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NEGLECTED EMPHASES IN BIBLICAL CRITICISM*

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*Mr. President, Members of the Board of Trustees, Colleagues,
Fellow-students and Friends:*

We stand at the most fateful moment of history since the day when a Man died on a hill outside Jerusalem. That was supremely a day of destiny. It would be gross irreverence to compare any day with it. It stands forth beyond Time, in its "solitary grandeur," never to be paralleled. "Once for all" is what the devout soul has always written across it. Yet we have been permitted to live through a decade of destiny more heavily freighted with human consequence than perhaps any other since that day. History, that Mother of the Ages which has given birth to successive civilizations, is in travail once more. An old world is dying and a new one is being born. What sort of a world shall it be? What awaits us when this new world reaches its maturity? Will this child, when it attains its growth, first become prodigal, wasting its substance with riotous living, and then develop into a raving monster which shall destroy everything in its path, and finally claw itself to death? These are breath-taking questions. And they are questions to be pondered rather than answered.

In the light of these colossal issues, who could be insensible

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of the Bible has been taken from the stage of life and cloistered in the scholar's den. The chasm between the Bible as the guide of life and as the quarry for historical and critical study has been an ever-deepening one. How shall these two be brought together again? It may be doubted whether either the dogmatic or the critical approach can do it alone. The one is in grave danger of a sterile dogmatism; the other of a sterile skepticism. Neither can meet the deepest needs of the heart. Pascal wrote, "We have an incapacity for proof, which no dogmatism can overcome. We have an idea (an instinct) of truth, which no skepticism can conquer."⁹⁹ It may be that the lines laid down here could be of help in treading the knife-edge between skepticism and dogmatism,¹⁰⁰ and releasing the depths of the Bible that they may speak to the depths of our own hearts.

BENJAMIN MOSBY SMITH AS A PASTOR (1838-1854)

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The REVIEW of November, 1943, carried an account of the early life of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin M. Smith, Professor of Oriental Literature in Union Theological Seminary in Virginia from 1854 to 1889, the narrative closing with his graduation from Hampden-Sidney College at the age of eighteen. A second article, in the REVIEW of November, 1944, covered his early teaching experience, his graduation and teaching at Union Seminary and a year of study and travel in Europe.

⁹⁹*Thoughts*, The Harvard Classics, P. F. Collier & Son, 1910, p. 131 (Thought 395).

¹⁰⁰See Donald A. Stauffer, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

I. IN DANVILLE (1838-1840)

When Benjamin Mosby Smith returned from Europe in his twenty-seventh year, he had fitted himself in an admirable manner, both through training and through experience, for the work which was to occupy the rest of his life. Reared in an atmosphere of Christian culture, he had surmounted the difficulties caused by defective schooling, had taken full advantage of the opportunities presented by Hampden-Sidney College, had gained a valuable experience in school teaching, had completed his seminary training, had served as instructor in the seminary and as pastor of a country church, had studied at the foremost universities in Germany, had gained a real insight into European life and culture and had learned something of the contemporary trends of religious thought.¹ In January, 1838, he accepted a call from the Presbyterian Church of Danville, Virginia. He was soon busy in his pastoral activities. He organized a Bible Class, resuscitated the Sunday School, preached carefully, prepared sermons and gave informal talks, especially to young people, in the homes. He had large congregations in spite of the fact that he "told the people some plain truths about themselves."

To illustrate the nature of his daily pastoral work, the following quotations from his diary are interesting:

Called on poor L. M. Evidently on her dying bed, but composed and calm. I hope she is indeed a Christian. Called on Miss S. R. and conversed with her on joining the church. Seems to be in fear and trembling. Roberta L. will not come forward. R. however takes a decided stand. . . .

Had a talk with John C. about his habits and religion—doesn't feel. What a tremendous evil does this mere indifference produce!

Mr. Smith was already in demand as a preacher. While at the Springs in Western Virginia in an effort to recover from an attack of jaundice, he conducted a service attended by Governor Campbell of Virginia and President Van Buren. On his way back to Danville he preached in the Lexington Church, at the meeting of the Presbytery of Lexington, in the College Church at Hampden-Sidney and, upon request of the students, in the Seminary Chapel.

While at Danville, Mr. Smith maintained the strong interest

¹See THE UNION SEMINARY REVIEW, Nov., 1943, and Nov., 1944.

in public education which he had shown during his stay in Europe. The state of Virginia at this period provided for the maintenance of primary schools under the nominal supervision of a state board and county school commissioners. Tuition fees were required from all parents able to pay them. These were supplemented by state grants to cover the expenses of teaching the children of the "poor," i. e., those not able to pay tuition fees. There were many defects in these arrangements. A large proportion of parents able to pay tuition fees were unwilling to do so and did not send their children to school. Many of the "poor" refused to apply for the state aid because this was granted under such conditions that the recipients brought upon themselves the social stigma of pauperism. There was no real supervision over the school system, for the state and county boards were hardly more than distributors of the public funds for the education of the "poor." And these funds were totally inadequate since they amounted to hardly more than \$45,000 annually. The buildings and equipment were generally of poor quality. No public support was given to "middle" and secondary schools, though large sums were appropriated for the University of Virginia and assistance was also rendered to the colleges of the state. Nevertheless, during the entire period when this scheme of education was in existence, the increase in the number of schools receiving the state funds and of the children educated in these schools was considerably greater than the increase in population.

