Elizabeth and Rachel Parker, the former in East Nottingham Township and the latter in West Nottingham. Little has been recorded about the kidnaping of Elizabeth, which was carried out by Thomas McCreary, of Elkton, shortly before that

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of her sister Rachel, who became the chief person in the history of the case.

Rachel had lived with one Joseph C. Miller for seven years, since she was ten years of age. On the last day of 1851 the same McCreary, with assistants, appeared at Miller's house, bearing a power of attorney from Baltimore, and claimed her as a runaway from slavery in that city in 1847. She was seized, gagged, and hurried off in a carriage to the Maryland line. At Perryville, however, while waiting for the train, the kidnaper and his victim were recognized by two of Miller's neighbors. These saw immediately what was being done and gave up their journey to Philadelphia that they might follow McCreary to Baltimore.

Meanwhile, Miller and four others had mounted their horses and set off in pursuit. Reaching Baltimore by the next train, they were met by their neighbors, and learned that the girl had been placed in a slave pen. By the influence of Mr. Cochran, a well-known member of the Society of Friends and an acquaintance of the owner of the pen, McCreary was ordered to remove Rachel, who was lodged in jail till her case should be decided by law. The incident had become known, and the Pennsylvania party were in danger from the excitement that had arisen. But their kind helper secured their conveyance to the railroad station by a roundabout road and charged them to keep together and take their seats at once. Miller, however, insisted upon going out upon the plat-

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form of the car; and when two of his companions straightway followed him he had already disappeared. They called him by name and even ventured down into the crowd, but were obliged for their own safety to return to the car. A cautious search through the train after it started showed that he had not gone into another car, as had been hoped. It was then resolved that two of their number should go back from Perryville and seek for their missing friend. But they sought in vain. On their return to Nottingham with the sad news, the whole neighborhood was aroused. A proposal to organize a force for the lynching of McCreary was eagerly entertained. Yet the recovery of the lost husband and father was felt to be the first business, and another search was arranged. Twenty volunteers were just starting out when word came that Miller's body had been found hanging to a tree near Stemmer's Run Station, a few miles from Baltimore. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of suicide, though suspicion of murder was expressed. The volunteers went to Baltimore for the body, which had been buried two feet underground in a rough box. It was disinterred by moonlight, and there was great difficulty in procuring a coffin. The cold was extreme and the snow lay deep, but all help was refused the sorrowful band until they arrived at Port Deposit. Their work was nearly done, since they had almost reached the Pennsylvania line, when a messenger overtook them from the Maryland authorities, bearing

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a requisition that the body should be restored to Baltimore for a legal inquiry and a post-mortem examination, after which it was allowed to be brought at last to the mourning home. An examination by Dr. Hutchison and Dr. Ebenezer V. Dickey before burial revealed marks that pointed closely to murder, this conclusion being confirmed by a second and more thorough examination made by the same physicians on the demand of the excited community. As, on the one hand, all the evidence was opposed to the thought of suicide—the usual signs on neck and face of death by hanging were absent, the handkerchief by which he was suspended was not his own, and his knees almost touched the ground—so, on the other hand, cumulative proof left little doubt that, probably carried from the car platform, Miller had been taken somewhere and gagged and tightly bound; that then, his nose being held by some instrument, of which the bruise marks remained, he was forced to swallow such a quantity of arsenic as by vomiting and purging quickly produced death. It was reasonably conjectured that afterwards, to give the impression of his leaving the car and committing suicide there, the body was conveyed to Stemmer's Run and suspended as it was discovered. The result of the medical report was the offer of a thousand dollars by Miller's friends for the apprehension of his murderers. Operations for the deliverance of Rachel Parker, and the finding of her sister Elizabeth were at the same time

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diligently prosecuted. Every possible hindrance was thrown in the way. There was large experience of "the oppressor's wrong, the law's delay, the insolence of office." More than a year elapsed before the final issue. At an early stage Dr. Dickey became deeply interested, and throughout took the leading part. A newspaper correspondent from Baltimore thus tells of his doings immediately after the first hearing of the case:

My old and esteemed friend, Rev. John M. Dickey, is here, and yesterday, in company with the Rev. Mr. Plumer,* of this city, visited Schoolfield for the purpose of convincing him, if possible, that the girl was free—or at least to satisfy him that the witnesses from Pennsylvania who had sworn to the freedom of the girl were men of veracity and honor. To this Schoolfield replied that they were all a set of Abolitionists, who had all perjured themselves, and that he (Dickey) well knew it, or he would not come here to back such men, with much more talk to the same effect. To this Mr. Dickey replied that he had visited him from a desire that justice might be done, and with no other motive, and that he felt no disposition to prosecute the matter further, provided he gave up the girl, as it must be evident to him and every impartial man that a mistake, to say the least, had been made in taking Rachel Parker; but as he had been met in such a spirit, and they were all to be branded as perjured men, "We will," said he, "come down next time in our strength; we will come down by scores, yes, a hundred strong, to prove to the world that the girl is free, or we will commit wholesale perjury!" Indeed, this interview so completely aroused our friend Dickey that he went to work and has got quite a number of our most influential citizens interested in the matter, besides the poor despised Quakers,

* A fellow student of Dr. Dickey at Princeton.

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who heretofore have stood alone. Able counsel have already been retained to plead the girl's cause; but, fearing they would not be sufficient, Mr. Dickey was desirous of procuring Reverdy Johnson or some other eminent lawyer, promptly offering to give a hundred dollars himself as a fee. To-day they have all (six or eight witnesses from Nottingham) returned, determined that when the trial comes on (McCreary's for false imprisonment) nothing shall be left undone to establish the girl's freedom and punish McCreary and his companion.

Effectual help was received from the Hon. Henry S. Evans, the senator from Chester County, who brought the circumstances to the attention of the legislature, by which means the case became a state affair, as related in the following letter from Judge Campbell to Mr. Cresson Dickey in 1888:

My dear sir:

I first became acquainted with your father after my appointment as attorney-general of this state, and found him very deeply interested in the case of a girl named Parker who was claimed as a slave by persons living in Baltimore and who had been forcibly removed from Chester County. Proceedings have been instituted in the courts of Baltimore, by direction of my predecessor, by Mr. Norris, of the bar of that city, before my appointment, and the case was ready for trial. Previous to going to Baltimore to try the case I spent a day and night at your father's house. He had the case well prepared for me. I examined all the witnesses and was able to trace the girl from her birth. When the case was tried in Baltimore Mr. Norris, of the Baltimore Bar, and the late Judge Bell, of this state, were associated with me. The claimants of the child, who alleged that she was born in slavery, were represented by Mr. Schley and Mr.

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Preston, of the Baltimore Bar, and Mr. Otho Scott, of Harford County, three of the most eminent members of the Maryland Bar. I will not trouble you with a detailed account of the trial, but will simply say that when the proofs were presented and the child traced from her birth by most truthful witnesses, white and colored, the counsel for the claimants abandoned their claim, and the child was adjudged to be free.

Your father took the deepest interest in the case from beginning to end. He remained with us in Baltimore during the whole trial, and from that time I deeply esteemed him during the remainder of his life and held his memory in the deepest respect.

Very truly yours,

James Campbell.

J. M. C. Dickey, Esq're.

In January, 1853, the trial came on. Rachel Parker had been in prison since December 31, 1851, bonds for any amount offered for her release and production being refused by the claimant. The proceedings lasted eight days, during which, as one of the claimant's attorneys expressed it, "an entire neighborhood" appeared and "an avalanche of testimony" was borne to the girl's free birth. The witnesses were as various as numerous: one who had assisted to dress her; the doctor who vaccinated her; some who knew her as attending Sabbath school and day school; neighbors who had been familiar with her appearance for years; even two of McCreary's nephews. Evidence was produced from Baltimore that she was not the girl who had been lost. There was the severest cross-examination, and special attempts were

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made to connect the Nottingham witnesses with a meeting held at Hopewell to receive the doctors' report of the post-mortem examination of Miller's body and to raise funds for the defense and recovery of the two girls. The claimant's attorneys also sought to make the witnesses confess a connection with an Antislavery Society. Forty-nine witnesses had been heard, and thirty more were ready, including those from whom it was alleged that the Parkers had escaped, when a compromise was proposed and agreed to. Notwithstanding this overwhelming evidence, there was still some fear that a Baltimore jury would decide against the girls, and it was thought wise to give way. The claimants' counsel did their best to defend their action, and they had the advantage of being able to state, without the presentation and cross-examination of their witnesses, the evidence they intended to offer, which comprised the outrageous charge, against the murdered man, whose character alone made it utterly incredible, of complicity in the kidnaping. But the chief end was gained; Rachel Parker was declared free-born. The same jury gave a verdict also for Elizabeth, who had been found at New Orleans and brought north; and the two were restored to their mother. The costs of the trial were divided; these amounted to \$1000, besides \$3000 expended by the State of Pennsylvania and heavy outlays by friendly citizens of Baltimore and Chester Counties. Judge Bell, of West Chester, one of the Penn-

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sylvania counsel, wrote thus after all was over to the West Chester Republican and Democrat:

Too much praise cannot be accorded to the host of witnesses from Chester County and the neighboring districts who promptly on the call of justice and humanity exchanged the comforts of home for the inconvenience and supposed dangers of sojourn in a strange city, under circumstances well calculated to deter a merely selfish person from obeying the summons. This praise is peculiarly due to the numerous ladies of our county whose sense of right overcame every merely personal consideration.

The "supposed dangers" referred to, of which this murder was a sign, were realized by Dr. Dickey, who, his son tells, "would go to the trial in Baltimore, not knowing how he would come back. Once he was very near his death at their hands."

The concluding local action was as follows:

West Nottingham,

Jan. 17, 1853.

At a meeting of the witnesses and others who attended the court of Baltimore County in the case of the girls, Rachel and Elizabeth Parker, the following preamble and resolutions were passed and a request made that they be published in the papers of Chester County:

Whereas by the blessing of divine Providence, the two girls, Rachel and Elizabeth Parker, have been restored to the State of Pennsylvania, where they were born, and thus rescued from slavery, with which they were threatened by a lawless and unjust removal; and whereas similar cases are likely to occur, and in the excited state of public opinion on the subject of slavery both in the Northern and Southern States difficulties exist in the way of the administration of

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law and justice where colored persons are petitioning for their freedom; we regard it as a duty we owe to those who may be engaged in similar prosecutions, as well as to those who have mainly aided in obtaining success in this case, to put upon record the following resolutions:

1. That we regard with grateful remembrance the liberal aid afforded by those friends of humanity in Baltimore and Maryland, who, by open appeal to law and by so much personal kindness, contributed to our happiness while with them and to the success of our cause. May God bless them and show them favor in times of trial and in a better world!

2. That we regard with great satisfaction the conduct of the Executive of our state, who, at the suggestion of the Senator and Representatives of our county, assumed the control and responsibilities of the trial; and that we tender our sincere thanks to the distinguished counsel, Attorney-General Campbell and Judge Bell, who visited at different times this place to become familiar with and to give encouragement to the witnesses about to testify in another state, thus accomplishing the object as well by their urbanity as by their professional skill.

3. That we express our sincere acknowledgement of the courtesy shown us by the Court of Baltimore County, both by the bench and bar, and especially to Wm. H. Norris, Esq., for his invaluable services, associated as counsel with those from our own state.

4. That we deplore the death of Joseph C. Miller, a witness in the first trial before the magistrates' court, and believing, as we most positively do, that he came to his death violently by other hands than his own, we implore the Executive to offer a suitable reward, in addition to that offered by his friends, for the discovery and apprehension of his murderers.

Hugh Rowland, Secretary.

John M. Dickey,
Chairman.

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It may be added that the Grand Jury of Chester County brought in a true bill against Thomas McCreary and Merritt, his associate, for kidnaping. But Governor Lowe of Maryland refused the requisition for apprehension and delivery, thus going behind the record, contrary to the law, as Governor Bigler of Pennsylvania demonstrated clearly in the published correspondence.



