HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS

by Armitage

Armitage's comprehensive history of the Baptists from their earliest origins through the modern era, tracing Baptist principles, congregations, and movements across centuries and continents.

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Chapter 2

01 The Colonial Period.?Pilgrims and Puritans

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS I. THE COLONIAL PERIOD. PILGRIMS AND PURITANS The passage of the Mayflower over the Atlantic was long and rough. Often before its bosom had been torn by keels seeking the golden fleece for kings, but now the kings themselves were on board this frail craft, bringing the golden fleece with them; and the old deep had all that she could do to bear this load of royalty safely over. Stern as she was, the men borne on her waves were sterner. More than a new empire was intrusted to her care, a new freedom. 'What ailed thee, O sea?' When this historic ship came to her moorings, not unlike the vessel tossed on Galilee, she was freighted with principles, convictions, institutions and laws. These should first govern a quarter of the globe here, and then go back to the Old World to effect its regeneration and shape its future. THE PILGRIMS knew not that the King of all men was so signally with them in the bark, and would send them forth as the fishers of Gennesaret were sent, on an errand of revolution. In intellect, conscience and true soul-greatness, these quiet founders of a new nation were highly gifted, so that song and story will send their names down to the end of time on the bead-roll of fame. The monarchs of the earth have already raised their crowns in reverence to their greatness, and they are canonized in the moral forces which impelled and followed them.

Imperial bombast in James I had chuckled over this band of strong-souled ones. He 'had peppered them soundly,' as he loved to boast, and 'harried them' out of his land in the bitterness of their grief; but when their sturdy feet pressed Plymouth Rock they had a conscience void of offense toward Holland, England and God. An invisible hand had guided the helm of the Mayflower to a rock from which, in a wintry storm, a group of simple-hearted heroes, with bare heads, could proclaim a Church without a bishop and a State without a king. Next to their adoration of the Lord of Hosts, their great religious thought at that moment was English Separatism. This thought had bearings in embryo upon the future births of time, in the genesis of such truths as only mature in the throes of ages. The founders of Plymouth were not Puritans, or Non-conformists, but Separatists, who had paid a great price for their freedom, and had come from an independent congregation in Leyden. Their great germinal idea was deep-seated, for their love of liberty had been nourished with the blood of a suffering brotherhood. They ranked with the most advanced thinkers and lovers of the radical principles of their age, and yet, though they were honestly feeling their way to those principles in all their primal simplicity, they had not already attained to their full use. They intended to be as honest and as honorable as the skies above them. History has laid the charge of rigid sternness at their door, but they evidently established their new colony in love to God and man.

Fuller, Collier, and several other old writers show that the Brownists, from whom they sprang, caught their idea of absolute Church independency from the Dutch Baptists. Weingarten makes this strong statement: 'The perfect agreement between the views of Brown and those of the Baptists as far as the nature of a Church is concerned, is certainly proof enough that he borrowed this idea from them; though in his "True Declaration" of 1584 he did not deem it advisable to

acknowledge the fact, lest he should receive in addition to all the opprobrious names heaped upon him, that of Anabaptist. In 1571 there were no less than 3,925 Dutchmen in Norwich.' Also Scheffer says: 'That Brown's new ideas concerning the nature of the Church opened to him in the circle of the Dutch Baptists in Norwich. Brandt, in his "Reformation in the Low Countries," shows that when Brown's Church was dissolved by dissentions at Middleburg, in the Netherlands, where the Baptists were very numerous, some of his people fell in with the Baptists.' And Johnson, pastor of the Separatist Church at Amsterdam, wrote, in 1606 that 'divers' of that Church who had been driven from England 'fell into the errors of the Anabaptists, which were too common in those countries.' Bishop Sanderson wrote, in 1681, that Whitgift and Hooker did 'long foresee and declare their fear that if Puritanism should prevail amongst us, it would soon draw in Anabaptism after it. . . .

These good men judged right; they only considered, as prudent men, that Anabaptism had its rise from the same principles the Puritans held, and its growth from the same courses they took, together with the natural tendency of their principles and practices toward it.' He then says that if the ground be taken that the Scriptures are the only rule so as 'nothing might lawfully be done without express warrant, either from some command or example therein contained, the clew thereof, if followed as far as it would lead, would certainly in time carry them as far as the Anabaptists were then gone.' This clear-minded prelate perfectly understood the logical and legitimate result of Baptist principles, and this result the Plymouth men had readied on the question of Church independency, but they were still learners on the question of full liberty of conscience aside from the will of magistrates. The permanent landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth began Dec. 20th, 1620 (O. S.), but on the 11th of November they had entered into a solemn 'compact,' thus: 'Having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.' For about a month after founding the settlement their government took something of the patriarchal form, with the governor, John Carver, as the head of the family. Soon seven assistants were given to him, who in time became his council. In 1623 trial by jury was established in case of trespass between man and man, and of crime. Then laws were passed fixing the age of freemen at twenty-one years, provided, that they were sober, peaceful and orthodox in religion. To secure the last, membership in the Church was made a test of citizenship, and so they fell into the blunder of making their civil and ecclesiastical polity one, a strange combination of iron and clay, intended to be inexorable after the pattern of the ancient Hebrew Commonwealth, although that exact form of government had perished two thousand years before, and long before the Church of Christ with its spiritual laws existed.

They themselves had first tasted the sweets of civil and religious liberty in the Netherlands, under the advanced Christian idea of government for man as such. They had availed themselves of that liberty which Christian patriots, and amongst them the Dutch Baptists, had suffered so much to purchase; and yet they had failed to learn the primary lesson of full liberty of conscience in civil

government, as the first right of each man in the State. Their mistake was inexcusable on the popular plea that this idea was in advance of their age. But for that idea and its practical use they would not have founded Plymouth; for without its shield they could not have found an asylum in Holland, when they were driven from their own home in England. Their liberty in Holland, while; in fact, the greatest possible reality to them, was treated in Plymouth as a mere impractical ideal, when they came to found a 'civil body politic' of their own. And this is rendered the more remarkable from the fact, that they were placed under no chartered religious restriction themselves. When they applied to England for a charter in 1618, Sir John Worsingham asked: 'Who shall make your ministers?' Their representative (' S.B.') answered: 'The power of making [them] was in the Church, to be ordained by the imposition of hands, by the fittest instruments they have; it must be either in the Church or from the pope; and the pope is Anti-christ.' That point was waived, therefore, and Felt says that S.B. 'asked his worship what good news he had for me to write tomorrow' (to Robinson and Brewster). 'He told me good news, for both the king's majesty and the bishops have consented.' The patent which was given them was taken in the name of John Wincob, a Christian gentleman who intended to accompany them, but who failed to do so, hence they could not legally avail themselves of its benefits, and really came without a patent. The petulance of the king would give them none, and they left without his authority, saying: 'If there is a settled purpose to do us wrong, it is easy to break a seal, though it be as broad as a house floor.' Felt says again: 'The Pilgrims are aware that their invalid patent does not privilege them to be located so far north, and grants them "only the general leave of his majesty for the free exercise of the liberty of conscience in the public worship of God."' In any case, therefore, with the patent or without it, they were left untrammeled in the exercise of their liberty of conscience, both as it 'regards the form of religion which any citizen might choose, and his right to citizenship without any order of religion, after the Holland pattern. Under their own 'compact' then, they first formed a 'civil body politic,' and then a Church, the colony to be jointly governed by the officers of both. In some aspects of this union the State was rather absorbed into the Church than united to it, but the elders and magistrates were so united that together they enforced the duties both of the first and second tables of the Ten Commandments. The elders did not always consult the civil functionary in Church matters, but the civil functionary did not act in important public affairs without consulting the elders. THE PURITANS, who settled the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in 1628, eight years after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, were another people entirely. They had paid a less price for their religious freedom and were less tolerant in spirit; while in regard to the separation of the Church from the State they stood substantially with the Pilgrims. The Plymouth men had separated from the Church of England as a corrupt and fallen body, but the Puritans continued in communion with that Church, although they refused to conform to many of its practices and denounced them warmly; and hence were known as Non-conformists or Puritans. They believed firmly in the union of the Church and State as a political necessity, while the Pilgrims believed in it as a spiritual necessity, and in turn they were denounced by the Puritans as 'schismatics.' While the men of Massachusetts Bay were on shipboard, they sent an address to their friends in England calling the Established Church there their 'dear mother,' from whose bosom they had 'sucked' the hope of salvation. When the Atlantic stretched between them, however, they organized Congregational Churches and established them by law, limiting political suffrage to membership therein, obliging all citizens to pay for their support, coercing all into conformity therewith, forbidding all dissenting Churches, and enforcing these prohibitions and requirements by penalties of disfranchisement,

fine, imprisonment, scourging and banishment, the same as in cases of civil crime. All is substantially summed up in this decree, passed May 18, 1631, by the general court: 'No man shall be admitted to the body politic but such as are members of some of the Churches within the limits of the same,' that is, the Colony. The Puritans having equal aversion to the Separatists of Leyden and to the assumptions of the Church of England, they aimed at working out a third way; but when they came to put their theory into practice the logic of events brought them to substantially the Plymouth position, and as the two colonies came to know each other, their prejudices and misunderstandings almost vanished. The agreement, however, between the men of the 'Bay' and those of 'Plymouth' concerning the constitution and polity of a Church was never perfect. The Plymouth Church order, at first, contained a trace of aristocracy in the ruling eldership, but this only continued during the lives of three men: Brewster, chosen in 1609; Cushman, in 1649; and Faunce, 1657.