The school systems of the other states during the early nineteenth century were not much better than that of Virginia, and in almost all the states they were pretty bad. However, during the growth of democratic idealism, especially in the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren, there began a movement for the improvement of education which swept over most of the country. Under the leadership of such men as Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, David B. Page and Calvin E. Stowe, far-reaching reforms were undertaken in almost all the northern and western states. Free, universal education on the primary level, designed for children of all classes where it did not already exist, was now established. The development of public high schools was begun. Better methods of instruction were introduced. The standards and train-

ing of the teaching profession were improved. Adequate supervision over the schools was established, in some states under the general direction of state education departments with relatively broad powers. Some of the southern states were also introducing these reforms, though unfortunately in a rather limited fashion.

All of this had a profound effect in Virginia, where for many years leading citizens had deplored the defects of their public schools. And in the late thirties there began a widespread popular campaign for improvement. The leadership in this was assumed by Governor David Campbell, who in his message of 1839 to the Legislature, urged the reorganization of the school system as the "first, great and imperative duty" of the state.

A prominent part in this campaign was taken by Mr. Smith. During his residence in Europe, as has been pointed out in a previous article in the REVIEW,² he had made a careful investigation of the school systems of the various countries which he visited, especially that of Prussia, had collected full notes upon the subject, and had studied contemporary reports upon it by Victor Cousin (prepared for the French Minister of Education), Dr. Julius (prepared for a Committee of the British Parliament), and Professor Calvin E. Stowe (prepared for the Legislature of Ohio). Governor Campbell, having become acquainted with Mr. Smith's work in education, wrote to him on September 4, 1838, asking him to prepare a report on the Prussian school system, indicating certain information which he desired to have included in the document. Mr. Smith complied with this request, and sent his report on January 15, 1839, to the Governor, who then transmitted it to the Legislature, which had also under consideration a number of other reports, plans and resolutions relating to education.

Mr. Smith in his report³ presented a clear and striking picture of the contrast between the Prussian system of education and that of his own state. The former, he showed, was carefully organized, with central direction though with full scope for local initiative. The school buildings were excellent and the equipment adequate.

²November, 1944, Vol. LVI, p. 14.

³The text of this report has recently been published in *The Virginia Teacher*, State Teachers College (now Madison College), Harrisonburg, Va., September-December, 1935.

The teachers were well-trained and carefully supervised, though secure in their tenure if efficient, and possessing a dignified position in society in spite of rather modest pay. Attendance of all children was required, with very low tuition fees, which were remitted when necessary. The report contained a detailed and interesting account of the subjects and methods of instruction, the disciplinary practices and the organization of the various types of schools.

Finally, Mr. Smith undertook to show how much of the Prussian system ought to be utilized in the reorganization of the schools in his own state, and in doing so presented a plan which is remarkably liberal and progressive, though unfortunately it was never really carried out fully until recent years. The state, he said, must assume full responsibility for seeing to it that every child is educated. It should support the schools by public taxation and abandon the practice of branding as paupers those parents who were unable to pay their children's tuition fees. Moreover, the middle classes should receive benefits from the public education of their children as well as the poor, who had free education on the primary level, and the well-to-do, who benefited from the state aid given to the universities and colleges. Adequate provision should be made for training teachers by the establishment of normal departments at the colleges and the university, so that the schools of the state might be served by its own citizens instead of by "birds of passage" who came from the northern states and stayed in Virginia only long enough to pocket a few hundred dollars from a year or two of teaching. Finally he advised that such subjects as history, government, natural science, drawing and agriculture should be taught, and that the profoundly religious type of instruction used in Germany, Holland and Scotland should also be employed in Virginia.

Though this notable report holds an important place in the movement for public education in Virginia, it produced no immediate effect. The Legislature of 1840 and 1841 were deaf to the appeals of Governor Campbell and made no significant improvement in the school system. The work of the reformers was, however, not in vain, as will be shown on a later page.

Mr. Smith showed an active interest in the educational problem

in Danville and its vicinity. He was accustomed to visit the schools of the town. In addition he served as a member of a committee to induce parents whose children were not attending school to send them to the schools receiving state aid. The following account is given of some of his work on this committee:

Feb. 5 rode to P's schoolhouse. Met him and scholars returning from school. He was dressed in rather mean homespun—a fine eye—but awkward schoolboy manners. Did not seem to care much for getting the poor children into his school. Called on one family, Mr. H's. He is a poor diseased object. His wife and children and every object about the house evincing extreme poverty. . . . Spent night at Major P's—extremely cold, and open door and broken windows made all worse.

Feb. 6. Set out in bitter cold weather. Found another family, Mr. G's. Entered two smart looking boys conditionally. . . . Called then on S.—has four sons and three daughters who ought to be in school—would only enter one daughter. . . . Went on to R's., who entertained us well except broken glasses.