Chapter VIII

ASHMUN INSTITUTE



EARLY in 1852 Dr. Dickey's new idea for the benefit of the colored people received a remarkable and decisive impulse through the application for counsel and help made to him by James Ralston Amos, a young colored man of his own county. We have the interesting story in Dr. Dickey's own words, as reported later by the Lancaster Inquirer, in connection with a meeting, held in that city in 1870, of the friends of Thaddeus Stevens, in support of a movement, which proved unsuccessful, to endow a chair of natural science as a memorial of that staunch advocate of the claims of the Negro race, who, moreover, had assisted Ashmun Institute in its infancy. In the course of the proceedings, Dr. Dickey was called on to speak, and told how in 1852 a very superior colored man named James R. Amos called upon him, stating that he desired an education, and asked his influence in securing entrance into some academy. After considerable trouble he secured him admission into the school connected with the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, but after a short time the faculty were obliged to give him the position of porter to the college, on ac-

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count of the prejudices of the white students. While porter he still continued his studies, but as soon as this was discovered the white students protested in a body, and Mr. Amos had to be dismissed. Dr. Dickey sought the help of his old professor, Dr. Charles Hodge, with a view to securing Mr. Amos' admission to Princeton Seminary. But here the entrance examination was as effectual a barrier as race prejudice was elsewhere. Dr. Dickey went on to tell how he then took the man into his study, but being unable to give him regular and continuous instruction he again made an effort to secure him a place in some school and, after trying vainly almost every school in the Union that he could hear of as entertaining views at all liberal toward the colored race, he was compelled to give up the attempt. He then conceived the idea of establishing an academy for colored men, and with that object sent out Mr. Amos to canvass the States of Pennsylvania and Maryland to see if such a school could be supported. After satisfying himself that it could be done, he endeavored to secure the services of a gentleman who had been engaged in missionary labor in Africa to open such a school, but failed in his object.

James R. Amos was the son of George Amos, of the township of Uwchlan, and was brought up on his father's farm, on which he was an industrious laborer. His lack of education was counterbalanced by good sense and by zeal in the service of God, but, on becom-

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ing a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, he felt strongly from experience his need of instruction and training. His prayers that this need might be supplied were answered by his being led to seek assistance from the well-known proved friend of his people in Oxford. Before or after his interview with Dr. Dickey, he wrote to him an account of his circumstances and longings, of which his benefactor said, "Such an affecting letter I never before read." There is a tradition that Mr. Amos was wont to spend some time in prayer on his way to or from Oxford at a certain stone in a secluded spot near the site of Lincoln University; and the tradition is corroborated by a friend whom he induced to accompany him to the doctor's study in his quest of education. That friend's zeal was not sufficient to dispose him to undertake the journey more than once, but he related how the two knelt together at that stone, and how on their afterwards visiting the spot while Ashmun Institute was being built they recognized the stone, which had unwittingly been placed in the foundation.

While Dr. Dickey was making his plans for the separate school which he was now convinced was necessary for colored young men James Amos was not neglected. We find that he was recommended by the Presbytery of New Castle to the Board of Education, who granted him assistance for two years during his attendance at the Presbyterian Institute at Philadelphia,

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conducted by Dr. Lyman Coleman, where he appears to have been permitted to remain.

Dr. Dickey now proceeded to make known his purpose, his first public announcement of it taking place at a large Colonization Society meeting held in his own church at Oxford. He succeeded in exciting the interest of some of his brethren in the presbytery, and he set himself to acquire if possible a site for the Institute in or near Oxford. His efforts, however, were strenuously resisted, and only by extraordinary prudence and reticence was suitable land at last obtained. The way in which the difficulty was solved is recorded by Mrs. Dickey in a memorandum which she made some time afterwards on the back of the first circular appealing for funds:

In 1849 my husband tried to induce Mr. Mackey to remain in America and undertake a black school to educate colored men as laborers in Africa instead of going himself. In 1853 he thought of a situation near Hinsonville. One day he took E. Follwell and myself, and I pointed out a fine spot with a splendid, or rather an extensive, prospect. He has since bought the farm on his own responsibility. Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Du Bois could do nothing to help him in this purchase. He afterwards laid it before the New Castle Presbytery and they appointed a committee to attend to it. To-night the Presbyterian Banner notices it favorably, and the New York Observer, in such warm commendation as to cause my beloved husband to exclaim, "That is worth living ten years for." Dr. Van Rensselaer has also written a touching letter and says he will guarantee him \$50,000. I rejoice and sympathize with my husband.

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The consciousness of Mrs. Dickey's sympathy with his work must have been a frequent consolation and support to Dr. Dickey through the laborious and trying years during which he faced the increasing financial problems both of Ashmun Institute and later of Lincoln University.

Dr. Van Rensselaer, who began his ministerial life as a missionary to the slaves in Virginia and was a leader in the cause of African colonization, was now in the midst of his disinterested and abundant labors as corresponding secretary of the Board of Education; and it was probably to him that Dr. Dickey was indebted for the recommendation of the proposed undertaking contained in the Board's report to the General Assembly of 1853. The case was fully stated, the object of the Board being,

1st, simply to obtain an expression of opinion favorable to the general object;

2nd, to bring the subject at once prominently before the whole Church; and

3rd, to encourage the brethren engaged in the work to go forward without delay.

The Board's closing words are well worthy of notice in the light of the history of the institution:

The undertaking must undoubtedly encounter difficulties common to all such enterprises and special to those aiming at the education of this race.

Failures are to be expected among the youth, and discouragements which would dishearten fanatics or worldly

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men. But a good cause is worth its cost, its cost of time and prayer and self-denial and patience and funds—yea, even life itself, if need be. If the God of Ethiopia be for us, “who can be against us?”

The Assembly adopted the resolution of the standing committee as follows:

That the establishment of a high school for the use and benefit of the free colored population of this country meets the cordial approbation and recommendation of this Assembly, with the understanding that it shall be wholly under the supervision and control of the presbytery or synod within whose bounds it may be located, thus securing such an education as shall promote the usefulness and happiness of this class of our people.*

The action of the General Assembly paved the way for the final step taken by Dr. Dickey at a meeting of the Presbytery of New Castle, held at Coatesville on October 4, 1853, when he presented the following overture:

Would it be expedient or desirable for this presbytery to establish under its patronage an institution for the thorough education of male colored youth in this country, according to the recommendation of the last General Assembly?

The report on the overture in regard to the education of colored youth was taken up, read, discussed, adopted, and is as follows:

The committee to whom was referred the overture concerning an institution for the education of male colored youth under the patronage of this presbytery, reports:

Considering the many Christian congregations of colored

* Minutes of the General Assembly, 1853, p. 454.

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people in this country which are unable to secure educated ministers of their own color; considering the communities of such people in many parts who need educated men amongst them to fill the place of teachers and other responsible situations; considering the wants of Liberia and the importance to its present and future welfare of having suitably qualified men to fill its offices and posts of authority, instruction, and influence; considering the vast missionary work yet to be done in Africa, and to be mainly done by persons of African descent; considering how extremely difficult it is for colored youth to obtain a liberal education in this land, arising from the want of schools for that purpose and their exclusion from all the regular institutions of learning of a higher grade; considering the strong recommendation to that effect from our Board of Education, and its full indorsement by the General Assembly of our Church; and considering the favorable indications of Providence at this time apparently calling us to such a work; this presbytery, trusting in God and, under him, depending on the Christian liberality of the friends of the African race throughout our country, do determine as follows:

1. There shall be established within our bounds and under our supervision an institution to be called the Ashmun Institute, for the scientific, classical, and theological education of colored youth of the male sex.

2. That John M. Dickey, D.D., Alfred Hamilton, and Robert P. Du Bois, ministers, and Samuel J. Dickey and John M. Kelton, elders, be a committee to whom shall be entrusted the temporary charge of this undertaking. It shall be their duty to collect funds for the same, and to appoint a treasurer to hold such funds and pay them out on their order, the expense of collecting to be borne out of the money collected. It shall be their duty to select a suitable site for the buildings and, whenever a sufficient sum shall have been collected, to commence the erection of plain and convenient edifices for the purpose intended. It shall also be their duty

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to take immediate steps to procure a suitable charter from the State of Pennsylvania, by which property may be lawfully held and managed by nine trustees to be elected from time to time by this presbytery, to which board, when duly organized, the committee aforesaid shall surrender all their powers, as well as the money and other property belonging to the institution.

3. The Board of Trustees named in the charter shall consist of the following persons, viz.: John M. Dickey, D.D., Alfred Hamilton, Robert P. Du Bois, James Latta, John B. Spottswood, D.D., James M. Crowell, ministers; and Samuel J. Dickey, John M. Kelton, and William Wilson, elders. It shall be the duty of this board, under general instructions from this presbytery, to put up suitable buildings and improvements, as they may have the necessary means, in no case ever involving this presbytery in pecuniary obligations. They shall appoint the teachers and professors and name their salaries. They shall establish rules and regulations for the government of the institution. They shall have authority to procure its endowment, not exceeding the sum of one hundred thousand dollars; and, when required by this presbytery, they shall report to it the state of the institution and the state of the funds and all interests committed to their trust.

The new institution was named in honor of Jehudi Ashmun, who was agent of the Colonization Society in Liberia from 1822 to 1828, during which time he rescued the infant colony from destruction by the treacherous natives and organized the emigrants into an independent, self-governing, and prosperous community. All this was accomplished, with very inadequate means and amidst a multitude of internal as well as external difficulties, by the exercise of remarkable gifts, but not less

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by the influence of his remarkable character. Of keen observation, excellent judgment, comprehensive, statesmanlike mental outlook, and uncommon practical versatility, he was possessed also of decision and indomitable industry and perseverance. An intelligent, exalted, devoutly exercised piety kept in perfect consistency his calm self-control and his ardent enthusiasm, the temporal and the spiritual aims of his philanthropy, and the mildness and the firmness of his just administration. He was a man to whom Dr. Dickey would apart from his colonization work have been spontaneously and powerfully attracted. It is almost certain that Dr. Dickey had read the stimulating biography of Mr. Ashmun by Mr. Curley, presented to the library of the institute by Mrs. Dickey in the year of its opening, and it is not unlikely that he was animated by it in his kindred work for the African on both continents. It needs but the remembrance, further, of Ashman's literary accomplishments, displayed in his work as teacher and preacher in Maine, where he was principal and professor of the theological school which is now Bangor Theological Seminary, to discern the fitness of his name for the proposed institute, suggesting as it does one whose spirit and example might well be followed by every student.

The Rev. Alfred Hamilton and Rev. R. P. Du Bois, the ministerial members of the temporary committee associated with Dr. Dickey, were intimate friends and neighbors—the first for twenty-seven years pastor at

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Fagg's Manor, and the second for forty-six years pastor at New London, and still affectionately spoken of in the district as "Father Du Bois." The first-named elder, Mr. Samuel J. Dickey, was Dr. Dickey's cousin, the manufacturer at Hopewell, and the other, Mr. John M. Kelton, was an elder in New London congregation. On November 14, 1853, the committee met and agreed to purchase the property at Hinsonville, containing about thirty acres, for \$1250; and a subcommittee was appointed to prepare a charter and secure its authorization by the legislature. Mr. Du Bois in his manuscript autobiography has a brief notice of the history of the institute, and mentions his share in this subcommittee's work:

The Rev. John M. Dickey was the moving spirit in this great and hazardous undertaking. To me was committed the drawing up of the charter and procuring its passage and also the drafting of a plan for the main or college building.

It may be explained that in addition to his pastoral duties Mr. Du Bois had for twenty years acted as a scrivener in the New London district and had also had much experience in building operations. The charter was passed by the legislature, and was signed by Governor Bigler on April 29, 1854. The committee at their first meeting also "appointed some of their own members to visit certain cities for the purpose of collecting funds and otherwise providing for the interests of the institute, and instructed their chairman to open a

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correspondence with a minister of our church, well known and highly qualified for the work, with a view to procuring his services in raising money for its erection and endowment."

It was in view of a collecting mission to New York that Dr. Dickey prepared a sermon on the text, Ps. 68:31, "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God," which was first preached to his own congregation and the outlines of which were afterwards published. After expounding the promise of his text, he asks attention to the duty of his hearers in reference to it, and seeks to illustrate and enforce these two positions: "The black man in Africa or in the United States is to receive the gospel, for the most part, at the hands of the black man. And it is the duty of Christians of the white race to prepare, under God, in this country, these missionaries and teachers for their work." Pointing out the need of missionaries for Africa, and of an educated ministry for the colored race in the United States, and the unsuitableness of the climate of Africa to the white man, he urges, on the one hand, that "the colored people of this country seem to have been sent here by divine Providence that they might be Christianized and employed as laborers for the evangelization of Africa," and, on the other hand, that "none are so suitable as persons of their own race, when properly educated, to serve as pastors and teachers to the colored people in this country, where rightly or wrongly the two races are now

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separated as to their places of worship." In his concluding remarks he deals with the practical question: "Why, it may be asked, may not colored youth find a place in the numerous schools and colleges already established? In answer to this, we can only say it is impracticable, and we must take things as we find them; we must do the best we can under the circumstances we are placed in and not suffer the work of God to linger until all prejudice be removed. It may be that all will enjoy more peace, and the humble class be better cared for, if they possess a school of their own."