After that the vital hold of the eldership was broken, the constant tendency being toward a pure democracy, giving to every member an equal voice. The 'Bay' Churches, on the contrary, gravitated toward what was called Barrowism, which placed Church power in the hands of the elders. But in 1648 the Cambridge platform gave the elders 'the power of office,' defined to be the right of ruling and directing the Church. After that the eldership became the ruling power in the Churches of New England, although this aristocratic tendency was less hearty in the Plymouth colony. The leaders in the Churches generally were from the higher walks of life, and were not prepared to admit the principle of a pure democracy in Church or State. They stood with Milton, Locke and Lightfoot in intelligence and literature, with Cromwell, Hampden and Pym in statesmanship. It is computed that the 21,000 persons who came into New England between 1630-40 brought with them ?500,000--?2,500,000, which, reckoning money as worth then six times more than it is today, they brought property to the value of ?15,000,000, and with this all the conservatism which wealth implied in those days. The most of this money was brought by the Puritans, as the Pilgrims were very poor. So long as the 'body politic' was one with the Church, their joint polity must be more rigorous and concentrated than the democratic form allowed, and so in a very short time proscription, bigotry and intolerance asserted themselves bravely. Bishop Peck, an admirer of the Puritans, who is ready to excuse their faults whenever he can, is compelled to say: 'It is both curious and lamentable to see the extreme spirit of Protestantism reaching the very proscriptive bigotry of Romanism, and the brave assertion of Puritan rights resulting in the bitter persecuting tolerance of prelacy; and yet historical fidelity compels the admission. We must confess, however reluctantly, that the spirit of proscription and intolerance in New England is exactly identical with the same spirit which we found in Virginia.'

Still it is a pure mockery of historical truth, and an unjust reflection upon the Puritans themselves, to put in the special plea of modern discovery that the Massachusetts Bay Company was a mere business company, a body of 'mercenary adventurers,' as their worst enemies loved to brand them. The charter which they first received of James, and which Charles enlarged, made them a 'body politic,' so far as a colony could be, under which they both asserted and exercised the right of self-government in home affairs for more than half a century. Their charter endowed them with power to make laws, to choose civil officers, to administer allegiance to new citizens, to exact oaths, to support military officers from the public treasury, and to make defensive war, all independent of the crown. Nay, they made some offences capital, which were not capital in

England. So thoroughly did they understand these rights and determine to defend them, that in 1634, when England appointed the archbishops and ten members of the Privy Council, with power to call in all patents of the plantations, to make laws, raise tithes for ministers, to remove governors, and inflict punishment even to death, Massachusetts Bay flew to arms, and rightly; too, as a Commonwealth, and not as a business corporation. All the pastors were convened with the civil officers of the colony to answer the question: 'What we ought to do if a general governor shall be sent out of England?' Their unanimous answer was: 'We ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions, if we are able; otherwise to avoid or protract.' And with the spirit, not of traders and mercenaries, but of patriots, they begun to collect arms and ammunition, to drill and discipline their men, and to fortify Castle Island, Charlestown and Dorchester Heights. The General Court forbade the circulation of farthings, made bullets a legal tender for a farthing each, appointed a military commission, established a strict military discipline, and erected a beacon on 'Beacon Hill,' to alarm the country in case of English invasion. More than this, the Military Commission was empowered 'to do whatever may be further behooveful for the good of this plantation, in case of any war that may befall us.' They also required every male resident of sixteen years and over to take the 'Freeman's Oath,' and intrusted the Commission with the power of the death penalty. A facetious writer may be allowed to say that the Puritans came to this country 'to worship God according to their own consciences, and to prevent other people from worshiping him according to theirn,' and we can pardon his playful way of putting this matter. But it is unpardonable in a grave historian to impose upon his readers, by belittling these grand men, and underrating their virtues by ranking them with those who came here in search of religious liberty for themselves alone. To say that they looked upon their charter only as the title-deed of a grasping community holding their possessions by right of fee simple rather than as their only country which they had sworn to protect, is to do them the grossest wrong. They came for another purpose, of the highest and holiest order that liberty and the love of God could inspire. They sought this land not only as an asylum where they could be free themselves, but as a home for the oppressed who were strangers to them, else why did they enfranchise all refugees who took the oath and make them freemen, too? According to Felt, Styles, and many others, they founded a Christian 'State.'

President Styles well said, in 1783: 'It is certain that civil dominion was but the second motive, religion the primary one, with our ancestors in coming hither and settling this land.

It was not so much their design to establish religion for the benefit of the State, as civil government for the benefit of religion, and as subservient, and even necessary, for the peaceable enjoyment and unmolested exercise of religion--of that religion for which they fled to these ends of the earth.' Their charter under Charles left them on the basis pointed out by Matthew Cradock, governor of the company; July 28th, 1629, namely, with 'the transfer of the government of the plantation to those who shall inhabit there.' as well as with liberty of conscience, so that they could be as liberal as they pleased in religious matters. They neither were nor could be chartered as a purely civil nor as a purely spiritual body, but all that related to the rights of man, body and soul, was claimed and enjoyed by them under their charter.

John Cotton understood that the colony possessed all the rights of a 'body politic,' with its attendant responsibilities. In his reply to Williams, he says: 'By the patent certain select men, as magistrates and freemen, have power to make laws, and the magistrates to execute justice and

judgment amongst the people according to such laws. By the patent we have power to erect such a government of the Church as is most agreeable to the word, to the estate of the people, and to the gaining of natives, in God's time, first to civility, and then to Christianity. To this authority established by this patent. Englishmen do readily submit themselves; and foreign plantations, the French, the Dutch, the Swedish, do willingly transact their negotiations with us, as with a colony established by the royal authority of the State of England.' No fault, therefore, is to be found with the Massachusetts Bay authorities for the punishment of civil and political offenders, even with banishment and death, as in the case of Frost, who was banished for crime in 1632, under the sentence: 'He shall be put to death,' if he returned. In 1633 the same thing was repeated in the case of Stone, this Commonwealth assuming the highest prerogative that any civil power can claim, that over life and death. Twenty distinct cases of banishment from the colony are on record within the first seven years of its settlement, fourteen of them occurring within the first year. Their wrong lay not in these and similar acts for criminal and political causes, but in that they punished men for religious opinions and practices; under the plea, that to hold and express such opinions was a political offense by their laws, although the charter made no such demand of them; but permitted them, had they chosen, to extend equal religious rights to all the Christian colonists, with those which they exercised themselves. The simple fact is, that they wielded the old justification of persecution used by all persecutors from the days of Jesus down: 'We have a law, and by our law he ought to die,' without once stopping to ask by what right we have such a law. With all their high aims and personal goodness, they repeated the old blunder of law-makers, that those who were not one with them in religious faith should not exercise the rights of men in the body politic, because they must be and were its enemies. There can be but little doubt that with all their high aspirations after civil and religious liberty, the late Dr. Geo. E. Ellis, of Boston, stated then case with what Dr. Dexter pronounces 'admirable accuracy,' thus: 'To assume, as some carelessly do, that when Roger Williams and others asserted the right and safety of liberty of conscience, they announced a novelty that was alarming, because it was a novelty, to the authorities of Massachusetts, is a great error. Our fathers were fully informed as to what it was, what it meant; and they were familiar with such results as it wrought in their day.

They knew it well, and what must come of it; and they did not like it; rather they feared and hated it. They did not mean to live where it was indulged; and in the full exercise of their intelligence and prudence, they resolved not to tolerate it among them. They identified freedom of conscience only with the objectionable and mischievous results which came of it. They might have met all around them in England, in city and country, all sorts of wild, crude, extravagant and fanatical spirits. They had reason to fear that many whimsical and factious persons would come over hither, expecting to find an unsettled state of things, in which they would have the freest range for their eccentricities. They were prepared to stand on the defensive.' This frank and manly statement of the case is truly historical, because it tells the exact truth; although, perhaps, it never occurred to the men of the Bay, that Elizabeth and James had ranked them and their Plymouth brethren with the 'wild, crude, extravagant and fanatical spirits' of their realm. Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, had boasted that he would drive every Lollard out of his diocese, or ' Make them hop headless, or fry a fagot;" and what better had the Puritans been treated in English 'city and country?' The barbarous cruelties which had failed to reduce their consciences to submission should have suggested to them at least, as incurables themselves, that it might not be their special and bounden duty as magistrates, to crush out all eccentric religionists who happened to be 'crude,' 'extravagant' and fanatical,' as enemies

of good civil government. Whether they were justified in so treating those who asserted the right and safety of liberty of conscience, is hardly an open question now. So far as appears, the first resistance made to the politico-religious law of the colony came from two brothers, John and Samuel Brown, members of the Church of England. In 1629 they set up worship in Salem according to the book of Common Prayer, alleging that the governor and ministers were already 'Separatists, and would be Anabaptists.' Upon the complaint of the ministers and by the authority of the governor they were sent back to England. Endicott says that their conduct in the matter engendered faction and mutiny. The ministers declared that they had 'come away from the Common Prayer and ceremonies,' and 'neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God.' The first false step of the Puritans of the Bay compelled them to take the second or retreat; but they now proceeded to narrow all admittance into the Commonwealth by the test of religious belief, a step which opened a struggle for liberty of conscience, lasting for more than two hundred years in Massachusetts. This statement of the civil and religious status of the two colonies of Plymouth and the Bay seems necessary to a proper understanding of the state of things under which Roger Williams, the great apostle of religious liberty, opened the contest, which compelled these great and good men to take that last step, which now protects every man's conscience in America. The chosen teacher who was to show these two bands 'the way of the Lord more perfectly,' as usual, at the cost of great suffering, was now brought unexpectedly to their doors. The old record says: 'The ship Lyon, Mr. William Pierce master, arrived at Nantasket; she brought Mr. Williams, a godly minister, with his wife, Mr. Throgmorton, and others with their wives and children, about twenty passengers, and about two hundred tons of goods.'