Feb. 7. Milder—clear day. Riding nearly all day. Saw T. H. with two girls and one boy—enters all. H.—one. W. H., guardian, refused two on account of teacher's inefficiency. Same as to G. for two boys and a girl. Mrs. C., a most wretched hovel of poverty—not one in family can read—three ought to be at school. . . . Saw M. who sends two out of four. L.—four out of six and R., two out of three. In all 41—entered—21. Stopped today at a blacksmith shop by a distillery. Smith drunk. Shod my horse. No wonder at poverty with a distillery, poor schoolmaster and no church. Met at Cascade a Mr. I., who refuses to send his children on the funds [i. e., at the expense of the state].

Mr. Smith in August, 1838, visited the Rev. James Morrison, pastor of the large New Providence Church north of Lexington, for the purpose of preaching the "second sermon" on Sunday. He was much attracted by Mr. Morrison's daughter Mary, whom he thought "undoubtedly a fine girl, mild, affectionate, simple and yet smart enough," though "her length is something considerable." The friendship ripened fast in the idyllic beauty of the Rock-bridge countryside. The young people became engaged when on a picnic under the Natural Bridge and decided to be married in October, 1838. Mr. Smith thus became connected with a family with strong Presbyterian traditions and, so far as can be determined, of predominantly Scotch-Irish extraction. Mrs. Morrison was a daughter of the well-known Mary Moore, whose adventures as a captive of the Indians while a child were part of the folklore of the Virginia pioneers. Five of the sons of Mary Moore and

brothers of Mrs. Morrison were Presbyterian ministers and were prominent in the religious life of Virginia. One of them, Dr. William Brown, was for many years the editor of *The Central Presbyterian*, now *The Presbyterian Outlook*, published in Richmond, Virginia.

II. AT TINKLING SPRING AND WAYNESBORO (1840-1845)

In 1840 Mr. Smith accepted a call from the congregation of Tinkling Spring and Waynesboro in the Valley of Virginia. The former church, according to a brief history of it which Mr. Smith later prepared and published,⁴ was, in conjunction with that of Augusta, the first Presbyterian Church regularly established in Virginia. The eminent preacher, Rev. John Craig, became in 1740 the pastor of both churches, his salary from Tinkling Spring averaging £9, 10s. per annum during his pastorate. With the growth of the congregation at Tinkling Spring it became separated from that of Augusta and was connected for a time with the church of Staunton, the famous "blind preacher," Rev. James Waddell, serving as pastor. The latter church became independent in 1804 and for a number of years before Mr. Smith became pastor Tinkling Spring had been joined with a new church at Waynesboro.

Mr. Smith was faithful in the performance of his pastoral duties in his new field, as is testified by the reports from his session to Presbytery. The brevity of his diary during these years and the absence of nearly all other sources of information preclude a full description of his life and activities. The following extracts from his diary, however, illustrate the strenuous and difficult nature of his work:

Jan. 7. Went to see . . . M. who is now professing to rest on Jesus Christ.

Jan. 9. Hearing that Miss A. C. was very poorly, called to see her this morning very early—found her very low—dropsical—resting on the Savior. . . .

Jan. 13. Rather vexed by a sudden call to attend a burial of a child in the mountains—went not with a very willing spirit and felt rebuked by it. It was a distressing scene. There lay the coffin. The

⁴In the *Presbyterian Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 10, October, 1852.

mother and her five or six girls all weeping, besides four or five boys. Was touched, and determined to attend such calls cheerfully hereafter. . . .

Jan. 20. Yesterday our fast day. After sermon to see M. who is hourly expected to die. . . .

Jan. 21. Yesterday morning rode up to see Mrs. D. Found her entirely resigned and confident.

Another brief record of the time is in the Library of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, the rolls of Mr. Smith's "Bible and Catechetical Classes" at Waynesboro in 1844, eighty-seven names from families which have figured conspicuously, not a few of them, in the civil and religious history of the Valley.

Mr. Smith continued to show the interest in education which he had manifested in previous years. He himself conducted a school which had 28 pupils by 1845. He was one of the group who established the Augusta Female Seminary (now Mary Baldwin College) in 1842. The latest historian of the college regards his influence in the founding of the institution as second only to that of the first principal, Dr. Bailey. He also continued his active interest in establishing a genuine system of public schools throughout the state, such as he had advocated in 1839. He took part in a renewed effort on the part of Virginia citizens who were interested in public education to bring about reforms in that field. In consequence of the failure of the Legislature to act upon the proposals which Mr. Smith and others had presented to that body in 1839, popular conventions under the leadership of President Ruffner, of Washington College, Lexington, were held in October, 1841, at Clarksburg (now in West Virginia) and at Lexington to consider the school question. The Lexington convention was composed of representative citizens of Augusta, Botetourt, Bath and Rockbridge counties. In a meeting held at Staunton to choose members for this convention, Mr. Smith made the address and was chosen one of the delegates. The plan presented by President Ruffner and adopted by the convention may very likely have been in part the result of the influence of Mr. Smith. For he took "a prominent part" in the work of this convention, and President Ruffner's plan was in close accordance with the recommendations of Mr. Smith's report to Governor Campbell.