Dr. Dickey was able to write to the Board of Education for the General Assembly the following report of progress:

I received a letter from Rev. Mr. Hamilton, with a request that I would send you a report of the Ashmun Institute, for the Assembly.

At the earliest moment I reply, stating briefly that we have secured the land, a beautiful hill of thirty acres, from which we can overlook, on one side, at the distance of four miles, the region where the old Academy of the Philadelphia Synod (I think) taught by Mr. Alison was located in 1740, now New London. On another side is the region four miles off where Dr. Blair had his institution at Fagg's Manor, and four miles west is the old settlement of Scotch Seceders, in Oxford.

We had secured a very liberal charter, with every indication of kind feeling from our legislature, and a good prospect that when other institutions of learning receive benefactions from the state, this will not be forgotten.

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We have obtained a hearing in some churches, and everywhere with the best prospect of success.

During the summer we will put under contract three houses, viz.: two professors' houses, and a center building as a boarding house and schoolroom, to be finished in eighteen months, hoping to be in funds as they progress; and we do not fear that the churches will fail us. Nor can we doubt that the light beginning to be kindled on this hilltop will shine as far and light as many on the two continents to a world of bliss as the two institutions that have so long been established between which it is placed.

The brief report for 1855 simply announces two facts: the appointment of Dr. Hamilton, of Fagg's Manor, as general agent of the institution, and the taking of measures for the erection of suitable buildings. Dr. Hamilton addressed the Assembly, and was followed by Dr. W. S. Plumer, then of Allegheny Seminary; Dr. B. M. Smith, of Hampden-Sidney College, Va.; and Dr. Boardman, of Philadelphia; after which the following resolutions moved by Dr. Plumer were adopted:

1. That this General Assembly heard with pleasure of the design and practical effort on the part of the Presbytery of New Castle to establish a school in which colored young men of piety may receive a thorough classical and theological education, fitting them for the work of the ministry and for teaching among the destitute thousands of this country and the millions of Africa.

2. That we regard this work as an important preliminary work, aiming at the highest good of the African race wherever found; and hereby express our cordial approbation of it and recommend our churches cheerfully and liberally to coöperate in this work of faith and labor of love.

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These hopeful reports sent to the Assembly did not publish the story of indifference, prejudice, and opposition, which had to be everywhere encountered during these and many afteryears and throughout which Dr. Dickey was very much alone. The presbytery gave its permission and expressed its approval, rather than rendered active help. Nor had he the comfort that would have been found in the support of his congregation, who, whatever the depth of their attachment and respect, cannot be said to have been with him in this new outcome of his practical benevolence. Yet now shone out, as often afterwards in later times of Ashmun Institute and Lincoln University's sore need, the founder's peculiar quality of tenacity, a gift of nature renewed and perfected by grace and maintained by strength of conviction and a simple, strong faith nourished by the Word of God and prayer, which made him hold fast with a stouter persistence the greater the obstacles, the more trying the disappointments, and the smaller the sympathy. And the firmly fashioned will was manifested, too, in a long unfaltering course of spending without stint time, toil, and substance, for the fulfillment of his benignant design.

And so the work went on. The first building began to rise. The important question of an instructor was settled by the choice of the Rev. John Pym Carter, A.M., of Baltimore, who had had the preparation of long experience, both as a teacher and as a pastor, in Maryland.

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A correspondent of The Presbyterian, describing his inauguration, wrote of him:

I will only say he is a Christian gentleman, with a heart deeply engaged in his work and mental culture fitting him well for his part.

The difficulty of salary was relieved by the favor of the Board of Education, before whom Dr. Dickey appeared a few weeks previous to the opening of the institute. "At the conclusion of his address," says the minute, "the Board unanimously resolved that, Providence permitting, the Board will appropriate the sum of \$500 towards the support of the principal of the Ashmun Institute during the year 1857."

Ashmun Institute was dedicated, and its principal was installed, on December 31, 1856. A brief statement of the object of the assembly was made by Dr. Dickey, as president of the Board of Trustees. The hymn version of the Seventy-second Psalm was sung, "Jesus Shall Reign Where'er the Sun," and Dr. Hamilton led in the dedicatory prayer. The key of the building and a copy of the Scriptures were delivered to Principal Carter by Dr. Dickey, who also gave him "a brief but comprehensive charge, both as to his duty and as to the rule by which he was to fulfill it; namely, the Bible, and especially its great truths, as embodied in the Confession of Faith and Catechism of the Presbyterian Church." Then came the principal's inaugural address, "a kind and forcible development of the work to which he had given

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himself, with the motives urging him onward to its accomplishment, vindicating both the necessity of this institution, and the capability of the colored man for intellectual and moral elevation." An address, or rather oration, was then delivered by Dr. Courtland Van Rensselaer, which was afterwards published under the title of "God Glorified by Africa." It is full of the gifted and noble author's vigorous thought, wide knowledge, enthusiastic faith, and fluent rhetoric. Paying at the outset a glowing tribute to Jehudi Ashmun, "a wreath to his memory over the door of the institution that bears his precious and immortal name," he concludes his eloquent address as follows:

If the institution should disappoint public expectation, the fault will not be with its projectors. The Ashmun Institute is national in its claims. It invites coöperation from every section of the Church and from every lover of his country and of Africa. Its relations are widespread and of intense interest. It seeks to realize the great maxim of Ashmun, "To accomplish the most possible good in the least time." It aims at a connection with God's great providential plans. May it flourish for generations! May it stand like the African palm tree, majestic for stateliness and beauty and the emblem of prosperity, its fruit giving food and its shade affording rest to thousands and tens of thousands in the ancestral tropical land!

Heaven bless the institute in its plans, its officers, and its pupils! Bless it, God of Ethiopia, who hast "made of one blood all nations of men." Be thou glorified on every continent! Be thou glorified by Africa!

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After the reading of extracts from a long letter written by a deeply interested friend who was unable to be present, Rev. Dr. B. M. Smith, of Union Theological Seminary, Prince Edward, Va., the assembly was led in prayer by Rev. J. A. Andrew, Associate Reformed Church, Oxford, and the proceedings were brought to a close by the benediction pronounced by Principal Carter.

The correspondent of *The Presbyterian*, already quoted, thus describes the building:

The school or college building proper is plain in its style, yet with an imposing façade, three-storied, and admirably arranged for all the purposes of such an establishment. The first story furnishes apartments for the steward and a large dining room; the second, reached from without by a flight of steps, affords two fine recitation rooms, and a hall of instruction, thirty feet by forty; on the third there are eight well-ventilated dormitories of good size. On the front a stone* is placed, bearing the name of the institution and the significant and cheering motto: "The night is far spent, the day is at hand."

After describing the beauty of the site, already noticed, the writer adds:

Our local associations give it peculiar interest; it stands in close proximity to the farm on which was born and raised the late Dr. John McMillan, the founder not only of many churches in western Pennsylvania but of Jefferson College,

* "The white stone placed in the front wall of Ashmun Institute, with the carving upon it, was the work of a poor man. He had used a portion of a broken tombstone, and left upon the reverse a hand pointing heavenward."—*Oxford Press*.

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whose fame is in all this land. McMillan's feet once trod the spot on which these buildings stand.

The next day, January 1, 1857, the institute was opened. Mr. Carter was president and faculty in one. The circular of the trustees had announced that the course would be "liberal and thorough, designed to prepare students for the work of missionaries in Africa, for the gospel ministry among the colored people in this country, and for any other position of usefulness to which they may be called." Four students were in attendance, two in the preparatory school and two in the theological department. As to their progress and promise, the report to the General Assembly contains an account of the examination at the close of the first term by a member of the Board of Trustees, in the course of which he says:

Under the circumstances I cannot but feel that the progress they have made is creditable to teacher and taught and highly encouraging to all interested in this great work. Their progress thus far I take to be an augury of great and cheering success in the future. In all these exercises they exhibited a most remarkable aptness to learn and a discrimination of judgment indicative of thought and reflection.

Mr. Carter continued as principal and sole instructor till 1861, and during these four years he had under his charge twenty students. His work was carried on under the great disadvantage of having, besides the duties of administration, the burden of teaching all the classes

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and subjects of the elementary school as well as of the ordinary college and seminary course of that day. Yet the records give evidence of the ability and efficiency of the teacher and of the completeness, thoroughness, and success of the training. Particular attention is called to one advantage enjoyed by the students, the "opportunity of preaching every Sabbath." The friends of the institution felt justified and encouraged and had the special happiness of seeing the issue of their exertions, offerings, and prayers which is thus told in the report for 1859:

The first ripe fruits of the Ashmun Institute are three young men, who have completed their studies, been licensed and ordained by the New Castle Presbytery, and are now on their way to Africa as missionaries under the care of our Board of Foreign Missions. Their names are Armisted Miller, James R. Amos, and Thomas H. Amos. These beloved brethren, previous to their departure, preached in a number of African churches, besides other churches, in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and elsewhere. Their discourses were highly edifying and acceptable.

James R. Amos had assisted in the erection of the building and became the first steward of the institute. For five years he labored faithfully in Liberia, doing good work also as a pioneer in extending the mission, zealous and persevering as when he trudged through Chester County to fulfill his appointments as a Methodist preacher or to increase his fitness for that work by his weekly lessons in the Oxford study. But in 1864,

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having returned to his native land in delicate health, he was engaged in supplying the First Colored Presbyterian Church at Reading, Pa., when his useful and promising career was brought to a close by consumption.

Mr. Miller was born a slave in North Carolina, but went to Liberia as a boy, coming back to the United States for education. He obtained a good report as a missionary, but his course also was brief, ending in 1865. Mr. Thomas H. Amos was a brother of Mr. James R. Amos, and labored as a missionary in Monrovia for eleven years, until his death there in 1870.

The students of that earliest period exhibited the same variety, as to the state or country from which they came, as is seen in the present students of Lincoln University. Even at that time both Africa and the West Indies were represented. And then, as now, the students belonged chiefly to the three leading evangelical Churches, the Presbyterian, the Methodist, and the Baptist. Though under the immediate patronage of the Old School branch of the Presbyterian Church, as early as 1857 some of the students were of the New School branch, the favor of whose General Assembly the institute that year obtained; and the members of the various churches were devising liberal things in support of the work. In the same year the Synod of Philadelphia (O. S.) recommended that collections be taken on behalf of Ashmun Institute in all its congregations on a Sabbath named. Several students were aided by the Board of

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Education as candidates for the ministry under the care of presbyteries; others were maintained by individual donors. Congregations were visited by Mr. Carter during the summer recess; while Dr. Dickey, now free from the work of the pastorate, made application to personal friends and, when all these sources failed to yield a sufficiency, himself furnished what was lacking from his own private means. The trustees were cheered in 1859 by a beginning of the much-needed endowment, through the gift of \$2,868.30 from the widow and son of Dr. Samuel Miller, of Princeton, being part of a sum, in his hands at the time of his death, which was held in trust for a school that was from necessity abandoned, and which was transferred, with the consent of all concerned, to Ashmun Institute. Mrs. Miller had at one time received colored children into her own house at Princeton for daily instruction and had taken an active part in a colored Sabbath school carried on in the village. The value of the buildings, together with this small endowment, amounted at this stage in the history of the institution to about \$12,000.

Principal Carter was relieved of part of his burdensome duties in the autumn of 1860 by the appointment of the Rev. John Wynne Martin, D.D., as professor of languages and Church history, but he resigned his principalship and professorship in the spring of the following year, when Dr. Martin was left alone in charge of the institute. Mr. Carter took charge for a few months

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of the Academy at New London, before removing to Baltimore, where for many years, up till his death at Washington, D. C., in 1892, he served as stated clerk of the presbytery.

Dr. Martin, at the time of his appointment, was pastor at Doe Run. He was a native of Ireland, where he was born in 1804, and, before coming to this country in 1853, had for sixteen years been principal of institutions for the deaf and dumb at Belfast and Dublin. He was an able man, of manifest piety and faith, sincere and conscientious. Beginning his labors at the breaking out of the Civil War, his resignation took effect a few months after the surrender at Appomattox. Ashmun Institute had its own peculiar share in the general distress of these memorable years, as it had a very special interest in the deliverance which was wrought at so enormous a cost of blood and treasure.

In his address at Lancaster, previously referred to, Dr. Dickey said:

In 1856 the school was opened, and continued to flourish until the beginning of the Rebellion, when it was at different times threatened with destruction by raids from Maryland. From this time to the close of the war the school was not in a very prosperous condition.