02 Banishment of Roger Williams

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS II. BANISHMENT OF ROGER WILLIAMS The first Baptist of America., like the first of Asia, was the herald of a new reign; hence it was fitting that he should have a wilderness education, should increase for a time and then decrease, that the truth might be glorified. Roger Williams, according to the general belief, was born of Welsh parentage about the year 1600. While young he went to London and, by his skill in reporting, attracted the attention of Sir Edward Coke, the great lawyer who framed the Bill of Rights and defended the Commons in their contest with the crown. By his advice and patronage Williams entered the famous 'Charter House School,' and afterward the University at Cambridge, where Coke himself had been educated, and which was decidedly Puritan in its tone. He was matriculated a pensioner of Pembroke College July 7th, 1625, and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1627. For a time he is supposed to have studied law, and this legal training undoubtedly prepared him for his after legislative career. His bent, however, was toward theology, and he finally took orders in the Church of England, together with a parish, probably in Lincolnshire, under the liberal John Williams, afterward Archbishop of York.

Roger was a stern Puritan, opposed to the liturgy and hierarchy as Laud represented them, and being acquainted with John Cotton and other emigrants to America, he determined to make his home in Massachusetts. He left Bristol December 1st, 1630, and reached Boston February 5th, 1631. His ample fortune, learning and godly character commended him, and he was invited to become teacher in the church there, under the pastoral care of John Wilson. He was a sturdy Puritan when he left England, but when he reached Boston he had become a Separatist, and declared openly that he would not unite with the Church there, as he 'durst not officiate to an unseparated people.' The Puritans held the Church of England to be corrupt in its government, ceremonies and persecuting spirit, and having discarded episcopacy and the ritual, had formed Congregational churches in Massachusetts, and therefore he thought that they should not hold fellowship with that Church. After a great struggle he had cut loose from that Church, and says: 'Truly it was as bitter as death to me when Bishop Laud pursued me out of this land, and my conscience was persuaded against the national Church.' He denounced that Church in strong language, but not a whit stronger than every Puritan had used, and this would have given no offense had he rested there. But he administered sharp rebuke of their inconsistency in stopping short of full separation. Others shared his views in this respect, and denounced them as 'semi-Separatists,' insisting that as the principal end of the new plantation was to enjoy a pure religion, the separation should be complete. When Williams found in his refuge a semifellowship with the English Church and the Congregational Churches put under the control of the magistrates, he foresaw at a glance, that corruption and persecution must work out in America the same results that they had wrought in England. At once, therefore, he protested, as a soundminded man, that the magistrate might not punish a breach of the first table of the law, comprised in the first four of the Ten Commandments. This was the rebuke that stung the authorities of Massachusetts Bay, and from that moment he had little rest until his banishment. In

April, 1631, he was invited to become teacher to the Church at Salem, the eldest Church in the colony, organized August 6, 1629. At once, six members of the court in Boston wrote to Endicott at Salem, warning the Salem people against him as a dangerous man, for broaching the foregoing novel opinions, and asking the Church there to confer with the Boston Council in regard to his case. Upham, who wrote the history of this Church, reports that it was organized 'On principles of perfect and entire independence of every other ecclesiastical body.' Hence, it acted independently of this advice from Boston and received Williams as its minister on the 12th of April. Felt says: 'Here we have an indication that the Salem Church, by calling Williams, coincided with his opinions, just specified, and thus differed with the Church in Boston.' 'This fact accounts for the long struggle between the Salem Church and the colonial government in relation to Williams. That Church and the Church at Plymouth refused communion with members of the Church of England. The first ministers of the Salem Church were Skelton as pastor and Higginson as teacher. Higginson drew up its Articles of Faith, which Hubbard pronounces 'a little discrepant from theirs of Plymouth,' yet not so different but that Governor Bradford, the Separatist 'delegate' from Plymouth, gave the hand of fellowship when the Salem Church was recognized. For a considerable time the other Churches of the Bay looked askance at the Salem Church. Winthrop arrived at Salem from England, in the Arbella, on Saturday, June 12th, 1630, where he and others went ashore, but returned to the ship for Sunday, because, as Cotton says, Skelton could not 'Conscientiously admit them to his communion, nor allow any of their children to be baptized. The reason of such scruple is, that they are not members of the Reformed Churches, like those of Salem and Plymouth.' This treatment of Winthrop drew forth a severe letter from Cotton to Skelton, dated October 2d, 1630, in which he says that he is 'not a little troubled' 'That you should deny the Lord's Supper to such godly and faithful servants of Christ as Mr. Governor, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Coddington. . . . My grief increased upon me when I heard you denied baptism to Mr. Coddington's child, and that upon a reason worse than the fact,' namely, that he was not a member of one of the Reformed Churches. He then argues that both Skelton and John Robinson were wrong in taking such ground. Robinson and Brewster had taken this position in their letter to Sir John Worsingham, January 27th, 1618: 'We do administer baptism only to such infants as whereof the one parent at the least is of some Church.' Coddington was a member of a National Church, and not one of 'saints by calling,' as Robinson's in Leyden and Skelton's in Salem; and therefore, the latter would neither christen his child nor allow him at communion. Truly had Robinson said: 'The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word,' which light was beginning to gleam in Salem. These facts greatly assist us in understanding the animus of resistance to Williams at every step, and why Morton says that in one year's time he had filled Salem 'with principles of rigid separation, and tending to Anabaptistry.' The soil had been prepared to his hands under the ministry of Skelton and Higginson, who despite themselves had drifted to the verge of Baptist principles without intending to be Baptists.

Williams was not permitted an undisturbed life at Salem, although his services were greatly blessed in that community. The Massachusetts Court could not forget its unheeded advice to that Church, and he had no rest. In his magnanimity, rather than contend with them, he withdrew at the end of the summer to Plymouth, beyond the jurisdiction of the Bay Company, where he found warm friends, and employed his high attainments in assisting Ralph Smith, pastor of the Mayflower Church. The Bay men spared no efforts to make the Plymouth Church restless under its new teacher, and even kindhearted Brewster, the ruling elder of that Church, became set against

him, stern Separatist as he was and had been from Scrooby down. He saw something in Roger which reminded him of John Smyth. 'Anabaptistry' had always acted on the good old elder's nerves like a red flag on the masculine head amongst cattle, and Williams's principles raised his honest fear that Roger would actually 'Run the same course of rigid separation and ana-baptistry which Mr. John Smyth, the Se-Baptist at Amsterdam, had done.' At this time Skelton's health failed, in August, 1634, he died, and Williams was called back to Salem, first as supply then as his successor. He returned, accompanied by members of the Plymouth Church, who could not forego the 'more light' which was breaking in upon them through his ministry. He was made a great blessing to the Church, but outsiders could not let him alone, and their constant interference tried his patience to the uttermost. Upham says: 'He was faithfully and resolutely protected by the people of Salem, through years of persecution from without, and it was only by the persevering and combined efforts of all the other towns and Churches that his separation and banishment were finally effected.' In December, 1633, the General Court convened to consult upon a treatise of his, in which he disputed the right of the colonies to their lands under their patent. This work is not extant, and we can only judge of it from the account given by Winthrop and Cotton, aided by his own statement that he had a troubled conscience that 'Christian kings (so-called) are invested with a right by virtue of their Christianity to take and give away the lands and countries of other men.' Winthrop himself says, that when the treatise was examined, it was found to be 'written in very obscure and implicative phrases,' of uncertain interpretation. It seems to have been a mere theoretical speculation, was submitted to the Court at Winthrop's request, in manuscript and unpublished; and it was agreed to pass over his offense on retraction, or taking an oath of allegiance to the king. The practical importance which Williams attached to it is seen in the fact, that he offered to burn the treatise, and that he wrote the Court 'submissively' and 'penitently.' They took his offer to burn his manuscript as the abandonment of his honest principles; with him it had done its work. So, this terrible affair in which James I was charged with public blasphemy and falsehood, and that other delectable character, Charles I, was likened to the 'frogs' and 'dragon' of Revelations, came to an end and still Massachusetts lived. After this, he was cited to appear before the Court on three different occasions, once to account for further remarks made in a sermon in regard to the patent, once to answer for his opposition to the Freeman's Oath, and finally, to meet the charges on which he was banished in October, 1635. The following is his sentence:

'Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the Church of Salem, hath broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions, against the authority of magistrates, as also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and Churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet maintaineth the same without retraction, it is therefore ordered, that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing, which if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without license of the Court.' A clear view of the case may be gathered from the specifications as summed up before the Court by the governor, who said: 'Mr. Williams holds forth these four particulars: 1st. That we have not our land by patent from the king, but that the natives are the true owners of it, and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by patent, 2d. That it is not lawful to call a wicked person to swear, to pray, as being actions of God's worship, 3d. That it is not lawful to hear any of the ministers of the parish assemblies in England, 4th. That the civil magistrate's power extends only to the bodies and

goods, and outward state of men, etc.' In his letter to Endicott, Williams explains the bearings of the 4th point in the governor's summing, in these words: 'The point is that of the civil magistrate's dealing in matters of conscience and religion, as also of persecuting and hunting any for any matter merely spiritual and religious.' As partisanship has greatly distorted this historical event, it is needful to examine it carefully and somewhat at length, with due regard to the exact facts: 1st. Touching the then existing form of government.; 2d. The records of the case ; and, 3d. The representations of the several parties who were concerned in the decision. Viewed within these limits, it is folly to claim that either the authorities or Williams can be justified in all that they did. One extreme position assumes that Massachusetts Bay was purely a business corporation, and so its Court might exercise as arbitrary a power of expulsion as that of a commercial association; which interpretation in view of the legislative, executive and judicial prerogatives, exercised by the colony, is a very flimsy absurdity. It is especially so in view of the warlike preparations of the colony for rebellion against English power, and the setting up of an independent sovereignty if necessary. On the other hand, this primitive government was necessarily crude, and did many things which were summary and arbitrary, as judged by present standards. Its acts were frequently directed to accomplish particular objects then in view, as political necessities, without much regard to the general and primary principles of law. As to Williams himself: It is clear that he was carefully feeling his way to the stand which he took so grandly in after life, our modern conception of the proper relation of Church and State; namely, that each is absolute in its own sphere and without mutual interference.