The action taken at the Lexington convention received wide publicity in the press. In the meantime the Society of Alumni of Hampden-Sidney College had proposed that a state educational convention be held in Richmond. This met with general approval, and county meetings assembled in various parts of the state to select delegates, among whom was Mr. Smith. When the convention met he was appointed as one of the committee of three to draft the most important report produced by the convention, that on primary schools. This followed in general the proposals in Mr. Smith's report of 1839, emphasizing the importance of removing the blight cast upon the Virginia school system by its charity feature and condemning the practice of educating children "too often in miserable huts scarcely more comfortable" than those provided for cattle. When the convention presented to the Legislature the results of its deliberations in the form of a memorial, a bill embodying the main recommendations of this document passed the House but failed in the Senate because of the opposition of the conservatives who dominated the eastern part of the state. The same element was able to capture the control of a second state educational convention which met in 1845. Hence the majority of this convention was opposed to any radical change in the existing school system. Consequently the Legislature failed to adopt the reform measures advocated by Mr. Smith and those of his way of thinking. It did, however, establish in all the counties school boards and superintendents with relatively adequately authority and made it possible for eleven counties and four cities to adopt genuine systems of free public schools. Other communities were apparently ready to take similar action when the Civil War intervened and stopped all progress along this line until the period of Reconstruction, when the reformers were able to put into effect a large part of the program which they had so long advocated. At this period Mr. Smith was again to take a prominent part in the movement to improve the public schools.

In 1844 Mr. Smith received a call to the church of Staunton but declined it, partly, it would appear, because of the desire of his congregations at Tinkling Spring and Waynesboro that he should remain. During the following year the Staunton Church renewed the

call. Mr. Smith now stated that he considered it his duty to accept but left the decision to the Presbytery, which, with the reluctant assent of his congregations, agreed that he should go to Staunton.

III. IN STAUNTON (1845-1854)

The church of Staunton, since it had been separated from Tinkling Spring in 1804, had flourished under a succession of pastors and had become one of the most important in that nest of Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism, the Valley of Virginia. The year after Mr. Smith came to his new charge he and his family moved into the newly built manse, in which Woodrow Wilson was afterwards born in the pastorate at Staunton of his father, Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, who came to the church in 1855. This house, which is now maintained as a memorial of President Wilson, is a fine example of the domestic architecture of its period. Situated on the brow of the hill above the central part of Staunton, it affords beautiful views from its rear windows of the city, the Valley and the mountains beyond.

The fullness of Mr. Smith's diary during his years at Staunton enables us to gain a very adequate picture of his activities in that charge. Besides conducting the regular religious services he organized a men's Bible class which he taught himself on Sunday morning. He further enlisted the co-operation of the men of the congregation by establishing deacons as recognized ecclesiastical officers, an enterprise in which he was one of the pioneers in the Presbyterian Church. He encouraged his own deacons to take an active part in religious work and believed that his new plan had worked well. He was especially active in personal religious instruction and counsel. In addition to his regular congregation he felt a responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the girls in the Augusta Female Seminary. He was active also in work with other young people in his congregation. He never indulged in the more extravagant forms of revivalism which were frequently employed in his day. But his religious ministrations were warmly evangelistic. Thus he writes of his work in October, 1847:

October 19. Had a meeting of professors of religion in lecture-room which was well attended and solemn. At night preaching by Hoge to a full and serious congregation. . . .

October 20. Tonight Dr. Rice preached. . . . Kitty H. sent me a note yesterday requesting to see me. I sent for her to come here. She had professed hope. This afternoon Martha L. also professed. Martha D. has been hoping for several days—refers her first permanent impression to the sermon last Sabbath night two weeks ago on Rom. 13:11. Tonight Joe here and on talking with him found him serious—from sermon preached in forenoon on Jer. 8:22. Felt strengthened that I am not living in vain. Oh that God may give me souls for my hire.

October 21. . . . This evening Sam G. and Dr. H. to see me. Both professing anxiety but neither very deep. Had a long talk with them; both seemed interested.

October 26. L. W. came in just before sundown, deeply distressed, confessing his evil practices and above all that he had been trying to drown his serious impression by the use of ardent spirits. His distress was overwhelming. . . .

October 27. Saw L. W. this p. m. He is professing some hope and the most encouraging symptom is that he is so humble and distrustful of self. . . .

October 31. Last night as I got to bed the bell rang and I found T. C. and brother at the door, the latter to see me on religious subjects. They insisted on going away, seeing me undressed. I came in to go to bed, but on second thought called them back. . . . I talked with them an hour and prayed with them.

We have also the account of the results of a protracted meeting held in the winter of 1853:

February 26. Observing considerable feeling [after a sermon on Romans 10:9] invited those who might be anxious to remain and about a dozen stayed.

Three girls on this occasion professed their faith. On the following day,

about a dozen girls came in to talk with me. . . . Think they are all deeply affected. Preached at night but not with the unction I could wish. However, great solemnity. . . .