The threatened "raids," however, were of small account compared with the menaces to its existence by financial pressure. Now was felt the absence of endowments. The stream of ordinary contributions soon began

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to fail. The first reports for this period tell how, of the seventeen students in attendance, eight were obliged to leave for want of funds; two of them joined the army, and privations were the lot of those who remained. Many were the candidates for the places left vacant, but poverty compelled the closing of the door to all except two, whose support was probably guaranteed by friends. A letter, undated, but evidently written during the war time with reference to an applicant who had no means of paying his expenses, explains the most favorable terms that had been offered that year; namely, that if the friend asking his admission could raise two thirds, say \$100, Dr. Dickey would raise the other one third. The Board of Education still continued its help towards the education of students for the ministry, to which were now added appropriations for the like purpose from the New School branch. Nor did all regular subscriptions or occasional donations cease. But President Martin wrote in a private letter:

So good a cause has lost sadly for want of means, and might have entirely failed, like many similar efforts to educate American Africans, if Dr. Dickey and his family had not liberally supplied money and goods.

And when at length urgency called for it, in the prospect of utter collapse, the father of the enterprise became also its saviour, by placing a mortgage on his own home.

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But there were some consolations and encouragements. There was no intermission of the labors of the instructor and his assistant, Mr. P. B. Hedges, one of the theological students. Some of the quarterly reports of Dr. Martin to the Board of Education have been preserved. The headings embrace more particulars than now find a place in such returns: "Piety," "Eloquence," "Talents," "Diligence," "Scholarship," "Economy," "Prudence," "Zeal," "Health." The reports are obviously faithful and show an interesting diversity, not only among the different students but in the same student at different times.

One of these reports reads:

Religious interest is manifested by regular and decent attendance upon family and public worship and the religious exercises of opening and closing our classes daily. On the first Sabbath in each month the public worship in college is conducted as a missionary meeting, the students conducting the reading of Scripture and missionary reports, collecting of contributions, and other religious exercises. They also hold a midday prayer meeting daily, an evening prayer meeting on Wednesday, and a morning prayer meeting on the Lord's Day.

The variety as to the district of birth is still maintained, but the destination to Africa is not so prevalent, especially after the Emancipation Proclamation. And while in the early days the larger number became preachers or teachers, the later graduates have found

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their way into medicine, newspaper offices, library work, business, or other activities.

In 1864 the cloud began to lift. At the beginning of the session there were as many students as could be accommodated; twenty-three were enrolled and six more were engaged, while others were knocking for admission. There was also a brightening of the financial outlook. Dr. Martin, in his report for this year (he resigned his position in January, 1865) thus concludes:

As to endowment, two friends have proposed to give each \$1000, if, in addition to these, we raise \$6000. Having no paid agent, and the little staff of instructors being more than fully occupied in our special work, the raising of funds devolves almost wholly upon the Rev. Dr. Dickey, president of the trustees. We may add that this has been the most favorable year for our institution, and for the African Americans, upon which the sun has ever shone. To God alone be all the praise through Jesus Christ.

About this period Dr. Martin received a letter from Rev. B. B. Smith, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Kentucky, resident at Louisville, inquiring as to a teacher and missionary among the colored people of his city. His interesting reply has been preserved:

I have been charmed by the spirit of your letter, accompanying that to Mr. Fleetwood, * * * and by the character of you and your esteemed uncle in Philadelphia given by our mutual friends, Rev. J. M. Dickey, D.D., and Mrs. Dickey, formerly Miss S. Cresson, of Philadelphia, who desire me to express their affection and esteem for you.

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They are the most liberal, devoted, and laborious friends of our college. Your spirit and theirs are in perfect sympathy. Their son Cresson returned last night from a laborious season of labor under the Christian Commission at Bermuda Hundred. He has been ministering to the sick and wounded, black and white, loyal and rebellious. He says the colored sufferers manifest far more fortitude than the white of even our own army. In one day he dressed the wounds of some of our own troops, fifty of whom were Negroes, and also those of seven rebel prisoners. * * * May God bless them and all that seek their good!

Before the war time came to an end, Dr. Dickey had received the first fruits of offerings and of service from one who in the work of Ashmun Institute and Lincoln University was henceforward to be one of his most steadfast and generous fellow helpers in Christ Jesus, Mr. William E. Dodge, of New York. In December, 1862, the Board of Trustees took the step of adding to their number two representatives of the New School section of the Presbyterian Church. One of these was Mr. Dodge, who was a warm friend of Liberia, having been for twenty-two years a vice president of the Colonization Society, and who had for some years supported several students. We conclude this portion of our narrative with the report—so significant and touching to those who remember the trying experience of which it marked the close—sent by Dr. Dickey to the General Assembly of 1865, the last report on Ashmun Institute ere it passed into Lincoln University:



LINCOLN UNIVERSITY IN 1929

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ASHMUN COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE FOR YOUTH AND MEN OF COLOR

This institution is located near Oxford, Chester County, Pa., and has had a year of more than ordinary success. A larger number of students have been in attendance than in any previous year, and the general desire shown to make thorough progress by the pupils has been gratifying in the extreme. A grand and ennobling future now seems to open up to the long-neglected sons of Africa. The dark night of their ignorance and bondage in this regenerate land is well-nigh spent. With the coming dawn of freedom our Christian people feel impelled to provide for this destitute race such educational advantages as will best qualify them to elevate their own people and fit them to act intelligently their part in the history of the world.

Hence increased attention and interest have been drawn to the Ashmun Institute in recent years.

It has passed the period of experiment and is now in the broader fields of a satisfactory demonstration. For nine years it has battled against unchristian prejudice and poverty, until by perseverance, with the favor of God, it now stands up to challenge the esteem and generous patronage of all who are just enough to desire the indemnification of a long-despised and neglected people.

The trustees, encouraged by the liberality of God's people and by the largely increasing demand for admission to its advantages, have entered vigorously upon the endowment of Ashmun Institute. They desire to make it a thorough school of training for teachers and preachers to the African race. They have increased the corps of instructors and will enlarge the dormitory and school accommodations, while at the same time they carry on the current expenses. To meet these several wants, they are now soliciting the sum of \$100,000 with the most flattering prospects of success.

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They have elected to the presidency of the institute, the Rev. Isaac N. Rendall,* of the Presbytery of Mohawk; and the Rev. Lorenzo Westcott, of the Presbytery of Northumberland, has been appointed to a professorship. These brethren are well known to the churches, and have signified their intention to accept the positions offered them. They will enter upon the service of the Board of Trustees at once, and the next collegiate year will open on the first of September under their supervision.

It is the determination of the trustees to add another thoroughly competent professor as soon as the funds will justify. Arrangements have been made, and are now in process of execution, to secure the enlargement of the build-

* Rev. Isaac Norton Rendall, D.D., son of Hugh and Harriet (Watson) Rendall, was born at Utica, N. Y., September 30, 1825. He graduated in the class of 1852 from Princeton College, and in the class of 1855 from Princeton Theological Seminary. After tutoring at Princeton for a year, he was ordained by the Presbytery of Mohawk and served in pastorates successively at Oneida Valley, N. Y., Emporium, and Renovo, Pa., until 1865, when he was called to the presidency of Lincoln University. There, during forty years as president and seven more as president emeritus, he gave all the rare and noble powers with which he was endowed in body, mind, and spirit to the higher education of the young men of the Negro race. Setting himself to this task when it was anything but easy or popular, he exemplified the motto of the Apostle Paul, "This one thing I do," to a degree to which it is seldom given to mortals to attain. In so doing he had the great satisfaction of demonstrating to a skeptical public that such a result was possible and actual, and in so doing he has won the undying gratitude and love of everyone of the colored race who has come within the range of his beneficent influence. On November 15, 1912, in his eighty-eighth year, he finished his earthly course. He was unmarried, but has left behind him an uncounted number ready at the mention of his name to rise up and do him reverence and acclaim him as "a man sent from God"!

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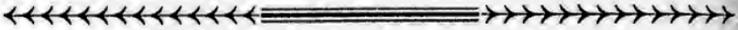
ings, which it is hoped will be accomplished during the present season. The trustees design to have accommodations for at least fifty students next term.

Youth and men of color who desire to fit themselves to be teachers and preachers should make early application. The advantages of the institution are accessible to all; the only qualifications required are a good moral character, the determination to devote themselves to one or the other of the designated employments, teaching or preaching, and such elementary knowledge as will enable the student to avail himself of the instruction given. It costs about \$150 per year to sustain a student at Ashmun Institute.

The way is now eminently open to make this an incalculable blessing to our country and to Africa, the measure of which benefits will only be fixed by the amount of means which the public will put at the service of the trustees.

Oxford, Pa., April, 1865.

John M. Dickey, President
of Board of Trustees.



Chapter IX

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY



THE expansion of their object and their plans, contained in the report of the trustees of Ashmun Institute to the General Assembly of 1865, involved the procuring from the Legislature of Pennsylvania of a new or supplementary charter, which was approved by Governor Curtin, one of Dr. Dickey's fellow alumni of the old Milton Academy, on April 4, 1866.

The first section of the act changed the name of "Ashmun Institute" to that of "The Lincoln University." As it is well stated in the report for 1866:

For satisfactory reasons, chiefly in honor of the illustrious patriot, statesman, and philanthropist, the loved and lamented Abraham Lincoln, who, when living, delighted to serve the long-oppressed and neglected people for whom this institution has been provided, and who, in dying, sealed his devotion to an emancipated race, it was considered an appropriate expression of gratitude that the enlarged plans and combined buildings of this educational scheme should bear the worthy name of him who did so much to lift the crushing loads from the mind and the heart and the body and the manhood of the African. Hence, in view of the rapidly expanding work now before the institution, because of its hard-earned experience, its complex demands, and its ample powers to make provision for the thorough educa-

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tion of the students in every department of a classical, scientific, theological, and professional training, the Legislature of Pennsylvania has conferred upon it the title of "The Lincoln University."

Another section of the charter increased the number of trustees from nine to twenty-one. Among the new trustees chosen by the Presbytery of New Castle, who gave their names and influence to the new university, were Gen. O. O. Howard, after whom a similar institution was named the following year (Howard University, Washington, D. C.), and who was then commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau; and Senator E. D. Morgan, of New York; while at the same time the still cherished and practiced evangelical catholicity of the Presbyterian institution was indicated by the appointment as trustees of Bishop Simpson, Dr. Richard Newton, Dr. Howard Malcolm, Dr. E. N. Kirk, and Dr. E. P. Rogers, belonging to the Methodist, Episcopal, Baptist, Congregationalist, and Dutch Reformed Churches, respectively.

The right to receive and hold property was also enlarged, and full power was granted to confer academic degrees.

A curriculum, with graded classes and regular graduation, was now arranged by the new professors, who had assumed their duties in September, 1865, and who organized as a university faculty on December 8, 1866.

President Rendall and Professor Westcott had been

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classmates at Princeton, and they continued as colleagues at Lincoln for six years, after which the latter entered the service of Howard University as one of the professors in its theological department. The former, after thirty-eight years of presidency and professional labor, still at this writing, in the goodness of God, remains at the head of the university, which amid all changes and improvements has followed throughout its history the lines laid down by its first faculty. So wise were these lines, so steadily were they pursued, so deep was the interest of the first instructors and those who were gradually added to an overburdened faculty, so self-denying was their devotion, so efficient and successful their efforts, that Dr. Dickey could give himself without care and with perfect confidence to his part in the common work. That part was to obtain money for the requisite additional buildings, for the endowment of the two existing professorships, for the foundation of new chairs, and for assisting the support of the now greatly augmented number of students, as well as for general equipment and ordinary expenses. And amid all his trying exertions and disappointments he could always thank God and take courage when he remembered not only the unquestioned importance but also the unchallengeable excellence of the work that was being done.

Dr. Dickey had still twelve years of life before him after the reorganization of Ashmun Institute as Lincoln University, and the institution had all these years the

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privilege of his oversight, labor, and burden-bearing as president of the Board of Trustees.

Without entering into the details of its history year by year we shall endeavor to give some account of its development and progress in this last period of his service.