It is quite as clear also, that during his Salem troubles he had not yet arrived at this full conception. While under citation to appear before the General Court, to answer charges which it deemed heretical, the Salem people petitioned that Court to grant and assign to them certain lands on Marblehead Neck, which petition was refused. This was a purely civil matter, which the Court only could control. But Williams made a Church matter of it, and availing himself of what was known amongst the Churches as the 'Way of Admonition,' induced his Church to send a general letter to the other Churches of which the magistrates who had refused the Salem petition were members, asking them to 'admonish' these magistrates, and 'require them to grant without delay such petitions, or else to proceed against them in a Church way;' or as Cotton expresses it: 'That they might admonish the magistrates of scandalous injustice of denying this petition.' If this account can be relied upon, as the letter itself does not seem to be in existence, then the spiritual power of the Salem Church was used to influence the magistrates to do a political act.

Probably, this is the letter of 'defamation' of magistrates referred to in his sentence. In the matter of the test oath blame lodges against Williams, but this is not so clear as in the matter of the Salem petition. The General Court had ordered that each man above twenty-one years of age, who resided in the colony, should take the Resident's Oath of obedience to the laws, to promote the peace and welfare of the colony, and to reveal all plots against it coming to their knowledge. This was a fair and wise requirement, provided, that it contravened no previous legal act or right of the citizen. In May, 1634, the General Assembly, meeting in Boston, revoked the former oath of a freeman, which required his obedience to laws that should be made 'lawfully,' and substituted for it an oath of obedience to 'wholesome' laws. By many the change was unnoticed, it was so slight; but it was made, as Cotton says, to guard against 'Some Episcopal and malignant practices,' and this left it very loose. There is little room for doubt that the real reason was, that in case of

necessity the new oath might be interpreted to transfer allegiance from the English crown to the local government, and to make it one step in that series of shrewd movements by which the colony finally became independent. Williams's mistake lay in that he began to preach against it earnestly from a religious point of view. The old oath was an oath, and was administered to 'unregenerate men,' and the new oath did not affect him personally as an unregenerate man, so that he need not to have preached about it at all. To him the oath was an act of worship, and he might have left the unregenerate man to judge for himself as to whether or not it were an act of worship to him also. His view of the civil oath was clearly a mistake, yet it is unfair to judge either him or the Court by the practice of the present day, in the use of the oath. Until recent years, men have been excluded from testifying in courts of justice because their religious belief or unbelief failed to qualify them to take certain oaths or forms of oath. Inasmuch as he was not an 'unregenerate' man he could have taken the new oath or not, as an act of worship, and have left other men to follow their own consciences. But both he and the Court had come to that point of contest where each stickled stubbornly for little things and magnified them to a wondrous importance. A charge is also made that Williams instigated Endicott to cut the red cross out of the flag of England, on the ground that it was given to the king by the pope as an ensign of victory, and so was a superstitious thing and a relic of antichrist. Whoever did this committed a grievous political offense against the crown, but Williams is not conclusively identified therewith, nor is it even charged against him by the Court, so that if this charge were a mere report, and yet was allowed to weigh in his condemnation, to that extent the Court treated him unjustly. Endicott was tried and punished for cutting out the red cross. He pleaded that he did this not from any motives of treason to the crown, but from his hatred of idolatry, whereupon he was excluded from the magistracy for one year, a light punishment, because as the examining Committee of the Court reported: 'He did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intention.' Roger Williams might have held the same opinion, but in this he was not singular, nor has it been alleged that he was suspected of treason on any point. If however, as Hubbard affirms, he 'Inspired some persons of great interest that the cross ought to be taken away,' he only shared a very popular opinion in the colony at the time. The governor himself had called a meeting of all the clergy of the colony, in Boston, January 19th, 1635, and submitted to them this question: 'Whether it be lawful for us to carry the cross in our banners?' They warmly discussed this query, all the pastors being present, except Mr. Ward, of Ipswich, and 'For the matter of the cross,' says Winthrop, 'they were divided, and so deferred it to another meeting.' Felt treats fully of the affair, saying: 'Some of the congress, though not large in number, yet of vital consequences in their advice, approve the display of such a sign, and others think it should be laid aside. Both parties are fully aware that its omission is calculated to bring on the colonists a charge of treason against regal supremacy.' When Endicott was called to account, the authorities were obliged to defer the question to the next session, because they were undecided 'Whether the ensigns should be laid by in regard that many refused to follow them.' Meanwhile, the Board of War required 'That all the ensigns should be laid aside;' and in May, 1635, a motion was made to exchange the red cross for the red and white rose, being a symbol of union between the houses of York and Lancaster. They recommended that an attempt be made to 'Still their minds, who stood stiff for the cross,' until harmony should ensue concerning the matter. It appears that this cross in the banner was a subject of universal agitation amongst the colonists, that the Court and pastors were divided about it, that Hooker had sent forth a treatise on the subject, and that the 'assembled freemen' seriously proposed to supplant it by the 'roses,' while the 'Board of War' had

actually laid it aside for the time being. Still, Roger Williams, who did not cut it out, is made the greatest sinner of all in the 'Bay,' perhaps, for not doing this. Joseph Felt, no friend to Williams, artlessly shows with what light seriousness this grave Court took the punishment of Endicott for his high crime :

'While many of the colonists entertained an opinion like his own about the cross, he expressed his in the overt act of cutting it from the standard, and therefore was made an example. State policy rendered it needful for him thus to suffer in order to appease the resentment of the court party in London, for such a seeming denial of the royal supremacy. But for this, there is reason to believe that he would have received applause rather than blame. As evidence that the same body, while so dealing with him by constraint for the sake of keeping the commonwealth from a far greater evil, sympathized with him in his affliction, they place him on a board of surveyors to run the line between Ipswich and Newbury. . . . The ministers had engaged to correspond with their friends in England for advisement in the controversy.' Of course it was essential to the very existence of the colony that the loyalty of the colonists should not be suspected in England, lest the charter might be revoked, as already the Privy Council had issued an order for its production. But who had done the most to create ill-feeling between the crown and the colony, Roger Williams or the magistrates? He had insisted that they must break fellowship with the English Church; they had driven its members out of the country with the Prayer-Book in their hands, and had made membership in Congregational Churches the test of citizenship in the Bay. He declared, that neither the king nor the Court, in Massachusetts, had any control over the First Table of the Law of God, their power extending only to the body, goods and outward state of men. They had formally resolved, that if the king sent a general governor to rule over them and their goods, they ought not to accept him, but would defend their lawful possessions against him, and they fortified their strongholds to that end. He had an inchoate conception that a separation between Church and State should take place both in England and America; they had a settled conviction and policy that they would be separate from the control of the English Church, with bishops and a king at its head, cost what it might; yet, that he should be compelled at like cost, to submit to the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts, with a governor and Council at their head. Which party was the most exasperating to the crown does not appear; nor does it appear that England ever suspected Roger Williams of disloyalty. On the contrary, it threatened the colony with the withdrawal of the patent and the appointment of a governor; whereas, it gave him a new patent for Rhode Island, without question. The third and fourth offenses charged against Williams were purely on religious subjects. It was quite severe in him to refuse to listen to the parish priest of England, when in England, and quite likely to give offense there; but was it soothing in the extreme to the English government to be told by these Congregational authorities, that its Episcopal ordination was scouted and cast aside in Massachusetts Bay, that its churches were not allowed there at all, much less that its own Episcopal colonists were not allowed to hear their own ministers preach on this side of the water, 'lawful' or unlawful? Both these were religious opinions, 'Broached and divulged' equally, but why Roger should be banished for refusing a hearing to the Episcopal clergy in England, from their own pulpits, and the Massachusetts Court should not banish itself for refusing them even a Prayer-Book or a pulpit to preach from in that colony, is not easily seen. So candid man acquainted with the subject can doubt that the Church and State were blended in Massachusetts Bay, that the magistrates there were expected to punish 'breaches of the First Table,' and that every man's religious convictions with their free expression were understood to be within the

purview of the civil authorities. So skillfully mixed were the charges against Williams, that under such a government they could scarcely be separated. It is apparent that both his political and spiritual offenses entered into the considerations for his banishment and were intended to enter into it, so that it is impossible to say, whether one set of the charges would have been sufficient to secure this end without the other. The common understanding of their own times and of after times has been, that the chief reasons for his banishment were of the religious character. This is suggested in the undeniable fact, that to hold and utter Christian sentiments opposed to theirs was a crime with them, both before and after the banishment of Williams. The manner in which they sentenced others to banishment, purely for their religious 'opinions,' with the stress laid upon his religious positions, shows conclusively, that the gravamen of his offense was not political but religious. They had determined from the time of banishing the Browns, that all should conform to their form of religion or leave the colony. Early in 1635 the Court entreated: 'The brethren and elders of every Church within this jurisdiction, that they will consult and advise of one uniform order of discipline in the Churches, and then to consider how far the magistrates are bound to interpose for the preservation of that uniformity and peace of the Churches.' The Court, at the time of Williams's banishment, pronounced the same sentence upon John Smyth, a Dorchester miller: 'For divers dangerous opinions, which he holdeth and hath divulged.' The fair inference is, that they were the same opinions with those of Williams, as Smyth became one of the founders of Providence, and of whom Williams himself says: 'I consented to John Smyth, miller at Dorchester (banished also), to go with me.' Whatever his 'opinions' were, they were merely 'opinions;' and no overt acts of civil wrong are alleged against him. Smyth and Williams were banished October, 1635; and on March 3d, 1636, the General Assembly ordered that it would not thereafter 'Approve of any companies of men, as shall henceforth join in any pretended way of Church fellowship, without they shall first acquaint the magistrates and the elders of the greater part of the Churches in this jurisdiction with their intentions, and have their approbation therein. . . . No person being a member of any Church which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbation of the magistrates and the greater part of said Churches, shall be admitted to the freedom of this commonwealth.' The animus of all this is clearly seen in their subsequent acts, as well as in the wording of these laws. On the '30th of the 3d month, 1636,' the Council sent a command from Boston, 'to the constable of Salem,' to inform 'divers persons' there, that their 'course is very offensive to the government here and may no longer be suffered.' What had they done? They do 'within your town' 'disorderly assemble themselves both on the Lord's day and at other times, contemptuously refusing to come to the solemn meetings of the Church there, (or being some of them justly cast out) do obstinately refuse to submit themselves, that they might be again received; but do make conventions, and seduce divers persons of weak capacity, and have already withdrawn some of them from the Church, and hereby have caused much (not only disturbance to the Church, but also) disorders and damage in the civil State.'