March 1. This afternoon the girls came again. Some new cases and four or five indulging hope. Lilly and Ella both deeply moved—

far more than I had supposed. . . . On the whole I am much encouraged. Wish I was more a Christian myself.

March 2. . . . Still new cases of seriousness and new instances of conversion, Nancy R. among the latter. Preached tonight to a large and deeply solemn congregation.

A very considerable part of Mr. Smith's pastoral work at Staunton consisted of ministrations to the Negroes. They attended his church in large numbers and a few were members of it. He preached to them in their own church services. He talked to their children in Sunday School. He gave them religious instruction in personal visits, endeavoring to rid them of their superstitions and afford them an intelligent comprehension of Christian truths. He officiated at their weddings. He visited them in illness, comforted them in their dying hours and preached at their funerals.

Mr. Smith was active in seizing opportunities for special religious work. Thus in 1850 a group of Irishmen employed in railroad construction and living near Staunton attacked another group of their compatriots with whom they had a quarrel and were arrested and placed on trial. Mr. Smith visited them in prison, "distributed some tracts and testaments, which they received very kindly," and afterwards preached to them. He also felt called upon to deal with personal problems not specifically in the religious sphere in the narrow sense of the word. When one of his members was impoverished by a fire, he undertook to raise money to help him out. His efforts met with success and he

found a lively example of the truth that those who give most for objects of Christian benevolence do most also for objects of charity in aiding the poor.

Some young ladies whom he thought too much disposed to novel reading were properly admonished. Another young lady he told "plainly that she ought to get married." The following extract tells of a still more difficult problem:

Among other visits called on Mrs. D. (who had just married somewhat late in life) at her request, and found her much distressed at the step she had taken. Rather queer to be comforting a bride.

Mr. Smith was active in religious affairs beyond the bounds of his own congregation. His aid and counsel were often sought in dealing with the problems of the churches adjacent to Staunton. He was faithful in attendance at Presbytery and Synod and generally took a prominent part in the business of these bodies. He had strong opinions, and if he did not precisely like a good fight, he seems to have had no particular aversion to engaging in one when he felt it his duty to do so. Hence he became involved in some of the extraordinary controversies which agitated the churches during the turbulent forties and fifties. In the serious difficulties which arose in 1849 over the relations of the pastor of the Lexington Church with his session and congregation, Mr. Smith was advised in prosecuting the case against the pastor. He was then appointed a Commissioner to the General Assembly and presented the side of the Presbytery when the case was brought up on appeal. He was much occupied in work on committees of the church bodies, especially those dealing with Education, Colportage, Publication and Systematic Benevolence. He also took part in the work of the Virginia Tract Society and was active in the direction of the colportage work in his own community.

A concrete idea of his activities in the church courts may be gained from his account of his share in the work of the Synod of 1849 at Richmond. At the opening of the session he was called to aid in organizing the Synod for its business, was elected Moderator and was kept up till a very late hour studying rules of order and preparing his report on Systematic Benevolence. On the following night he was kept up until three o'clock preparing his report on Colportage. The next morning he presented both reports, and in the opinion of Dr. Moses D. Hoge transacted the business "handsomely." The afternoon, however, he found "not very interesting," since "the brethren talked too long and too minutely as to themselves." During the following morning discussion took place on his two reports presented upon the preceding day. The utmost harmony prevailed and the business sessions closed in "a solemn and affecting" manner.

Mr. Smith was in great demand as a preacher. He served many of the nearby churches when the need arose. Thus in 1852

he filled the pulpit of the church in Harrisonburg at a period when it was without a pastor. In the next year he held a four-day series of religious meetings at Rockfish, preaching on Sunday for one hour and forty minutes and talking on baptism for twenty minutes longer. He then went to Rockbridge and preached at the New Providence Church. In his numerous journeys to Presbytery, Synod and General Assembly he was regularly called upon to preach in the most important churches of his denomination, especially in Charlottesville, Lynchburg, Richmond, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Wilmington and Columbia. He also made a number of formal addresses in important centers. Thus in 1849 he addressed the literary societies of Washington College on "The Importance and Advantage of Classical Study." In the same year he spoke to the Cadets' Bible Society of the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington on "The Bible, a Book for the World." In January, 1850, he spoke in the chapel of the University of Virginia before the Bible Society of that institution on "The Testimony of Science to the Truth of the Bible."

He prepared his sermons and addresses with great care, sometimes writing them in full, at other times delivering them extempore. He was a severe critic of his own performance as a preacher. Thus he noted in his diary in 1853:

Preached a good sermon, but faulty as before in wanting tenderness of address and indulging too much in sarcasm and invective. Practical topics as they are called do not suit me. The great topics of gospel truth are better.