During the first few years of this period, the trustees and faculty earnestly sought, according to the means at their disposal, or of which they had reasonable expectation, to justify the new title of "university" by adding to the departments of instruction in manner and measure suitable to the needs and the new opportunities of the race for whose benefit the school was established. From the beginning there had been the preparatory, collegiate, and theological departments. The first had been and was still necessary, because of the deficiency of educational facilities in the South. But the lack of competent teachers for the freedmen urged the combination, with its preparatory work, of the features of a normal school. A further change was made in 1869, when a business section was added, including bookkeeping and the various branches of knowledge that fit for business life, and a preparatory normal and business department was organized, under the care of Mr. W. W. Woodruff, who had been for some years superintendent of public schools. But a year or two revealed the danger of this department's growing at the expense of the college and the seminary, and of a resulting serious change in the character and still preëminently important purpose of

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the institution; the department therefore returned to its original work of preparing for entrance into the freshman class.

A brave experiment was initiated at the annual meeting of the trustees in June, 1870. Since 1867, Dr. Samuel B. Howell, of Philadelphia, had lectured to the students on natural science, and Dr. J. Willis Houston, of Collamer, Pa., on anatomy and physiology. But now, on the motion of the Rev. Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia, a notable accession to the board during the previous year, it was resolved to establish departments both of medicine and of law. Full courses were carefully prepared and classes were organized, the gentlemen above named being joined by medical practitioners, chiefly from Philadelphia, including Drs. E. C. Hine and T. H. Seyfert. The Chester County Bar furnished professors for the law school. But this attempted plan to extend the range of the university's usefulness failed of accomplishment. A proposal was under discussion for locating the medical school in Philadelphia, and a similar proposal was in part carried out for placing the law school in West Chester, such leaders of the bar in the latter city as W. E. Barber, J. Smith Futhey, John Hickman, Joseph J. Lewis, J. J. Pinkerton, and George F. Smith offering their services gratuitously. But the financial strain of the undertakings was found to be beyond the resources of the university at this time, and the depart-

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ments, though not abolished, were meanwhile discontinued.

In 1869 the course in the theological department was increased from two to three years. And in May, 1871, in accordance with a supplementary charter obtained from the legislature, the department was placed under the care of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. The needs of the work in the South led to the arranging, in the following year, of a separate course of study, adapted to qualify for immediate usefulness men who had not enjoyed a classical and scientific training but who possessed piety and good abilities. In response to a memorial from the trustees in 1876, the General Assembly left to the wise discretion of presbyteries these exceptional cases, "in view of the great work required to be done by our Church among the colored people of this country." What was called the "English course," and the assistance given to students pursuing it by the Board of Education, were permissively recognized.

The rearrangement of the curriculum and the increase in the number of students necessitated an early addition to the heavily laden little band of instructors, who had begun their labors in 1866 with the assistance of only two tutors. These labors grew year by year as the students advanced to higher studies, and the full complement of academic classes was reached. In 1868

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they were reënforced by the appointment of Dr. E. E. Adams as professor of rhetoric and Rev. E. E. Bower as professor of Greek, from which position he was transferred a year later to the professorship of theology, Rev. G. T. Woodhull becoming professor of Latin and Greek. The trustees were enabled in 1871 to divide the chair of languages, and Mr. John B. Rendall, A. B.,*

* Rev. John Ballard Rendall, D.D., was born in Madura, southern India, April 5, 1847. He was the son of missionary parents, Rev. John and Jane Ballard Rendall. When ten years old he was brought to America, his parents now being deceased, and came under the guardianship of his uncle, Rev. Isaac Norton Rendall. When the latter became president of Lincoln University, in 1865, the nephew came with him, and upon his graduation from Princeton College in 1870 was appointed principal of the preparatory department of Lincoln University, and thus began an official connection with the institution which, witnessing his advancement to the chair of Latin and then to the presidency, continued until his death fifty-four years later. Studying theology amidst his professorial duties, he was received as a member of the Presbytery of Chester, ordained to the gospel ministry in 1876, and continued a member during the remaining period of his life. His service in the presbytery was counted well-nigh without parallel in the variety of the offices and commissions which he filled. He likewise served his state in its legislature, and his synod in its moderatorship. In the community in which he lived his presence and counsel were constantly sought, and in the pulpits round about no one was more welcome than he. His election to the presidency of Lincoln University, in succession to his uncle, occurred in 1906, and continuing in this office through his remaining years he thus rounded out a "Rendall administration" from 1865 to 1924—sixty years save one—which witnessed the growth of the institution from a primitive beginning to a full-grown college of recognized rank. On July 12, 1872, Dr. Rendall married Miss Harriet Elizabeth Jones,

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who had succeeded Mr. Woodruff as principal of the preparatory department, was appointed also to the new professorship of Latin. In 1869 Dr. Howell was elected to the chair of natural science. Dr. Dickey's youngest son, Rev. Clement C. Dickey, became professor of Hebrew and Old Testament literature in 1872, without remuneration, and continued his service for six years. Rev. W. R. Bingham, D.D., of Oxford, also, served the theological department, from 1869, by lecturing on Church government and pastoral theology, the latter subject being taken up by the Rev. R. P. Du Bois, in 1877, the first year after his retirement from the pastorate at New London. The students were favored during the year 1869-1870 with a highly valued course of lectures on the evidences of Christianity by the Rev. Albert Barnes, who had become a warm friend of the institution, and whose death in 1870 called forth the faculty's testimony to his devotion to the interests of the university, the wisdom of his counsel, their delight in his visits, and the healthful and elevating, stimulating and lasting influence of his intercourse with them. These appointments, as well as the extra and occasional courses of lectures, brought a welcome relief. But even the enlarged faculty had still more than enough to do,

whose death occurred in 1922. After a lingering illness, he passed from life on September 3, 1924. He was survived by four sons, all ministers of the Presbyterian Church, and one daughter.

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most of them having classes both in the collegiate and theological departments, and teaching also subjects other than those assigned to their several chairs.

The usual academic appliances supplementary to professorial teaching, the library and the lyceum, had, of course, their prominent place and performed their necessary function. The library was naturally the older auxiliary, dating from Ashmun Institute days. In the absence of a special endowment, and in the presence of strong rival claims upon the general funds of the university, it was then, as now, largely dependent upon individual gifts of books, old and new, and suffered from the want of a more adequate supply of standard higher literature and of new publications. This was a great drawback to those whose home supply of reading matter was meager, who in the South were shut out from public libraries, and who had small means of obtaining books for themselves.

The first lyceum was established on May 11, 1866, and was named by the students the "Garnet," after the Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, D.D., an eminent representative of their race. A second lyceum was founded in the following year, in October, 1867, which was called the "Philosophian," and on October 6, 1876, a "Theological Society" was organized. The societies were well maintained under the supervision of the faculty; they elected their own officers, and membership, attendance, and a regular part in the meetings were made obliga-

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tory for every student. Declamation, debating, and the other exercises being ordinarily carried on with much spirit, the lyceums had an important share in the mental discipline of their members, training them in habits of self-control, in ready and effective speech, and in the right conduct of the business of public gatherings.

The Bible held the same position in the university as was symbolized by placing a copy of it, along with the key of the building, in the hands of the first president of the institute at his inauguration. During the years we are considering there were but two changes in the regular religious exercises. In 1872 there appears for the first time in the list of organizations the Young Men's Christian Association. And in 1873 the Rev. Edward Webb, the financial secretary, became pastor of the university church, whose proper name, the Ashmun Church, recalled the honored title that had been borne by the institute. This last arrangement gave way after a time to the conduct of the worship on Sabbath and on week days by the president and the professors who happened to be ordained ministers. But the essential means of grace, whatever changes there might be in the outward form or arrangement, remained the same, and He who provided and appointed them granted his grace richly through the means. Special visitations of the Holy Spirit were reported during the first year, 1866, with fifteen hopeful conversions. And it is good to read along with this of the "great zeal" in study, the "most

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satisfactory results," and that there was "no occasion for discipline," but "good order and quiet." Another year of blessing was 1868, and also 1875, when, amid much trial because of monetary straits, 35 were hopefully converted, leaving only 5 out of 75 who did not confess discipleship to Christ; the theological students, it is told, proved very helpful in prayer and inquiry meetings. One striking result of the revival of 1868 is seen in the report of the Committee on Freedmen to the General Assembly in 1868 and 1869, which mentions that 30 students of Lincoln University in one year, and 40 in the other, had volunteered to labor in the summer vacation in establishing and teaching schools, asking no support save such amounts as the people benefited might be able to give.

We may now take a brief survey of the results of the work of the university as a whole during the period under view. The numbers in attendance varied with the changes in the departments and in the curriculum. But, as compared with 6 theological and 17 collegiate students in 1867, in 1878 there were 22 theological students and 43 collegiate. The number in the preparatory department had fallen from 67 to 43. These were representative of, on an average, 15 states or territories of the Union, including the District of Columbia, while at one time Canada and Liberia were each represented by a single student. To these must be added a Choctaw Indian, and 10 young men, chiefly of the Bassa tribe,

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sent by the West African Presbytery in 1874. Of the 114 on the total roll in 1868, 40 were freedmen. In 1878, the year of Dr. Dickey's death, the total number of graduates from the theological and collegiate departments had amounted to 142. Of these, 55 had become ministers or missionaries; 43, teachers; 5, lawyers; 3, doctors; 11, business men; and 1, an editor. There were 24 who were still pursuing professional studies. Of these graduates 86 were laboring in the Southern States; 30, in the Northern; 1, in Africa (several who had gone there had died); and 1, in Haiti. More than 400 students who had taken partial courses were in the ministry, or in business, or in the teaching profession. In 1874 the theological faculty were able to make an interesting and important statement as to the students' mental powers:

The faculty take pleasure in testifying to the general competency of the students under their instruction in all the departments of study. In our experience the widely cherished judgment that this class of students might excel in those parts of training which depend on memory and imitative power, and particularly in popular oratory, but that they would be deficient in the more abstract and severer studies receives no confirmation. In the full course of studies adopted in our older theological seminaries, and approved by successive General Assemblies by the adoption of their annual reports as a desirable preparation for the work of the ministry, there is no reason in their condition and capacities why any part of it should be withheld from our candidates because they are young men of color.

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This experience, of course, was true also of the collegiate department. Many of the graduates laboring in the South combined the teaching of a school with their missionary and pastoral work, and these schools, along with those conducted by teacher graduates, were becoming valuable feeders to the university. One of the students of this period actually became the virtual founder and the president of Livingston College—the eloquent Joseph C. Price, of whom Dr. J. M. Buckley, in his recent history of the Methodists in the “American Church History Series,” says:

So attractive was he in conversation that with the greatest ease he could obtain money for the college. He was a delegate to the Ecumenical Conference in the City Road Chapel, London, and in an address of five minutes reached the highest point of eloquence attained in the two weeks’ session of representatives of Methodism from all parts of the world. He died young, but was worthy of being compared, not in style but in effectiveness as an orator, with Frederick Douglass.

With regard to the missionary work of the university in its principal field, we cannot do better than quote some extracts from the report of a delegation sent by the faculty to graduates laboring in the South:

As we sat with them in their humble but pleasant homes we listened with deep interest to the history they gave us of their mission life, which, in some instances, extended over a period of many years. Not a few of the incidents they narrated were of thrilling interest. They enjoyed greatly this opportunity of pouring out their hearts into sympa-

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thetic ears. * * * Many of these missionary homes are bright centers of domestic and household refinement and elevation for all their people for miles around. * * * Of course, they showed us their churches and schoolrooms. In some places these were only rough shanties or barns, but in many places we found comfortable, well-finished edifices. Several told us how they had gone to the woods and cut down the trees and had themselves hauled the logs or the lumber for the buildings.

One of these brethren, on Theological Commencement Day, when he graduated with five others, said: "Not one of us has as yet a call or a promise of support from any board or church, but we go into the field without fear. As for myself, with my mason's kit and my call from God, why should I be afraid? These hands can minister to our necessities."

Another brother who was a student in the university about ten years ago worked in one place till the church he founded there became self-supporting, and then left it to begin a new enterprise in a promising center. This brother remarked to us: "I receive aid from our Missionary Committee, but if anything should happen that they would be obliged to withdraw I am so hopeful of establishing and building up a self-supporting church here that I should work on."

He showed us the little room in which his church of ten members meets. The desk was constructed by himself, out of the case in which the Bibles and school-books for his Sunday School, which numbered sixty children, came packed. It was so neat and nice that we could scarcely credit it till he showed us his address in large letters on the inside. He made the bookcase for the library, too, and had partitioned off a little room not more than six feet square as a study, the whole furniture of which did not cost a dollar, for it was made with his own hands.

Two or three gentlemen of this place, among them the

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pastor of the Southern Presbyterian Church, called on us at the hotel to say how highly they esteemed the services of this brother. The congregation, with outside aid, has purchased and paid for a property in the city which will serve the purposes of church, parochial schoolroom, and parsonage.