Here we see that they regarded disorder and damage to the State, to consist in withdrawing from the Church, 'hereby' they have 'caused' the 'damage.' And what should be done with these transgressors? The constable must command them to 'Refrain all such disorderly assemblies, and pretended Church-meetings; and either to conform themselves to the laws and orders of this government, being established according to the rule of God's word; or else let them be assured that we shall by God's assistance take some such strict and speedy course for the reformation of these disorders, and preventing the evils which may otherwise ensue, as our duty to God and

charge over his people do call for from us.' This document is signed by Vane, governor, Winthrop, deputy, and Dudley. What they found it their duty to do with these wicked folk, who would worship God elsewhere in Salem than at the State Church, is stated in the records of the General Court of 1638, thus: 'Ezekiel Holliman appeared upon summons, because he did not frequent the public assemblies, and for seducing many, he was referred by the Court to the ministers for conviction.' Holliman, as we shall see, was another of the founders of Providence and the person who baptized Williams there. When in Salem neither of them were Baptists on the subject of ordinances, which leaves the implication that their views were one on the question of liberty of conscience and the power of the magistrates to interfere with religion. And the conduct of the magistrates themselves, in punishing the Salem Church, shows that they were actuated chiefly by religious considerations in the whole transaction. That Church had neither denounced the patent, nor cut out the cross, nor denied the oath to unregenerate men, much less had it incurred the wrath of England. It had, however, alleged its rights as a Church to choose its own pastor without consulting the civil authorities, and had protested against the right of the Court to disturb its pastoral relations with him, for which it must be chastised. This unpardonable offense entered even into the Marblehead land affair, whatever mistake the Salem Church fell into, in writing to the other Churches concerning the Church discipline of their members in the Court. Concerning the petition of the 'Salem men,' which Winthrop says: 'They did challenge as belonging to that town,' be also bluntly adds: 'Because they had chosen Mr. Williams their teacher while he stood under question of authority, and so offered contempt to the magistracy, etc., their petition was refused,' Again he says, that the act of the Salem Church in calling him to the office of a teacher 'at that time was judged a great contempt of authority. So in fine there was given to him and the Church of Salem to consider of these things till the next General Court, and then either to give satisfaction to the Court, or else to expect the sentence.' Nor is this all, but he writes that the Court and ministers were of this mind, namely: 'That they who should obstinately maintain such opinions 'would run the Church' into heresy, apostasy or tyranny, and yet the civil magistrates could not intermeddle.' This shows that Williams had struck a blow at the authority of the civil officers to interfere in Church matters, which they felt keenly, as well as the fact that the Court reached this result on the 'advice' of the ministers. What had the ministers to do with the case if it only concerned civil authorities? The correspondence of the Salem Church conducted by Williams and Elder Sharpe, with the Boston and other Churches, was between purely religious bodies, though it I nvolved a political subject. But the Court must needs meddle with the matter, declare Salem 'rebellious' and 'insubordinate,' and their three deputies were sent home, leaving that town without representation, and requiring them to report what citizens of Salem had indorsed these steps there. It decreed that: ' If the major part of the freemen of Salem shall disclaim the letters sent lately from the Church of Salem to several Churches, it shall then be lawful for them to send deputies to the General Court.' Williams was expelled in the absence of the Salem deputies, and then Elder Sharpe was required to report whether Salem acknowledged its offense or not. Salem was thus brought to humble submission, and Williams was excluded from the Church there; not for 'sedition,' but because he denied the 'Churches of the Bay to be true Churches;' so says Hugh Peter, his successor.

Soon after Williams's banishment a controversy excited the colony concerning the preaching of a Mr. Wheelwright, at Braintree, about a covenant of grace and a covenant of works, involving antinomianism and he was banished. Winthrop in justifying the Court in his case, 1637, against

those who complained said: 'If we find his opinions such as will cause divisions, and make people look to their magistrates, ministers and brethren as enemies to Christ, antichrists, etc, were it not sin and unfaithfulness in us to receive more of their opinions which we already find the evil fruit of? Nay, why do not those, who now complain join us in keeping out such, as well as formerly they did in expelling Mr. Williams FOR THE LIKE though less dangerous.' Here the governor tells us, in his honest bluntness, that Williams was 'expelled' for his opinions on religious subjects, which were less dangerous than those of Wheelwright. The plea of all persecutors has ever been that they persecuted no man for his religion, but for 'sedition' and 'disturbance of the public peace.' This was the pretense of the pagans when they tormented the early Christians, of the Catholics in the case of the Waldensians, the Hollanders and the Lollards, and now the apologists of the Puritans put in that plea for them. When the Browns and their Prayer-Books were packed off to England, Endicott said that they 'endangered faction and mutiny;' and when Thomas Painter of Bingham was whipped in July, 1644, for refusing to have his child christened, his judges said, that it was 'not for his opinions, but for reproaching the Lord's ordinance;' as if his opinion of infant baptism was not the very reproach which he threw upon it and for which he was punished. The same pretense is now set up against Roger Williams, in the allegation that he was banished for civil cause alone, directly in the face of his sentence, which charges upon him: 'New and dangerous opinions against the authority of the magistrates.' Yet, in no instance did he dispute their right to civil office, or charge them with civil usurpation, nor did he refuse to obey them in purely civil matters; but he dared to question their assumption of religious authority outside of their proper sphere as civil officers. Joseph Felt bewails his sentence, as disturbing 'the benevolent feelings of every heart,' and regrets it, 'as a serious impediment to the prosperous progress of the commonwealth, and a dark omen that its hopes of spirituality and duration may be soon scattered.' Then he says of the authorities: 'Believing themselves bound to exclude persons who, they suppose, entertain principles subversive of their civil and ecclesiastical polity, the General Court engage in so unpleasant a service.' Neither did the Court itself proceed against him as against a civil criminal. Trial by jury is more than once insisted upon in Magna Charta, as the principal bulwark of an Englishman's liberty, but especially does Chap. xxix insist that no freeman shall be hurt in his person or property 'except by the legal judgment of his peers and the law of the land.' Hence, the royal charter granted to Massachusetts could not abridge the great rights of British freemen which had been secured by Magna Charta, nor could it deprive a colonist of the right of trial by jury; a right which had been a vital part of the British Constitution from the time of King John. Neither could the charter authorize the governor and company of Massachusetts Bay to inflict unusual penalties in punishment of sedition, or the disturbance of the public peace, without the form of a public trial. On the contrary, all the rights of Englishmen were secured to the colonists by the charter, but Roger Williams was simply persecuted out of the colony, without the due observance of even this form. In a word, there is no precedent for this trial, no authority for it in common law or the chartered rights of the colony. A new process or procedure appears to have been invented on the spot and at the time for his case, the effect of which was, that he suffered under an ex post facto law. Instead of proceeding as a court of civil jurisprudence to produce and examine witnesses, about the first step which they took was to appoint Hooker, the pastor at Newtown, to 'dispute' with him. This he did, but found it impossible 'to seduce him from any of his errors' (not crimes), for that he 'maintained all his opinions.' Dr. Dexter says of Williams: 'They asked him whether he would take the whole subject into still further consideration; proposing that he employ

another month in reflection, and then come and argue the matter before them.' Again, he says, that the Court 'appointed Thomas Hooker (a brother pastor) to go over these points in argument with him; on the spot, in the endeavor to make him see his errors. One single glimpse of this debate is afforded us by Mr. Cotton.' This last word expresses the bearings of the whole proceeding. It was a 'debate,' an argument concerning certain alleged religious errors, and not a trial in any proper legal sense of the word. Winthrop says that Williams maintained 'all his opinions;' and Williams understood the same thing, for he says, that he was not only ready to be 'banished, but to die also in New England, as for most holy truths of God in Christ Jesus'