Mr. Smith's interest in education during this period of his life is exhibited especially by his close relationship with Augusta Female Seminary, now Mary Baldwin College, which was located almost across the street from what was then the Presbyterian manse. This institution belonged to a type of school, the incorporated seminary, which was playing a leading part in girls' education in the period before provision was made on any considerable scale for such education on the collegiate level. The new Seminary, like other schools of its class, gave thorough, solid instruction in such subjects as Bible study, natural science, history, English, mathematics, lan-

guages, music and art. With a board of trustees composed of leading men of the community and a handsome building erected in the third year of its existence, it had a permanence and solidity not possessed by the purely private schools which heretofore had been the sole medium for girls' higher education in the community. The first principal of the Seminary, who served during the greater part of Mr. Smith's pastorate in Staunton, was the Rev. Dr. R. W. Bailey, a New Englander. He had already had a distinguished career as pastor, teacher and author before coming to Staunton, and after leaving the Seminary he was to become president of Austin College, the first Presbyterian college to be founded in Texas. Mr. Smith was an active member of the board of trustees of the Seminary. He frequently spoke at its public exercises, as, for example, at the laying of the cornerstone of its first main building. He sometimes taught classes in the school. He regularly attended its public examinations and entertainments given by the students, such as the "girls' May Day" in 1849, which he said was "peculiarly pleasant." Several of the students always lived in his home, and he and Mrs. Smith watched over their welfare and development with a deep sense of responsibility.

Another phase of Mr. Smith's work in connection with education was in relation to "parochial" schools, i. e., those operating under the direction of the church and receiving some degree of support from it. In the autumn of 1847 the session of his church, no doubt under his leadership, adopted as a parochial school an institution established in Staunton by a Mr. New. At about the same time Mr. Smith prepared a report for Lexington Presbytery recommending the establishment of a high school to be under the care of that body. This school was located first at Shemariah Academy and later was removed to Brownsburg. Neither of these ventures appears to have been very successful. The church at Staunton seems to have severed relations with its school after a few years. With respect to the Presbyterial school, Mr. Smith thought there was a "want of energy and confidence" on the part of the Presbytery, and that body was accused by the Rev. James Morrison of neglecting the school. Some members of the Presbytery thought

it could not stand the competition of the academies for boys in Staunton. Accordingly the relationship was severed in 1860.

The history of these institutions is of interest because of the movement during the middle portion of the nineteenth century for the establishment of a general system of parochial schools by the Presbyterian Church, such as has actually been established by the Roman Catholics. Many church leaders believed that the reduction of specific religious teaching in the public schools, which was then beginning to be accomplished in the North, showed that such schools could not be expected to give the type of instruction in religion which was needed and that only in schools controlled by church organizations could this be properly done. Furthermore, in the absence of a satisfactory system of public schools in many of the states there was an additional reason for good church schools. Hence a systematic effort was made under the leadership of Mr. Smith's close friend, Rev. Dr. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, to establish parochial schools throughout the Old School Presbyterian Church. A large number were established in various parts of the country. But there was much opposition to the scheme. Even before the death of Dr. Van Rensselaer in 1860 the movement had begun to decline, and the whole project was abandoned in 1867.

Another branch of Mr. Smith's work for education was his service as a member of the Board of Trustees of Washington College, to which he was elected in 1842. This institution had no official connection with the Presbyterian Church but it was regarded as one of the assets of that church, since the majority of its Board of Trustees were normally Presbyterians, most of its students were from Presbyterian homes and it furnished a large number of candidates for the Presbyterian ministry. Mr. Smith regularly attended the Board meetings after he became a member and worked hard on such matters as appointments to the faculty and financial problems. He remained almost until the end of his life an active member of the Board of the college, which afterwards became Washington and Lee University.

In the journeys which he had to make for the purpose of carrying on his duties outside the bounds of his own congregation Mr. Smith obtained about the only holidays which he allowed himself

in his busy life. No one could have enjoyed travel more. He had an insatiable curiosity regarding new places, new mechanical processes and the scenes of famous events. Everywhere he went he found friends to visit, and he made these visits with almost incredible energy. Rare was the railway, stage or boat journey when he failed to find an old friend or make a new one.

One of the longest of his journeys was that which he took in June, 1847, as a fraternal delegate to represent the Old School Assembly in the General Convention of the Congregational Church of Vermont. He travelled by stage to Harper's Ferry, arriving there in the forenoon after an all night trip. While there he "passed through the armory and saw how the boring of guns is effected." Then he went by train to Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York; then by boat to New Haven and by train to Northampton. Here, where he spent Saturday afternoon and all day Sunday, he was delighted with the prospect from Round Hill:

The Connecticut comes winding from the north thru a beautiful valley which is richly set with grass and gardens and crops. Beyond lie the hills east of Amherst. The Holyoke comes on from N. E. to S. W. and through a gap the river makes its way southwardly. The town lies embosomed among trees just at your feet. Amherst with its colleges and other villages are in view and churches and schoolhouses rise up to impress you with the conviction that this lovely view owes as much to moral cultivation as to natural advantages.

After preaching afternoon and evening, he wrote:

Reflections suited to the day cannot be written. A Sabbath in N[orthampton], the residence of Edwards, in sight of his elms, near Brainerd's grave, calls up so many high and holy emotions, so many rich and solemn and tender and stirring thoughts that the pen refuses its office. The note is here made just to recall the fullness of feelings which cannot be perpetuated or expressed on paper.