We found all these men adapting themselves, their methods of work, and the style of their teaching, to the circumstances of their people, to the intellectual and social condition in which they find them. They are doing this with a good degree of skill and prudence. We were delighted with the enthusiasm they exhibit, with the kindness of heart and the Christian sympathy, as well as the good common sense, with which they are bringing the superior culture they received in Lincoln to aid in all kinds of social, moral, and religious improvement. We found them earnest, faithful, and trusted friends and guides, not in the churches and schools only, but also in the homes of their people.

In the great cities of the South, also, they are at work as pastors of strong flourishing churches, beloved, respected, and honored by their white brethren in the ministry.

The notes and observations of the delegation show that the lever of the culture and gospel training given at Lincoln is under all the great denominations at work among the freedmen, as one of the bishops of the A. M. E. Church assured us.

Besides the gratification granted to them through experience of the students during their university course and the good report they were earning after graduation, Dr. Dickey and his fellow workers were cheered by influential hearty commendations from those who were familiar with their work or who were occasional visitors to the institution. Thus, for instance, in 1868, it

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received the strong approval of the Committee on Freedmen in their report to the General Assembly:

The Committee have taken the liveliest interest in the endowment and full equipment of this institution, and attention is called to it as to-day exercising a most potent influence upon the whole work of the Church among the freedmen. * * * The Church has much to hope for in the future work of this institution. There is to-day no more efficient agency for the establishment of the Church among the freed people or for providing a proper ministry for them.

Another example may be given, of a later period, from a worthy witness, Dr. James McCosh, president of Princeton College, who gave an address at the commencement exercises in 1877, the last occasion on which Dr. Dickey was permitted to be present:

The college of colored youths at Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania, has many and powerful claims on the Christian public. I have visited it on two different occasions, and I am able to bear testimony to the high character of its professors (most of them graduates from Princeton) and the effective teaching which the students receive. I found the answering of the pupils quite up to the average in our colleges and giving clear evidence of the capacity of the African race to receive and be benefited by instruction in the higher branches. I am convinced that the race is to be elevated by giving a high education to the better minds among them, that they may, as ministers of the gospel, and in the various professions, call forth the energies of their people.

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Thus encouraged, the trustees continued their efforts to erect the necessary new buildings and to obtain the equally necessary endowments and ordinary contributions. During the first year of the new era Lincoln Hall was erected in front of the original Ashmun Institute, to which it was joined as one building. The extended accommodation was so speedily taken advantage of that two years afterwards Cresson Hall was opened, which, with Lincoln and Ashmun Halls, gave dormitory room for 174 students. The preceding year had witnessed the dedication of University Hall, the dedicatory sermon being preached by Rev. E. R. Beadle, D.D., LL.D., of Philadelphia. This was a building of serpentine stone, which contained a new chapel and four classrooms, setting free the space occupied in Lincoln Hall for these purposes. In addition to these public buildings Dr. Dickey had also the pleasure of seeing several professors' residences erected on the grounds.

The campus and grounds had expanded till they measured about eighty acres, and, with the buildings, were now of the value of not less than \$125,000. Four professorships, including the presidency, had been endowed to the extent of \$20,000 each. The first of these endowments was subscribed by various persons, Dr. and Mrs. Dickey being the largest contributors, and it was resolved by the Board of Trustees that it should be devoted to the presidency "in compliment to the long and faithful services and ever generous patronage of the

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Rev. John M. Dickey, D.D., * * * and in recognition of the memory of his sainted daughter, whose patrimony has been largely devoted to the welfare of this institution." Hence the office is styled, "The Mary Warder Dickey Presidency of Lincoln University." The second was the professorship of theology, founded by John C. Baldwin, Esq., of New York and of Orange, New Jersey. The third was the "Avery Professorship of Greek," founded by the trustees of the Avery estate at Pittsburgh, and the fourth was the "W. E. Dodge Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric." Besides these endowments there were invested scholarships of the value of \$13,950.

Mr. Dodge's father-in-law, Anson G. Phelps, the New York philanthropist, had given the first contribution to the building of Ashmun Institute. Also, Mr. Dodge not only founded the chair of sacred rhetoric but persuaded Mr. Baldwin to found that of theology; he himself gave largely to the annual support of students, and left \$10,000 by his will for the foundation of scholarships. For many years he was the most trusted financial adviser of the trustees; he rendered no little assistance by lending the use of his name and actively used his influence on behalf of the institution. At the time of Dr. Dickey's death Mr. Dodge was staying in Baltimore on his way south for health. Mr. Richard Cross tells that when he called to announce the news of his uncle's sudden removal Mr. Dodge was much shocked, expressed his regret that he could not go to the funeral,

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and spoke strongly of how much Dr. Dickey's attractive personality had moved him in what he had been able to do for Lincoln.

The principal method in use at first (for six or seven years) to secure both permanent and ordinary funds was the employment of several ministers as financial agents. They were at least eleven in number. Most of them devoted their whole time to their agency, receiving, if we may judge from one recorded agreement, \$100 per month and necessary expenses. They operated in different districts of the Church, evidently where they were known and had influence, obtaining, where they could, opportunities to address congregations and also calling upon individuals. To Dr. Dickey seems to have fallen the labor of choosing and superintending them; and some of the letters have been preserved which were written by them to him, rendering minute reports of their doings, experiences, and prospects. Their work was trying. Besides the difficulties usually encountered by the financial agent, there was the inveterate prejudice against the Negro; one pastor said he dared not ask the agent to take up a collection, though he went with him to a private member who gave him \$25. Conflicting efforts were being made for the further endowment of Lafayette and Washington and Jefferson Colleges, and also for the Allegheny Seminary, and the appeal for congregational collections was met by the competitive presentation of the cause of missions to the freedmen,

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which had the advantage enjoyed by a Board of the Church. It was not easy, notwithstanding the commendatory resolutions of presbyteries, to take up collections both for the Freedmen's Board and for Lincoln University. The reading of the agents' letters brings one into contact with earnest and devout men, in full sympathy with, and devoted to, the cause they pleaded. One "had the heart and the will to do great things, even if he had not been very successful." "I would to-day," he adds, "rather have the honor of being the founder of Lincoln University than the gift of the proudest fortune in New York City." Another asks Dr. Dickey to write, when the time comes round, to pastors who have promised a collection. All their plans and hopes and failures are detailed. There is mention, too, of prayer, and even fasting, of requests for prayer, of trust in the Lord's power to touch men's hearts, and of reading George Müller's narrative for the strengthening of faith. The faith was honored and the prayer was heard. Collections of diverse amounts, contributions small and large, even to \$1000, are reported or forwarded; and one worker had the happiness of having a share in procuring one of the endowments.

The Presbyterian publishes an "acknowledgment of donations made to Lincoln University from June 29, 1866, to January 1, 1867." It is signed by "Samuel Dickey, Treasurer," who had now succeeded his cousin from Hopewell in that office, the latter having removed to

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St. Paul, Minn. This six months' list includes church collections, personal contributions, and sundry donations.

Dr. Dickey's associations with the financial agents were only a small part of his service to the university in financial affairs. His deep personal interest and his accepted personal responsibility for the enterprise, along with his chairmanship of the Financial Committee of the Board of Trustees, brought upon him the full stress and strain of the struggle to meet expenditures out of an uncertain income. All tradesmen, and other claimants against the university, knocked at his door. Large loans from the bank, for which he generously (some of his friends thought rashly) became security, must be met, and also the interest upon them. And that it was not of his "abundance" that he "cast in" of his own into the treasury is disclosed by an entry in his notebook:

In prospect of limited means, (1) let us find most of our supplies within ourselves; pay no money for food we can supply from the farm, sheep, cattle, poultry; no wages but for labor we cannot give or cannot dispense with; (2) use every means to raise or supply what will bring in money to pay interest on debt.

It was in one of the first years of his onerous task that he received the following letter from the late Dr. Charles C. Cresson, who, besides his money contribution, sent to the library of the university a valuable collection of books, some of which he ordered from London for the purpose:

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JOHN M. DICKEY,
OXFORD.

Phila., 10th mo., 27th, 1868.

Dear cousin,

Some years ago I felt a desire to contribute \$500 to The Lincoln University, but after getting only so far as \$200 it seemed to stop, but now it revives. Enclosed is my check for \$100, to thy order for that amount.

Every great success is accompanied by little failures. The only way I know of is to accept these failures as something inevitable and persevere to get things as straight as you can. The word that seemed to be in my mind was that Paul may plant and Apollos water, but it is God who gives the increase. If the work is the Lord's it will certainly prosper, and he will open a way and furnish the means to carry it on. Yet man has a part to do in such things (as he has to do in his own salvation) and perseverance to the end through all difficulties is necessary (in humility) in both cases.

Dear cousin, if I seem to intrude my thoughts on thee, excuse me, for I strongly desire that thee may succeed and be contented, and in order to be contented I believe it is necessary not to expect too much from ourselves. Please give my love to Cousin Sarah and thy sons.

Respectfully,
CHARLES C. CRESSON,
No. 1132 Girard St.

The method of employing several financial agents came to an end about 1873, when the Rev. Edward Webb, formerly missionary in India, latterly pastor at St. Georges, Del., was appointed financial secretary and began his long and faithful labors for the financial support of the university. It was shortly after his advent to office that there occurred one of the most distressing

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financial experiences in the history of the institution. It began about the time of what is known in history as the Panic of 1873, thus described by John Fiske:

Rapid westward growth and railroad-building had developed an excessive amount of speculation, which was followed by a commercial crisis with frequent and disastrous failures in business. The distress was greatly aggravated by the vicious paper currency which had produced an extreme inflation in prices.

"The effects of it," he says, "endured several years." And the effects were sorely felt during these years by many religious and benevolent institutions. Lincoln University was not the only sufferer, as is shown by the reports of the General Assembly's Boards and Committees. Towards the end of 1873, the treasury was reported to be empty; the Board of Education could not pay its appropriations promised to the students; the financial secretary could hold out no immediate hope; and no loan could be got from the bank. Energetic action was immediately taken. An appeal was sent to the religious press. Dr. Rendall and two of the professors appeared before the Philadelphia Presbyterian Ministers' Association, and were invited to plead their necessities before the congregations. Additional financial agents were appointed for the emergency. One of these, Dr. J. B. Pinney, well known for his colonization work and at one time agent in Liberia, crossed to Great Britain in the university's interests. Dr. Dickey used his pen; there

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is among his papers a characteristic note from the re-
cluse philanthropist and secret giver of New York,
James Lenox, founder of the Lenox Library, sending
him \$300. By the blessing of God the severe and long-
continued storm was weathered.

In October, 1877, about five months before his death,
Dr. Dickey attended for the last time the meeting of
the Synod of Philadelphia, from which he had been
seldom absent for nearly fifty years. Twenty-four years
had passed since he brought before the Presbytery of
New Castle his proposal for the establishment of Ash-
mun Institute. Doubtless he had now the happiness of
hearing presented to the meeting of synod, from the
annual report of his own presbytery, this testimony to
the work of Lincoln University:

It gives us great pleasure to state that we have under our
care eighteen colored students of this institution, in various
stages of preparation for the gospel ministry. Nine of these
students were examined as to their experimental acquaint-
ance with religion, and the motives which influenced them
to desire the sacred office of the ministry, and were received
under our care at the session of presbytery held at Avondale
on October 2. The scene presented and the testimony given
to the grace of God by these colored young men deeply
impressed all the members of our body. We cannot, there-
fore, allow this opportunity to pass without informing
synod of our heartfelt gratitude to God for what he is
doing by his Spirit in the hearts of the colored people, and
in raising up for their race an educated Christian ministry,
and for the efficient instrumentality which he has made of

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Lincoln University in the promotion of this great and blessed work. We feel it a privilege to see this work going on so nobly within our bounds, and that it is scarcely possible to overrate its importance. We commend the noble work of the brethren of this institution to the prayers and sympathies of all the members and churches of our synod.

Chapter X

CONCLUSION

DR. DICKEY resigned the charge of Oxford and East Nottingham congregations in 1856, the pastoral relation being dissolved by the Presbytery of New Castle at a meeting held at Dover, Del., on April 8 of that year. It may have been noticed by the reader of the preceding chapters that his abundant labors since the beginning of his ministry increased in number and variety from the year 1850 and that a heavy burden of trial had been added to the burden of toil. He had benefited by the rest and change of a visit to Europe in 1849, but broken health counseled another visit, in the company of Mrs. Dickey, in 1855. It was at the close of this second long vacation that he took the important step of asking to be relieved from the regular work of the pastorate. The strain of years had left a permanent heart weakness. Thenceforward he spent the winter months in Philadelphia and the summer in Oxford. But while resident in the city he often visited Oxford, where he enjoyed the companionship and the devoted filial attention and care of his son Cresson, who had settled in their native town and now occupied the old home.