Barry, in his 'History of Massachusetts,' says (p. 239): 'Meanwhile the elders continued to deal with him for his errors and to labor for his conversion; and Mr. Cotton spent the great part of the summer in seeking, by word and writing, to satisfy his scruples. Informing the magistrates of their desire to proceed with him in a Church way before civil prosecution was urged, the governor replied: "You are deceived in him if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you."' The first element of a trial for civil wrong-doing does not appear in the whole process, nor can a like case be found in the records of civil trials under English law, outside of the Star Chamber. Not a witness was examined, no counsel was heard, and none of the forms of law invariably observed in sedition or disturbance of the public peace, were had. His banishment was a religious and not a State necessity, which Williams well characterized, when he declares it to have been 'Most lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Jesus Christ.' The apologists of the Puritans make a great outcry against Williams for saying that the king had no right to grant the lands to the colonists, because they belonged to the natives. And was he singular in this opinion? No. Cotton writes: 'There be many, if not most, that hold, that we have not our land merely by right of patent from the king, but that the natives are true owners of all that they possess or improve. Neither do I know any amongst us that either then were, or now are, of another mind.' Yet, he says that these freemen 'Are tolerated to enjoy both civil and religious liberties amongst us.' Then, why was Williams banished for believing what Cotton says every body else believed? Cotton tells us that he was guilty of these two things, he was 'violent' in preaching against the patent, and he presented the matter unfairly, for they had not taken the lands on the king's patent. Cotton claims that the lands were 'void places,' made so 'by pestilence, which had swept away thousands of the natives' 'a little before our coming.' They therefore took nothing from the king or the natives, but inhabited the country by the 'law of nature.' Williams somehow got it into his head, that if the small-pox had swept away thousands of the Indian fathers 'a little before our coming,' the land on which their bones fell might possibly belong to their children; and so he had religious scruples on the point, and ventured to state them vehemently in the pulpit, when he ought to have held his tongue; and for which he was banished. It had been better for Cotton to be quiet than to disgrace the magistrates by such petty special pleading as this. He calls Williams 'violent' and 'vehement:' but Winthrop who knew him intimately pronounces him 'A man lovely in his carriage.' Our best historians find his banishment as purely a religious affair as it could be under that union of Church and State which Massachusetts has now repudiated as unworthy of retention.

Bradford holds the magistrates 'Inexcusable in their treatment of Roger Williams . . . merely for his honest independence of opinion.' Peck thinks him 'A very troublesome man for bigotry to manage. . . . When he entered Massachusetts, he was in advance of the general sentiment of the Puritans on the question of religious liberty. . . . Roger Williams was more than a Puritan. He was the great

mind ordained of Providence to advance beyond the position of indignant protest against oppression, to the revelation that the highest right must itself be the result of a freedom which might be abused by consenting to the deepest wrong. He was the first true type of the American freeman, conceding fully to others the highborn rights which he claimed for himself. This was further than Puritanism could. lead the race; and, for the present, it was not ready to follow. He denied the right to coerce a man to take a freeman's oath; but would not he himself be compelled to take it? No, he refused: and such was the firm dignity of his bearing, that the government was forced to desist from that proceeding. But he was living under a religion established by law, not Prelacy, but Puritanism, in which intolerance was just as vile to him, and just as determined against a Non-conformist.' The unvarnished fact seems to be, that like honest Saul of Tarsus they meant to be men of God, but like him allowed all their religion to run into personal conscience, without much regard to the consciences of others. " Their primary blunder lay in overlooking the spiritual laws of the Church of Christ, and applying both to Church and State the judicial enactments of Moses, which were made for the government of a civil nation 1,500 years before the Christian Church existed. Roger Williams himself well expresses their mistake in these words: 'Although they professed to be bound by such judicials only as contained in them moral equity, yet they extended this moral equity to so many particulars as to make it the whole judicial law.' But the Christian law for the government of the commonwealth leaves a l punishment to be governed under the sway of the natural rights of man and the highest good of the States where they are used. Hence, in adopting the Mosaic penalties they not only cast aside, in some cases, what was known as 'crown law,' but with it the common law of England. Barry puts the case forcibly, saying: 'Puritans as well as Episcopalians assumed their own infallibility; and, as Church and State were one and inseparable in Old England, they were bound together in New England; and the purity of the former was deemed indispensable to the safety of the latter. This policy was resolutely adhered to, and the laws which sanctioned it were as inflexible as the laws of the Medes and Persians.' Governor Winthrop saw his mistake when it was too late. Barry says: 'He regretted the harshness with which Roger Williams was treated; and though a zealous opponent of Mrs. Hutchinson and the enthusiastic Gorton, as he advanced in life his spirit became more catholic and he lamented the errors of the past; so that, when urged by Mr. Dudley to sign an order for the banishment of one deemed heterodox, he replied, "I have done enough of that work already."'

Since Jesus was sentenced to death in Asia, on the cool verdict that he was a 'just man' in whom no 'fault' was found, a sublimer sight has not appeared to man than that revealed in America on that crisp October morning in 1635. This master in Israel looms up head and shoulders above his Puritan judges. Without a stammer or a blush he reaches the full height of manhood; whereupon the Bay sentences him to a new leadership. In Salem God threw the mantle of William the Silent upon the shoulders of the brave Welshman. What, if Massachusetts did lay her political sins on his head, and send her scapegoat to bear them into the desert? He was strong to carry the burden of her congregation and elders. He remembered Pilate, and quietly held the bowl for this ancient Court of the Bay to sink its sins in the shallows of a basin. He watched the experiment in the simplicity of a child's faith, in the firmness of a martyr's will, in the resignation of a cavalier, in the calmness of a hero; for God was with him. For that hour God brought him into the world. The persecution of two worlds inspired him to discover a third, where the wicked should cease from troubling, in that sort. A veteran before his sun had readied noon, nerved with a judicial love of liberty, fired with a hallowed zeal to liberate all the conscience-bound, he is now ready to give life

to a new age. Roger, get thee gone into the woods to thy work! And when alone with God may he work his will in thee!

’Speak, History. Who are life’s victors? Unroll thy long annals and say, Are they those whom the world called victors, who won the success of a day? The martyrs, or Nero? The Spartans who fell at Thermopylae’s tryst, Or the Persians and Xerxes? His judges or Socrates? Pilate or Christ?’

03 Settlement of Rhode Island

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS III. SETTLEMENT OF RHODE ISLAND

Salem was filled with excitement and grief when Williams was banished, and asked what its good pastor had done to merit this cruelty at the hands of his fellow-disciples in Christ? John Cotton, snugly housed in his Boston home, severely discanted on Williams's exile as any thing but 'banishment.' In that dreary New England winter, as his brother plunged into the depths of the forests, he spoke of it as a 'large and fruitful' land, in which he enjoyed simple 'enlargement.' But Cotton was careful not to break the command by coveting that 'enlargement' for himself, nor did he so hanker after the delicious fruits of the wilderness as to follow his brother, to rejoice with him in his tribulation. Indeed, he queries whether it was a 'punishment at all,' and one would rather catch the impression from his showing, that the Court had simply sent him on a restful excursion, in absolute dereliction of its duty to punish crime. The illustrious hero himself thought that Cotton might have seen the matter in another light, 'Had his soul been in my soul's case, exposed to the miseries, poverties, necessities, debts and hardships,' which he endured. The weak people of Salem also wept as if their hearts would break, that he was driven they knew not where, 'for they were much taken with the apprehension of his godliness.' Neal says, that the whole town was in an uproar, that they raised the 'cry of persecution,' and 'that he would have carried off the greater part of the inhabitants of the town, if the ministers of Boston had not interfered.' These admonished the Church at Salem for sympathizing with one who had been driven out of civilization as a felon.

Upham, the careful historian of the Salem Church, says: 'They adhered to him long and faithfully, and sheltered him from all assaults. And when at last he was sentenced by the General Court to banishment from the colony on account of his principles, we cannot but admire the fidelity of that friendship which prompted many of his congregation to accompany him in his exile, and partake of his fortunes when an outcast upon the earth.' Thanks to Salem, its loss was the world's gain. That day, out of the weak came forth strength, and out of the bitter came forth sweetness. Good old Puritan city of witchcraft and halters, out of thee, as from Salem of old, went forth an illustrious exile: the first to redeem the souls of men, and the other to give fifty millions of them soul liberty. Men intended only evil in both cases, but God overruled their aims for good. His eye rested on this wanderer in the New World, and his voice told him what to do and where to go.

We now follow Roger Williams into those wild tracts of nature where the wolf, the bear and the panther roamed in all their voracity. Perpetual hardships had given the wild tribes of that region compact and well-knit bodies, which could subsist for days on a handful of corn. Aside from this, with their fish and game, they had little food in the depth of winter, knowing nothing of salted meats, and often they were sorely pinched with hunger. So far as appears, Williams entered the desert without a weapon, bow or arrow, spear or club, hatchet or gun, to hunt for bird or beast, and every esculent root was frozen in the ground and buried in the snow. That winter was signally

bitter and he felt its keen severity. It seems to have haunted his mind in 1652, when he dedicated his 'Hireling Ministry' to Charles II, in the epistle to which, he calls New England a 'miserable, cold, howling wilderness.' Without bread or bed for fourteen weeks, and the first white man who had ever wandered in those mazes, he regarded himself cared for of God as miraculously as was Elijah, and he sang this song in his desolate pilgrimage: 'God's Providence is rich to his, Let some distrustful be; In wilderness in great distress, These ravens have fed me!' The bronzed barbarians through whose lands he passed were superstitious, ferocious and often treacherous. He would not have been safe for an hour, had not his kind acts toward them been noised through their tribes. While at Plymouth he had gone forth amongst them, had visited their wigwams, learned their language and preached to them the good news of the kingdom; and now his love governed the wild element in their bosoms when he had no power over fierce winter storms. He knew their chiefs or sachems, and on reaching their settlements on Narraganset Bay, his sufferings touched the savage heart. They remembered his former kindness, welcomed him to Indian hospitality, and Massasoit took him to his cabin as he would a brother. Here he bought a tract of land, pitched his tent, and with the opening spring began to plant and build on the east bank of the Seekonk River. Immediately, however, he received a friendly letter from Winslow, Governor of Plymouth, advising him to cross the river and push farther into the wilderness, as he was too near the boundary line of that colony. Seeking and pursuing peace, he and his companions took a canoe, shot into the stream and made their way down to a little cove near India Point, when a company of Indians hailed them with a friendly salutation which they had caught from the English: 'What cheer?' There they tarried for a time, but kept on round the Point to the mouth of the Moshassuck River, where a delicious spring of water invited them to land.