He went on the following day through Deerfield, Greenfield, Brattleboro, Bellows Falls—with the beauty of which he was much delighted—and finally, arriving at Springfield, entered the church where the convention was in progress. He preached in the evening, and on the following day he writes:

I was called on as delegate from the G[eneral] A[ssembly] to report on the State of Religion, which I did. The part of my report touching the labours for the slaves I learned was well received.

After leaving Springfield he went up the valley of the Connecticut to Windsor to visit a friend.

Windsor [he writes] I found like other N. E. towns built among the trees, long lines of sugar maple adorned the streets making delightful side walks and back from the streets were the dwelling houses nicely painted and covered in with beautiful shade trees and set off with shrubbery. The school house is ever conspicuous in N. E., sometimes neater and sometimes rather neglected, but ever comfortable and well supplied with suitable desks and seats for the pupils.

He returned along the valley of the Connecticut, then across northern Massachusetts to the Hudson Valley and thence to New York City, where he heard the famous Dr. Gardiner Spring and preached himself. Proceeding to Philadelphia, where he visited his friend, Dr. Van Renssallaer, he returned to his home.

In May, 1848, having to attend the General Assembly at Baltimore as commissioner from his Presbytery, he took his wife and another lady to visit Washington, Philadelphia and New York before the sessions of the Assembly had begun. While in the capital, they went in company with the well-known Washington minister, Dr. Gurley, to call on President Polk, who in his youth had known Mr. Smith's father-in-law, Mr. Morrison, and who professed a great admiration for the Scotch-Irish. The President, said Mr. Smith, "looked very thin and haggard." He was indeed soon to pass away, worn out by his incessant labors during the Mexican War. The company pursued a vigorous program of sightseeing in Washington, as also in New York and Philadelphia. During his service as Secretary of the Board of Publication in 1853 and 1854, on leave of absence from his church, Mr. Smith made many long journeys. In November, 1853, he went to the Synod of North Carolina at Wilmington, then to Columbia, South Carolina, for the meeting of the General Assembly, and then to Atlanta to a meeting of the Synod of Georgia. During this period he also made long journeys in Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey.

The full records of his life which Mr. Smith kept while he was at Staunton give us the basis for a fairly adequate idea of his views and attitudes on some of the more important contemporary problems of religion, ethics and public morality. On theological questions he adhered to the position of the Old School Presbyterians. Even the mild liberalism of the New School he thought rather dangerous. In his attitude towards Christian bodies other than his own, he reflected to some degree the denominational feeling which was so characteristic of his times. Yet he maintained cordial relations with other Protestant ministers in Staunton, accepting their invitations to fill their pulpits and inviting them on occasion to preach in his own church. Towards the the Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, he showed the strong hostility which was so prevalent among Protestants a century ago. He regarded the Roman ritual as mere "mummery." He seemed to derive great satisfaction from the "Popery" sermons that were delivered at many of the church assemblies which he attended. Several times it was his duty to preach these sermons, and in one, probably in all, he denounced the Roman Church as the anti-Christ foretold by St. Paul.

There are a number of explanations for the strong denominational feeling exhibited by Mr. Smith. Differences of faith and practice among denominations were much greater then than now. Furthermore, the line of cleavage among the various religious bodies tended in the middle of the nineteenth century to conform to those among the various social and cultural groups. This is illustrated by the situation in Staunton. Here, according to President Jarman of Mary Baldwin College, there had met in colonial times "two distinct and well-defined cultures, that of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and that of the Church of England Communion." This division had continued. In Mr. Smith's time the Episcopalians formed a well-knit social group who were thought by the other religious bodies, especially the Presbyterians, to be attempting to hold in their hands too large a share in the control of the public life of the community.

Another explanation of the strong denominational feelings of Mr. Smith and many of his contemporaries was their intense re-

ligious zeal, which was a result of the religious revivals of the first part of the nineteenth century. The very genuineness of this feeling had given rise to a positiveness of conviction that precluded a tolerant view of divergent religious beliefs. Akin to this depth of religious feeling and partly arising from it was a sense of religious inadequacy arising from a boundless aspiration for a more ardent faith and for a more burning zeal. This is reflected in the personal religious life of Mr. Smith. He saw in himself shortcomings which were scarcely perceptible to other people. He was continually accusing himself of vanity, of ill-temper, of want of affection for his relatives, of coldness in his spiritual life and of ineffectiveness in his pastoral work.

In the field of public morality, one of the problems in which Mr. Smith took especial interest was that of temperance. He was not in favor of the doctrine that the use of alcohol was in all cases wrong. But he took part in organizing temperance meetings and conventions of temperance societies. He frequently spoke at such gatherings. He worked actively for legislation regulating the sale of liquor and for the enforcement of such legislation.

The public question which commanded his chief interest was that of education. As has been shown earlier in this article, both in theory and practice he stood with the more forward-looking leaders in virtually every form of educational endeavor.