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Though honorably retired from the stated ministry, Dr. Dickey's active temperament, his heart and life habit of good-doing, and the grace of God which was with him forbade his being idle. The affairs and interests of Lincoln University were his principal business. His work in connection therewith has already been indicated. It brought him frequently to the institution. An eminent graduate, Dr. Thomas Miller, president of the State College, Orangeburg, S. C., says: "He greeted the students kindly. He listened to their trials, and while his heart was with those who were studying for the ministry, yet he had always a kind word to the non-theologues. He influenced them subtly by his character; his individual personality was to them a guiding star." On special occasions, such as the Day of Prayer for Colleges, he would give one of the addresses, and sometimes he would conduct the Sabbath service in the chapel.

One part of his sacred office, the ministry of the Word, was not relinquished by Dr. Dickey when he left the Oxford pulpit. Memoranda of churches and dates, jotted down on his sermons, show how frequently he was engaged in preaching during the last twenty-two years of his life. Several of the Philadelphia churches are noted, along with all the churches in Oxford, and a large number in Chester, Lancaster, and Cecil Counties; and occasionally he ministered in more distant parts of the state. Thus having obtained help of God, he con-

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tinued to the end; and to the end he was the same welcome and effective preacher as at the beginning.

Many of the characteristics of Dr. Dickey's preaching are distinctly preserved in the memory of those who stately or occasionally enjoyed his ministry; and their recollections are supplemented by an examination of his extant sermons. There were some preliminary or accompanying accessories which cannot be disregarded. The appearance of the preacher was striking and prepossessing. Tall—nearly six feet, four inches—straight, broad-shouldered, well-formed, commanding, and impressive in mien, when he rose in the pulpit, it has been said, his work was half done. And the man who rose was the beloved and popular pastor, who had won an entrance into the hearts of his audience by honest kindness, who constrained and held their confidence and their respect as well as their affection, whose public work had never weakened his spiritual influence, and who, moreover, had "a good report of them that were without." All his hearers remember well the "very fine voice," "not far-reaching," as Dr. Parke says, "but marvelously musical, tender, and persuasive." It prepared the way for the sermon by the earnest affecting tones in which it expressed the preacher's "heart talks with Some One," for so his public prayers have been more than once described.

Dr. Dickey was "mighty in the Scriptures," whether as making "wise unto salvation" or as "profitable for

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doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." And he shunned not "to declare the whole counsel of God." Reading his sermons, outlines, and lists of texts, one is struck by the great variety of his themes. No truth or duty; no danger, temptation, or sin; no spiritual or moral condition appears to have been overlooked. There are notes of a course of sermons in 1837 on relative duties: to parents, children, husbands, wives, church members, and citizens. Interspersed with the usual subjects of an evangelical ministry, we have even such rare pulpit topics as Lev. 19:17, "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him"; or Prov. 27:22, "Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him." The same all-roundness exhibited in the choice of themes is seen in the treatment of each of them individually. Unlike many preachers of the same evangelistic type, in proclaiming the gospel he invites to salvation from sin's power as well as from its guilt, and as providing a fitness for heaven not less than a gracious admission to it. The cost of discipleship is portrayed, and not only its blessedness. The doom of the impenitent is the flames of hell, but it is also exclusion from heaven; it is the society of devils; it is the hell of unsubdued evil passions. Whether believers or others are being addressed, the ardent desire to convince never betrays into extreme or one-sided

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utterance. Yet this careful guarding of speech is not allowed to blunt the edge of any naturally unpleasant truth. He is faithful in dealing with the things either of belief or of practice, fearless in warning or reproof, and unsparing as he is skillful in searching the heart, whether of saint or of sinner.

In another respect also, Dr. Dickey was preëminently a minister of the Word. To him it was the truth, the truth which he had proved for himself, which he firmly believed was necessary for every man, seeing that it alone could bring reconciliation and friendship with God, renew and purify and perfect the nature, and give comfort, strength, and hope for life and in death. In order that men should know the truth, abide in it, and walk in it, he for fifty years preached this divine Word. His text did not merely suggest to him a truth, to be considered altogether independently of it. After placing his hearers in the position of the speaker or writer of his text, or of those to whom it was first addressed, there came a full statement of the truth taught or involved in it. The truth, however, was always considered as presented in the form in which it was exhibited in the particular passage in hand. There often followed a lengthened confirmation from other Scriptures, not quoted wholesale, but aptly, and with brief, relevant, elucidative remarks. Like the apostle, he "reasoned * * * out of the scriptures, opening and alleging" their teaching pertaining to his subject. Lighted by that

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spiritual discernment of and sympathy with the truth, which are not the least qualifications of a Bible interpreter, and directed by a homiletical instinct born of his practical habit of thought, text and context supplied illustration and application that were not seldom as ingenious and fresh as they were just and profitable. While careful and clear in his definitions of doctrine, he was rather a Biblical than a systematic theologian. And the infallible proofs of the truth he taught were chiefly found in the congenial treasury of spiritual experience.

The order of the sermon was determined after the manner of the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo. "May I ask Your Grace what is your plan of battle?" said one of his subordinates. "My plan," he answered, "is to win the battle." And he added, "It depends, of course, on what Napoleon's is." Besides the will power of the born orator, in its elements of deep conviction of the truth, and of its importance, and a resolution that others shall think and feel with him about it, there was also a large knowledge of human nature in its spiritual necessities, its difficulties and dangers, its sins and its sorrows—a knowledge gained not only by self-examination and observation, and in the course of pastoral visitation, but likewise of special value to him as an evangelist—through his early abundant labors in connection with "protracted meetings." Thus, with a single eye set on the soul's surrender in faith and obedience, the preacher

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accumulated and skillfully marshaled every argument and consideration, every aspect of truth and form of appeal, fitted to accomplish his purpose. There seemed to be left no way of escape from his conclusion, and from immediate action upon it.

Seeking that everyone who listened should understand and appreciate his message, and that it should affect his heart life, Dr. Dickey had the reputation of being a "plain, direct, practical preacher." But one who had both opportunity and fitness for judging has said that there was "always sufficient thought and diction to make him acceptable to the intelligent, as well as to the humble." His gift of fluent utterance was conjoined with the popular speaker's facility of expanding his thought by fresh form and varied expression. Metaphors came with natural ease to his lips. Without artistic elaboration, Scripture scenes and figures were made vivid by the addition of a few illuminative details. The same clear vision, along with a quick discernment of things similar, supplied many simple, home-coming analogies from human life. Especially was this realistic power displayed in what was a conspicuous feature of his preaching; namely, his frequent use of illustrative incident. There are few surviving hearers who will not tell you how their hearts were touched and their eyes made moist under their old minister's unaffected exercise of his exceptional faculty of making a distinct, rapid, overpowering impression by an apposite story.

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The delivery was closely akin to the message, and, unlike that of most preachers, could scarcely be separated, even in thought, from the truth that was so fully and efficiently expounded by voice and countenance and whole outward manner. It had the first essential of sincerity, profound and pervading. The audience could not but acknowledge the utter absence of all pretense, jugglery, or artfulness, and equally of all self-seeking and self-glorification. It was arrested by the preacher's entire self-forgetfulness as well as by his devout solemnity. He was free with the perfect liberty of the Spirit; his was also the freedom that comes from full possession of, or rather by, the truth he preached. The people saw that he had experimental knowledge of it. The sermon was, as Phillips Brooks would say, "truth through a personality." The truth as uttered was plainly heartfelt. The personality through which it passed was finely sensitive to the truth; and the truth was given out permeated with the speaker's own strong emotions. Hence the remembered or traditional very earnest delivery, which, however, it is explained, was not that of a son of thunder. His hearers recognized a predominant living faith that Christ is Lord of all, but equally a heart of genuine love to him and to them. They perceived that they were being addressed individually, that here was personal dealing, even in the pulpit. But emphasis and persistence were mingled with great tenderness, after the apostolic method of beseeching entreaty.

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These qualities and traits of Dr. Dickey as a preacher sufficiently account for his wide and lifelong acceptability in the pulpit. From all around people of all denominations gathered to hear him. Not seldom did the affectionate solicitations of the soul winner receive the immediate answer of silent tears. Sometimes there was not a dry eye in the assembly. And God gave the increase by the more lasting results of conversion and decision, consolation and edification, by quickened or enlarged zeal in the work of the Church, in benevolence and public usefulness, and by the moral uplifting of the whole community in which he lived and labored.

It was Dr. Dickey's rule to begin the direct preparation for his pulpit work on the previous Monday. The sermon was always fully thought out, but he employed every variety, as to extent, of written preparation. The sermon was never read. The pen seems to have been used to secure the order of his materials and to make clear and definite his thinking rather than to furnish its expression, which was left to the warmth of delivery. The outline, however, is no mere brief; though sometimes a particular point, especially in the application, is indicated only by a single sentence, a suggestive word, or a Scripture reference, yet, with development, amplification, and detail, it more frequently approaches the dimensions of a completely composed discourse. In this expanded outline, there is, moreover, a pervading glow of feeling that must have helped to stir the preacher's

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heart, while its other features insured the accurate reproduction of his course of thought. The sermon on Ethiopia preached, it will be remembered, at the beginning of the Ashmun Institute enterprise, was published only as "Outlines of a Discourse." But there is another published sermon, his only other separate publication, which probably alone represents Dr. Dickey's sermons as delivered—at least, as to the verbal expression. It was addressed to young men in F Street Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., in 1851, from the text, Prov. 30:17: "The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it." For its preservation we are indebted to Dr. Robert M. Patterson, Great Valley Church, Chester Co., Pa., who was at the time a reporter in the United States Senate. Several young men of the congregation were so much impressed by the sermon that a request, signed by Dr. Patterson and others among them, was presented to Dr. Dickey for its publication. But as the sermon had not been written out, the request could not be complied with. Fortunately Dr. Patterson had taken a full report, and the sermon was printed accordingly. It is a good example of the preacher's style and exhibits him in the ripeness of his thought, experience, and skill, and from it all the elements of effective preaching could be illustrated.

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During his long summer sojourns at Oxford, besides the congregations to which he preached, Sabbath school gatherings and all kinds of temperance meetings heard again the old welcome voice. We have already noticed his platform labors in Chester and Lancaster Counties at this period on behalf of the Baltimore Central and Peach Bottom Railroads. In February, 1872, he presided at a meeting held in Oxford to celebrate Washington's Birthday. On this occasion he gave an address on the early history of the little borough with whose progress and prosperity he had had so much to do. The narrative created great interest, and a request was presented that it be printed. But for some reason not now ascertainable the proposal was not carried out, and the valuable sketch was lost to the community. In 1876 he gave the address on Decoration Day.

The call to rest from all his labors came to Dr. Dickey in 1878, and it came suddenly. On February 3 he was bereaved of the wife of his youth. They had been together for forty-four years. This notice appeared in *The Presbyterian*:

In Philadelphia, Feb. 3, Sarah Emlen, wife of the Rev. John M. Dickey, D.D. "I am in Christ. Praise him! Praise him for ever!"

Many and tender were the letters of sympathy that found their way to the darkened home, but these kind words had scarcely ceased coming when Dr. Dickey himself received the message to follow. Only for a

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little over six weeks were husband and wife divided in their death. Their surviving son remarked that they were "one almost in birth (born in the same year), life, and death; one in purpose, work, and faith." His son Clement had undertaken a mission at Haddington, in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, in connection with the presbytery's Church Extension Committee. There, on February 24, five weeks after Mrs. Dickey's death, his father preached what proved to be his last sermon. It was from the text so remarkable for its unthought-of suitability to the circumstances, II Tim. 4:7, 8: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." It may have been also his last message to the congregation at Oxford, for a note on the manuscript shows that it was preached there on November 12, 1876, fourteen months previously.