Casting around for a resting-place in the dense forest, where wild beasts and savages hemmed them in from their Christian brethren, and where they were far enough from persecuting Christians to give Christianity fair play, they stood on holy ground. Under a bright June sky, with a soil around them which was unpolluted by the foot of oppression and a virgin fountain laughing at their feet, for the first time in life their bosoms swelled full free to worship God.

There he said of his harsh brethren: 'I had the country before me, and might be as free as themselves, and we should be loving neighbors together.' He built an altar there, and called the name of that place Providence; for he said, 'God has been merciful to me in my distress!' There he bought land of the Indians for the Providence plantations, and in June, 1636, laid the foundation-stone of the freest city and State on earth; a republic of true liberty, a perpetual memorial to the unseen Finger that pointed out the hallowed spot. To this day that virgin stream remains unmingled with a tear drawn from the eye by Christian cruelty, nor has religious despotism yet forced a drop of blood there from the veins of God's elect. The first concern of its illustrious founder was, that this new home should be 'a shelter to persons distressed for conscience.' The compact drawn reads thus: 'We whose names are here underwritten, being desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves in active and passive obedience, to all such orders or agencies as shall be made for public good of the body in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others whom they shall admit into the same, only in civil things.' Here we find the first germ of that great modern doctrine which he afterward avowed in his 'Bloody Tenet' in these words: 'The sovereign power of all civil authority is founded in the consent of the

people.’ Also, this simple compact sweeps away at a stroke every allegation that he was banished for civil wrongs, and that the religious aspects of his case were an after-thought.

Those who make that allegation are bound by self-respect as well as historic justice to show on what line of human motive Williams, exiled for faction and sedition, should, in organizing a new government, first exact the bond that no man under that government should ever be ’molested for his conscience.’ How do the antecedents of such alleged civil crime express themselves in such a sequence? No; here, as elsewhere, human nature was true to itself. That which had been cruelly denied in Massachusetts and for which he had suffered the loss of all things, should now be secured at all hazard. Each man reserved to himself the rights of conscience, which no number of the ’major’ part might touch, and that at once was made an inalienable right; all else in ’civil things’ could be risked as of minor consequence.

We have already seen that from the Swiss Baptists of 1527, the Dutch Baptists, the Confessions of 1611 and others, this doctrine had gone forth to do its work and had been a cardinal principle with all Baptists. Also, that William of Orange was the first of rulers in the old governments who embodied it in an existing constitution ; but the honor was reserved for Roger Williams of making it the foundation-stone on which human government should stand; because conscience is the regnant power to which all obligation appeals in the individual man. This demanded from Bancroft, our great historian, that memorable utterance which has been sneered at as ’rhetoric,’ by men who are unworthy to untie the latchet of his shoe; although as an honest chronicler he could not withhold this testimony concerning Roger Williams:

’He was the first person in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law. . . . Williams would permit persecution of no opinion, no religion, leaving heresy unharmed by law, and orthodoxy unprotected by the terrors of penal statutes. . . . We praise the man who first analyzed the air, or resolved water into its elements, or drew the lightning from the clouds, even though the discoveries may have been as much the fruits of time as of genius. A moral principle has a much wider and nearer influence on human happiness; nor can any discovery of truth be of more direct benefit of society, than that which establishes a perpetual religious peace, and spreads tranquillity through every community and every bosom. If Copernicus is held in perpetual reverence, because, on his death-bed, he published to the world that the sun is the center of our system; if the name of Kepler is preserved in the annals of human excellence for his sagacity in detecting the laws of the planetary motion; if the genius of Newton has been almost adored for dissecting a ray of light and. weighing heavenly bodies in a balance--let there be for the name of Roger Williams at least some humble place among those who have advanced moral science and made themselves the benefactors of mankind.’ In 1872 the Congress of the United States had placed a memorial of Roger Williams in the National Capitol, and Senator Anthony, January 9, delivered a eulogy of great justice and beauty, in which he paid the following tribute to the immortal defender of soul liberty: ’In all our history no name shines with a purer light than his whose memorial we have lately placed in the Capitol. In the history of all the world there is no more striking example of a man grasping a grand idea, at once, in its full proportions, in all its completeness, and carrying it out, unflinchingly, to its remotest legitimate results. Roger Williams did not merely lay the foundations of religious freedom, he constructed the whole edifice, in all its impregnable strength, and in all its imperishable beauty. Those who have followed him in the same spirit have not been able to add any thing to the grand

and simple words in which he enunciated the principle, nor to surpass him in the exact fidelity with which he reduced it to the practical business of government. Religious freedom, which now, by general consent, underlies the foundation principles of civilized government, was, at that time, looked upon as a wilder theory than any proposition, moral, political, or religious, that has since engaged the serious attention of mankind. It was regarded as impracticable, disorganizing, impious, and, if not utterly subversive of social order, it was not so only because its manifest absurdity would prevent any serious effort to enforce it. The lightest punishment deemed due to its confessor was to drive him out into the howling wilderness. Had he not met with more Christian treatment from the savage children of the forest than he had found from "the Lord's anointed," he would have perished in the beginning of his experiment. . . . Such a man was Roger Williams. No thought of himself, no idea of recompense or of praise, interfered to sully the perfect purity of his motives, the perfect disinterestedness of his conduct. Laboring for the highest benefit of his fellow-men, he was entirely indifferent to their praises. He knew (for God, whose prophet he was, revealed it to him) that the great principle for which he contended, and for which he suffered, founded in the eternal fitness of things, would endure forever. He did not inquire if his name would survive a generation. In his vision of the future, he saw mankind emancipated from the thralldom of priestcraft, from the blindness of bigotry, from the cruelties of intolerance. He saw the nations walking forth in the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free.'

Yet this statement expresses no more than the general conviction of the American public. Recently, a leading New York daily of weighty influence said: 'Baptists have solved a great problem. They combine the most resolute conviction, the most stubborn belief in their own special doctrines, with the most admirable tolerance of the faith of other Christians. And this combination of sturdy faith with graceful tolerance makes it easy to recognize them as the followers of Roger Williams.' Indeed, the best thinkers in Europe begin to unite in this sentiment. Long since Gervinus, the profound German, said of Williams, that he founded a 'New society in Rhode Island upon the principles of entire liberty of conscience and the uncontrolled power of the majority in secular concerns, . . . which principles have not only maintained themselves here, but have spread over the whole Union . . . and given laws to one quarter of the globe, and, dreaded for their moral influence, they stand in the background of every democratic struggle in Europe.' Williams had the choice before him of direct hostility between the Church and State, as in the pagan days of early Christianity; an alliance between them as in Constantine's day; a supremacy of the Church over the State, as in the Middle Ages: or entire independence of each other, earnest, friendly, helpful in the common weal. Cavour wished for 'Free Churches in a free State,' having borrowed the ideal of Roger Williams. The first publicists of our age are the most ready to credit him and his coadjutors with linking liberty to law, and with proving that a voluntary religion is the determined foe of license on the one hand and of tyranny on the other, when they exercise their free life independently of each other. This point he set forth fully not only in its practical bearings, but he defined and defended it unmistakably in his works. When in London, in 1644, he published his 'Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience;' in 1647 John Cotton replied in his 'Bloody Tenet Washed and Made White; 'and Williams rejoined in his 'Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody,' in 1652.

Williams took the broad ground throughout that no man can be held responsible to his fellowman for his religious belief. Cotton attempted to take new ground, but failed, and was obliged to fall back upon the old Catholic view. He denied the right to persecute men 'for conscience rightly

informed.' But if a man's conscience is 'erroneous and blind in fundamental and weighty matters,' then the magistrate may admonish him on the subject; and if he remains 'willfully blind and criminally obstinate,' then the magistrate may punish him. This makes the civil power the sole judge of fundamental error, willful blindness and cruel obstinacy, and covers all that the Catholic powers ever claimed on the subject. When the principles of Williams were distorted and he was charged with sustaining anarchy to the destruction of civil government, he wrote his immortal letter on the question, which has been denominated a 'classic,' and will scarcely perish for ages. Amongst other things he said:

'There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls on one ship, whose weal or woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm, that all the liberty of conscience, that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two binges: that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship if they practice any. I further add, that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace and sobriety be kept and practiced both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, toward the common charges or defense; if any refuse to obey the common laws and order of the ship concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders or officers because all are equal Christ, therefore, no masters or officers, no laws or orders, no corrections or punishments; I say, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This, if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it please the Father of lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes.'