His views and work in this field were in part an expression of his affection for his own state and his own section. Another expression of this sentiment is to be found in his inclination to deprecate the tendency in Virginia to permit the submergence of its culture by the employment of an unduly large number of northerners in such professions as that of teaching. He also resented the attack of the more radical anti-slavery agitators against the South. These attitudes did not, however, imply any especial hostility to the North. He had indeed a genuine admiration for the civilization of that section, as is shown in excerpts already quoted from his diary. In many respects he considered northern institutions superior to those of the South. He enjoyed his travels in the northern states and had many warm friendships with northern people.

With regard to the leading ethical and social problem of his day, the question of slavery, Mr. Smith's opinion when he returned from Europe in 1837 seems to have been not very different from those of the conservative anti-slavery leaders of the North. Yet afterwards his views changed. He accepted slavery. He owned slaves himself. At one time he contracted to sell a woman slave with her children, thus involving himself in what was even at that time considered in almost all civilized countries as the worst feature of an evil system.

Yet certain mitigating circumstances affecting these matters must be noted. In the case of the sale contract mentioned, Mr. Smith's reason for his action was that the woman involved had become unmanageable. Upon her promise of good conduct in the future he obtained cancellation of the contract. Furthermore, the prospective buyer was a personal friend in Staunton who would undoubtedly have treated his new slaves well. Again, it must be noted that Mr. Smith's change of opinion regarding the moral evil of the slave system was unquestionably influenced by a similar change which had taken place in the attitude of leaders of thought throughout the South. Few men are able to resist the influence of the "climate of opinion" among those with whom they habitually associate and whose views they respect. Finally, if Mr. Smith modified his earlier anti-slavery position, he came in the years immediately preceding the Civil War to feeling the evil involved in the "peculiar institution" of the South almost as strongly as did northern abolitionists. A description in his diary of the condition of the slaves on a South Carolina plantation which he visited in 1853 is reminiscent of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frederick Law Olmstead in its emphasis upon the moral and social degradation which might and frequently did develop as a direct result of the slave system. In 1853, when he found it necessary to try to make some arrangements for the sale or hire of certain of his slaves to his father-in-law, Rev. Mr. Morrison, the whole matter caused him acute mental suffering.

This negro hiring and buying and selling [he records in his diary] perplexes me. . . . [It is] hard to see the right and wrong of

anything. [I] trust I try to act conscientiously and do for my family and these poor creatures what is right.

And referring to the fact that he had recently declined an offer to serve as permanent Secretary of the Board of Publication at Philadelphia, he exclaims :

I am filled with amazement when I remember my declination of that Philadelphia nomination.

For if he had accepted he would have been able to escape the evil system of slavery in which he had become involved.

For a number of reasons he refused the same offer just mentioned when it was made to him again in 1854. Three years afterwards, when the necessity of disciplining one of his slaves had forced upon his mind the evil character of the slave system, he wrote :

[I] have an abiding feeling that the day I turned aside from the Board of Publication was the dark day of my destiny. . . . What a sore evil holding these people is—no abolitionist knows. *Felt* my folly in staying here and mourned the prospects of my children more than ever.

This apprehension of impending doom for the society in which he lived gave a sombreness to Mr. Smith's thought which is a recurrent note in his diary. He was, however, too busy to indulge in morbid melancholy. Though his devotion to his "incomparable wife" and his much-loved children caused him to be fearful of the future, his delight in his association with them was at the same time an unfailing solace. Also his relations with his immense circle of friends, not only in the region in which he lived but in many other parts of the country, gave him great satisfaction, enlarged his vision and increased the scope of his influence.

Near the close of his Staunton pastorate Mr. Smith entered upon a new course of life in serving for a few months as Secretary of the Board of Publication. Then in the Fall of 1854 he began his work at Union Seminary, where he was to remain for the

rest of his active life. This part of his career will form the theme of the forthcoming articles in this series.

In the preparation of this article the author has received valuable assistance from the Editor of the REVIEW in the form of suggestions regarding sources of material, transcripts and digests of pertinent data, etc. Assistance has also been rendered by the Rev. Dunbar H. Ogden, Jr., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Staunton, Va., and by the libraries of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, Mary Baldwin College, Yale University, Teachers College (New York) and the University of North Carolina.

As in the case of the previous articles in the series, Dr. Smith's diary and other material in regard to his life have been made available by his daughter, Mrs. A. J. McKelway, Sr. She requests that any persons who have material of this character in their possession will correspond with her at her residence, 2071 Park Road, Washington 10, D. C.

PATRIOTISM PLUS*

BY THE REV. JOHN ALLEN MACLEAN, D. D.,
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"Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's" (Mark 12:17).

"I regret that I have but one life to give for my country." So spoke a young American, Nathan Hale, facing death a hundred and fifty years ago. "Patriotism is not enough," declared Miss Edith Cavell, a British nurse, just before she was shot and killed by German soldiers in the First World War. What was in the minds of these two young people, so alike in their courage, unselfishness and passionate devotion to their respective countries; so dif-

*This article will constitute a chapter in a book of sermons by Dr. MacLean to be published this fall by the John Knox Press of the Presbyterian Committee of Publication Richmond, Virginia.