After pointing out that the crown is for him who fights the good fight, "no matter whether he gain the victory or go down in the battle, so far as this world is concerned," and showing the variety of circumstances in which the fight may be fought, he went on to illustrate and apply the proposition that to maintain this fight there must be the possession of a fixed faith, founded on conviction and embracing of the truth, a

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union with brethren of the household of faith, and a busy, devoted life. Under his third head he asked the question:

"Is there any greater luxury in this world than the luxury of doing good?" Even worldly men, who have been the soul of selfishness all their lives, look around as they are leaving the world and, as they cannot take their property with them, bestow it to relieve the poor, to help the orphan or the maimed and sick. Charity given for the bodies of men reaches but a short distance; it merely soothes pain and comforts the flesh, is often indiscriminately bestowed, is an evil rather than a good. But he who gives and labors for the soul ministers to the mastery and guidance of the body, and thus helps it, but, much more, blesses the immortal and accountable being who dwells in it and blesses both for eternity as well as for time. As Christ "brought life and immortality to light," he who gives Christ to a man in a sense gives him life and immortality. And for this what shall be his reward? He shall sit with Christ in his heavenly Kingdom, reign with him, be welcomed by Christ and those he has aided to save. And what pleasure does he not have even here?

I had a letter last week from one to whom I had written, eleven years ago, a letter of Christian instruction, and it has been as "good news from a far country," "as cold waters to a thirsty soul," ever since. Have you ever had riveted upon you the eyes of the dying, in which you could read loving, yearning affection for what you have been the means of doing for the soul? Next to seeing Jesus, there will be meeting such with him. And how can a person live and die in idleness and selfishness as a Christian, his spirit without sympathy, none to bless him?

He closes by quoting the hymn, "Servant of God, Well Done!" The last sentence of the manuscript, the

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concluding thought of "a word to those who, like Paul, are ready to depart," is this: "How blessed to be a Christian, to know whither we go!"

On Wednesday evening, March 20, just as Dr. Dickey had finished his supper, to which he sat down in his usual health, he was seized with paralysis of the heart.

Before he had risen from his chair he complained of a pain in his head, and when he raised his hand to his head it was observed by his son Clement that his arm dropped down without control. On springing to his assistance, the son prevented his father from falling from the chair. Medical aid was soon summoned, but he fell into a speechless and motionless condition, in which he remained for three hours. He revived, and was conscious for about an hour, but unable to converse, when a relapse took place which terminated in his death.

The remains of the celebrated divine were brought to Oxford in a special car on Saturday evening, where they were received by a large and sympathetic assemblage of friends. The body was taken to the old homestead on Western Avenue. The funeral took place at 11.30 A. M. on Monday, attended by a large concourse of sorrowing relatives and friends, including many ministers of the Presbyterian and other Churches, some of them from a distance. The coffin was borne by six members of the faculty of Lincoln University, Drs. Rendall, Gregory, Cattell; Rev. Messrs. Bower and Woodhull; and John B. Rendall. The floral decorations were beautiful, the word "Rest" being beautifully interwoven on a bed of white carnations and lilies. The services in the church were opened with the hymn, "Servant of God, Well Done!" by the choir. Rev. Mr. Lawson read the fourth chapter of II Timothy, which was followed by prayer by Rev. Dr. Rendall. Addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Bower, Rev. Dr. Stewart, and Rev. Mr.



THE HOME OF JOHN MILLER DICKEY AS REMODELED BY HIS SON

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Lawson, all of whom paid glowing tributes to the great life work of the deceased. At the close of the addresses the choir sang "Beyond the Smiling and the Weeping," while the large audience filed past the body and took a last look at the beloved minister as he lay in his coffin, looking as natural as if only sleeping. The bell tolled a sad farewell as the body was carried to its last resting place, and the mortal remains of Dr. Dickey were lowered into the grave beside those of his lately deceased wife.*

Dr. Dickey was survived by three sons: J. M. Cresson Dickey, barrister at law and member of the Chester County Bar, residing at Oxford, an active elder and worker in his father's congregation, and a trustee and deeply interested and generous friend of Lincoln University; † Ebenezer Dickey, who was a lifelong invalid

* From the Oxford Press.

† John Miller Cresson Dickey was born in Oxford, Pa., January 6, 1842, and pursued his early education in the Hopewell Academy and later in the Harvard Law School, from which he graduated in 1864. He was admitted the following year to practice at the Philadelphia Bar, but shortly afterwards returned to Oxford and was admitted to practice in his native county. Henceforth he made his home at Oxford. Like all his forbears he took a lively interest in the important affairs of the community and constantly and generously sought its welfare and advancement in matters of religion, education, temperance, and social life. For over a half century he was a member of the church of his fathers; for over thirty years he taught in the Sunday school; for twenty-six years he served as a ruling elder. He was also a trustee of Lincoln University. He was twice married; first, to Miss Anna Rendall, who died in 1875; second, to Miss Annie Fleming Arnot, who with a daughter, Jane, by the first marriage, and two adopted children, Robert and Edith, survived him. Mr. Dickey's

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and died in 1894; and Rev. Clement Cresson Dickey, born August 12, 1844, died March 7, 1893.

Clement C. Dickey entered the sophomore class of the University of Pennsylvania in 1863, and was awarded the sophomore declamation prize. Graduated from Princeton Seminary in 1871, he was, in November of that year, ordained and installed pastor of Thomkins Avenue Church, Brooklyn. He resigned his charge, however, in the following year to become professor of Hebrew and Old Testament literature in Lincoln University. In 1877, as was noticed in connection with Dr. Dickey's last sermon, he began to labor at Haddington, near Philadelphia.

Mr. Dickey excelled in Sabbath school work. He was a model superintendent, and had special gifts for attracting and keeping the attention of children, including the accomplishment of being a good blackboard artist. The school grew in a few months from 30 to 150. By November, 1878, he had gathered around him an attached congregation. About 60 were ready to join the membership, as many as 5 adults having been baptized at one time; and there was now a large Sabbath school. At that date, wishing to fit himself still better for the work of the ministry by foreign travel, especially in Bible lands, he interrupted his labors for eight months.

death occurred in the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, October 29, 1908; Mrs. Dickey's in April, 1929.

W. P. F.

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He was accompanied by Rev. Dr. J. W. Dulles, of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, and his son, Mr. Joseph H. Dulles. The travelers proceeded by England, France, and Italy to Egypt, where they journeyed up the Nile before going to Palestine; they returned by Asia Minor, Turkey, Greece, and Germany. Mr. Dickey also visited Scotland. While his home letters give his impressions of all he saw, he wrote to The Presbyterian his observations on American missions in Egypt and the Holy Land.

On his return Mr. Dickey resumed his work at Had-dington, where, in 1880, the mission was organized as the Sixty-third Street (now Patterson Memorial) Presbyterian Church, Mr. Dickey being installed as pastor. But in 1886, by which time the new congregation had more than trebled its numbers, his health failed, and he removed to Colorado, where he lived for seven years, as the obituary notice in "The Church at Home and Abroad" said, "useful and beloved." He died on March 7, 1893. He was survived by his wife, Mary Sterling, daughter of Henry D. Sherrard, of Philadelphia.

A tablet in the Patterson Memorial Church bears this inscription:

"This church here records its appreciation of the loving ministry of Clement Cresson Dickey, its Founder and First Pastor, from 1877 to 1887, an able, zealous, and consecrated servant of Jesus Christ."

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The foregoing record of the life and labors of John Miller Dickey will doubtless impress the reader with the fact that his high qualities of mind and heart are those which usually account for the uncommon esteem and affection in which some men are universally held. He was a man greatly beloved, and at the same time admired and revered. Contemporaries in their enthusiasm spoke of him freely as a great man as well as a good man. One of his outstanding endowments was a vigorous, quick-working, clear-sighted intellect, suggesting in its operation rather an intuitive perception of truth than an elaborate and careful process of reasoning. He came to conclusions rapidly.

At the same time, his sound sense and his discretion saved him from "the falsehood of extremes." Pronounced in his opinions, and courageous in expressing them, he had, with all his audacity of faith and enterprise, the reputation of being a man of prudence. This direct insight and sanity of judgment characterized also his action. Everyone knew that, assured that he was right, he would go through with whatever he undertook, no matter what or how many difficulties he might be required to face. As some one put it, "The more he was beaten, he held on the more."

It is impossible to explain the dynamic force of the man apart from his religion. And his religion was plainly the primal and immanent cause of all that he

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was and did. It was this that called forth the testimony that "he ever sought the highest good of his fellow men, and his influence in all the relations of life was purifying and elevating." The source and strength of his religion is signified by his favorite hymns: "Rock of Ages," "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," "Calm Me, My God, and Keep Me Calm," and "Servant of Christ, Well Done!" As he received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walked he in him, "rooted and built up in him."

His crowning grace was the fruit of the Spirit, which is love. And to a noteworthy degree it was given him to exemplify the First and Great Commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind," and the second which is like unto it, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." And all was of God by prayer. One friend and fellow worker says, "He always gave the impression of coming from prayer." The same impression was produced upon another by the "shining look on his face when he came out of his room at the seminary to go to a ministerial engagement." Dr. Rendall tells how, when the Lincoln University Chapel (the second one, built in 1872) was to be formally dedicated by a public service, Dr. Dickey came to Lincoln early that day and spent an hour alone in the building, remarking afterwards that he "had been

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dedicating the chapel." A Paul-like request for prayer is seldom absent from his letters.

So passed this noble man, this "prince in Israel," from the scene of his earthly labors, and, verily, his works do follow him.

APPENDIX

JOHN MILLER DICKEY, D. D.

may Come before you When sitting in Judgment you
may find to Your Sweet Experience the Outmaking of
that Promise that God will be for A Spirit of Judgment
unto You When You Sit in Judgment is the Sincere
Desire of us, Your Humble Petitioners.

Signed, Oxford, May

A. D., 1796.

William Cameron
Quintan Anderson
John Watt
John Ewing
Saml Dickey
Arthur Andrews
Philip Scott
John Andrews
John Junkins
Isaac Rodgers
Robert Alexander
John Moore
John Wallace
John Wallace, Jr.
Alex Russell
Thomas Ewing
Robert Hog
Samuel Hutchison
Samuel Ankkrim
Thomas Scott
James Scott
Charles Ramsey

Samuel McCammont
James Patton
William Ewing
Isaac Cornelius
Thomas Clendenin
James Ewing
William McCaughy
Robert Henderson
William Henry
Robert Andrews
Matthew Ewing
Moses Criswell
Thos Richardson
Jno Boyd
David Pollock
Andrew Lowrey
Joseph Murdoch
James Montgomery
Wm McCormuk
Moses Corry
David Lithgow
Wm Dickey, Junior

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James Watt

John Watt

John Stockman

William Michael

Andrew Brisbin

Wm Dickey

Benjamin Dickey

Wm Ross, Jr

William Ross

John Ross

JOHN MILLER DICKEY, D.D.

I do hereby certify that the above call was regularly made out agreeably to the Directory, and signed by the above Committee appointed by the congregation for that purpose.

Robt. Graham, Moderator.

JOHN MILLER DICKEY, D.D.

George House	1	3	Widdow Flemming	1	3
Jn ^o Dickey	1	2	Isaac Rodgers	1	4
Ja ^s Watt	1	4	John Ervin	1	2
Ja ^s Wilson	1	2	Mathew Gibson	1	2
Tho ^s Henderson	1	3	Jesse McCormick	1	2
Jn ^o Wallace	1	2	Charles Speer	1	2
George McDaniel	1	2	James Whiteside	1	2
George Criswell	1	2	Will ^m Fulton	1	4
David Whiteside	1	2	Ja ^s Hall	1	2
Widdow Russel	1	1	Isaac Hall	1	3
Jerome Dunlap	1	2	Ja ^s Ramsey	1	2
	36 68			36 80	
				36 68	
			Totals	72 148	



LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE STOCK OF
THE OXFORD FEMALE SEMINARY



We the undersigned agree to take one share each of stock, by the payment of fifty dollars, for the purchase and repair of the house in Oxford owned by James Wilson, Esqu.—designing to establish in said house a Female Seminary. And we hereby empower Saml. J. Dickey, and John M. Dickey, to purchase the same & hold the property in trust, subject to our control:

John M. Dickey	one share
Mary Warder Dickey	one share
Saml. J. Dickey	one share
Jane M. Dickey	one share
Alexander Irwin	one share
Wm. Rutherford	one share
Ebenezer Dickey	one share
John Andrews	one share
Robert Hodgson	one share
John Hudders	one share
Thomas Alexander	one share
Mark A. Hodgson	one share
Samuel Holmes	one share
Richard J. Cross	one share
Arthur Andrews	one share
David Hayes	one share

JOHN MILLER DICKEY, D.D.

John Whiteside	.	.	.	.	one share
John Watt	.	.	.	.	one share
James McKissick	.	.	.	.	one share
Robert Murdagh	.	.	.	.	one share
Levi K. Brown	.	.	.	.	one share