It would be interesting to trace the further history of his life and of Rhode Island in their defense and application of the liberty of conscience, but it must suffice to say, that during the rest of his days Williams remained its faithful exponent and defender, he had followed his convictions on that subject from the Episcopalians to the Congregationalists, from them to the Baptists, and from them to the Seekers. But in these changes his personal religious character remained without a spot; he gave the same large liberty to all others which he took for himself, he respected their motives and convictions, and in his controversies with them left no trace of acerbity. His personal services to all the New England colonies, by skillful negotiations with the Indians, which twice saved them from a general war that might have exterminated them, can hardly be overestimated. Bancroft justly characterizes his exertions in breaking the Pequod league as 'a most intrepid and successful achievement,' 'an action as perilous in its execution as it was fortunate in its issue.' The youthful reader will be grateful for a fuller detail of these facts, which is here attempted in brief. In the fall of 1636, only six months after the flight of Williams into the wilderness, he found that the Indian tribes were forming a league for the destruction of the English, and at once informed the Governor of Massachusetts of the plot in order to save them. Passion ran high on the part of that colony and on the part of the red men, and the Massachusetts government asked him to step in as mediator between them. This was the exile's prompt reply:

'The Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and, scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind, with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the sachems' house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequod ambassadors, whose hands and arms, me thought, reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut River, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also. God wonderously preserved me, and helped me to break to pieces the Pequods' negotiation and design; and to make and finish, by many travels and charges, the English league with the Narragansetts and Mohegans against the Pequods.' This resulted in a lasting treaty of peace, which was written in English, which language the Indians could not understand, and a copy was sent by Massachusetts to Williams, with the request that he would interpret it to them. Thus, the illustrious exile served and saved the country from whence he was banished, while his bones were yet aching with the hardships of his journey, in beautiful illustration of his Master's words, Luke 6:22,23,27,28. With the artless simplicity of a child, he tells Winthrop of his interview with Canonicus, the great chief, in the interests of Massachusetts.

He says of this warrior that he 'was very sour, and accused the English and myself for sending the plague amongst them, and threatening to kill him especially. Such tidings it seems were lately brought to his ears by some of his flatterers and our ill-willers. I discerned cause of bestirring myself and stayed the longer, and at last, through the mercy of the Most High, I not only sweetened his spirit, but possessed him, that the plague and other sicknesses were alone in the hand of the one God, who made him and us, who being displeased with the English for lying, stealing, idleness and uncleanness, the natives' epidemical sins, smote many thousands of us ourselves with general and late mortalities.' And how did Massachusetts treat him, when he heaped these glowing coals of Christian love on her head? Let us see. He went to England to procure a charter, being obliged to take a ship from the Dutch settlement, and when he returned, in 1644, with the instrument which gave his people an independent government, in order that he might land in Boston, several nobles and Parliament men gave him a gracious letter commending him to the authorities of Massachusetts, but they treated him rudely and as still a banished man. Hubbard says, in their defense (p. 349), that 'They saw no reason to condemn themselves for any former proceedings against Mr. Williams; but for any offices of Christian love and duties of humanity they were willing to maintain a mutual correspondence with him. But as to his dangerous principles of separation, unless he can be brought to lay them down, they see no reason why to concede to him, or any so persuaded, free liberty of ingress and egress lest any of their people should be drawn away from his erroneous principles.' Well may John Callender, 'that disciple whom Jesus loved,' say of him in his own manly manner: 'Mr. Williams appears, by the whole course and tenor of his life and conduct here, to have been one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, a most pious and heavenly-minded soul.' (Hist. Dis., p. 17.) And this judgment of his wisdom, magnanimity and goodness, is shared by the great everywhere. Southey called him the 'best and greatest of the Welshmen,' and Archbishop Whately, who venerated his memory as a great benefactor of mankind, paid him well-merited praise, for he never corrupted any man by pen or tongue, but devoted his long life to the blessing of his race. The exact date of his death is not known; it was early in 1683, when about eighty-four years of age, and he was buried with all the honors that the colony could show. In 1860 his dust was exhumed by one of his descendants and removed from the orchard, where it had reposed so long, to the North Burial Ground, Providence.

Dr. A. J. Gordon, of Boston, a graduate of Brown University, says: 'While a student in that goodly city I saw the bones of Roger Williams disinterred, and, strange to relate, it was discovered that the tap-root of an apple-tree had struck down and followed the whole length of the stubborn Baptist's spinal column, appropriating and absorbing its substance till not a vestige of the vertebras remained. And thus, that invincible backbone of Roger Williams, whom a critical Massachusetts statesman stigmatized as "contentiously conscientious," was "spread throughout the world dispersed" in the fruit of the tree that grew above his grave. Blessed are they who are so fortunate as to have their theology enriched by such strong phosphites.' The late Dr. W. R. Williams, alluding to the heavy burden of fruit which Roger Williams's apple-tree had produced year by year and scattered by its seed, says of the 'curious fidelity' of this root in following the outline of the skeleton: 'It was as if to say, that the righteous are fruitful of good even in the dust of their moldering. And over a broad republic--every day widening its territory and the sweep of its influence, political, literary and religious--it seems today impossible to say how much of the national order and happiness is traceable to the memory and example of the man there entombed; is the fruitage, under God's benediction, of the sufferings and sacrifices of the weary pilgrim and exile who there found repose.' The works of Roger Williams have been collected and reprinted in six quarto volumes, under the care of the Narragansett Club, making about 2,000 pages. Of these Professor Tyler says: 'Roger Williams, never in any thing addicted to concealments, has put himself, without reserve, into his writings. There he still remains. There, if anywhere, we may get well acquainted with him. Searching for him along the two thousand printed pages upon which he has stamped his own portrait, we seem to see a very human and fallible man, with a large head, a warm heart, a healthy body, an eloquent and imprudent tongue; not a symmetrical person, poised, cool, accurate, circumspect; a man very anxious to be genuine and to get at the truth, but impatient of slow methods, trusting gallantly to his own intuitions, easily deluded by his own hopes; an imaginative, sympathetic, affluent, impulsive man; an optimist; his master-passion benevolence, . . . lovely in his carriage, . . . of a hearty and sociable turn, . . . in truth a clubable person; a man whose dignity would not have petrified us, nor his saintliness have given us a chill . . . from early manhood even down to late old age, . . . in New England a mighty and benignant form, always pleading for some magnanimous idea, some tender charity, the rectification of some wrong, the exercise of some sort of forbearance toward men's bodies or souls.' As to his person, no genuine portrait of him is known to exist, or it would have appeared in this volume. Some years ago one was supposed to have been found, but Dr. Guild, the librarian of Brown University, and others pronounce it spurious. A monument, twenty-seven feet high, crowned by a statue seven and a half feet in height, was erected to his memory in 1877 in Roger Williams Park, Providence, but as a likeness of the great apostle it is purely ideal.

Most sacredly has Rhode Island guarded the hallowed trust committed to her charge, for no man has ever been persecuted in that sovereignty for his religious opinions and practices from its first settlement in 1636. Williams obtained the first charter in 1643-44, and the first body of laws was drawn under it in 1647. Under the town legislation of the several towns, which had sprung up before the charter was granted, absolute religious liberty was secured to each inhabitant; in 1647, at the close of the civil enactments made under this charter, these words were added: 'And otherwise than this what is herein, forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the lambs of the Most High walk in this colony without molestation in the name of Jehovah their God forever.' At the first, all the functions of

government were exercised by the whole body of citizens in town-meeting. Two deputies were chosen to preserve the peace, call the meeting and execute its decisions. The same spirit animated the two colonies of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. In fact, the first declaration of democracy formulated in America dates from the island of Rhode Island, March 16, 1641, when 'It was ordered and unanimously agreed upon, that the government which this body politic doth attend unto in this island and the jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our prince, is a DEMOCRACY, or popular government; that is to say, it is in the power of the body of freemen, orderly assembled, or major part of them, to make or constitute just laws, by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man.' And the following acts secured religious liberty there: 'It was further ordered, by the authority of this present Court, that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine, provided, it be not directly repugnant to the government or laws established.' On September, 1641, it was ordered, 'That the law of the last Court, made concerning liberty of conscience in point of doctrine, be perpetuated.' It was decreed at Providence in 1647 that since 'Our charter gives us power to govern ourselves, and such other as come among us; and by such a form of civil government as by the voluntary consent, etc., shall be found most suitable to our estate and condition; It is agreed by this present Assembly thus incorporate, and by this present act declared, that the form of government established in Providence Plantations is DEMOCRATICAL; that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all or the greater part of the free inhabitants.' At Providence, May, 1638, a citizen who had molested the rights of his wife's conscience by refusing to let her attend public worship, when she desired to do so, was disfranchised, in these words: 'Joshua Verin, for breach of covenant in restraining liberty of conscience, shall be withheld the liberty of voting, till he declare the contrary.' Arnold, another citizen, attempted to hoodwink the freemen of the plantation, by pretending that Verin restrained her 'out of the free exercise of his conscience' as her husband. But the freemen saw through the wool with which he attempted to veil their eyes. Williams states the case thus to Winthrop:

'Sir, we have been long afflicted by a young man, boisterous and desperate, Philip Verin's son, of Salem, who, as he hath refused to hear the word with us (which we molested him not for) this twelve month, so because he could not draw his wife, a gracious and modest woman, to the same ungodliness with him, he hath trodden her underfoot tyrannically and brutishly; which she and we long bearing, though with his furious blows she went in danger of life, at last the major vote of us discard him from our civil freedom, or disfranchise, etc.: he will have justice, as he clamors, in other courts, etc.' This blustering wife-beater had come from Salem, and because he could not thrash his wife at pleasure, and continue to put her life 'in danger,' and tread 'her underfoot tyrannically and brutishly' in deference to his own sweetly 'seared' conscience, he was 'dissatisfied with his position' and 'returned to Salem.' Possibly, as Hooker said to Shephard, he concluded that that 'coast was most meet for his opinion and practice,' as well as for his sort of conscience. So, because conscientious wife-whipping was not popular at Providence, Joshua shook off the dust of his feet against that plantation, and being mindful of the country from whence he came out, its freemen, as it seems, gave him opportunity to return thither, fists, conscience and all. In 1745 there was printed a revision or compilation of all the laws of the colony since its first charter, which was called the 'Revision of 1745.' This makes reference to a law said to have been passed in 1663-64 to the effect, that 'All men professing Christianity, and of competent estates and civil conversation (Roman Catholics only excepted), shall be admitted freemen, or may choose or be

chosen colonial officers.' This alleged act is referred to by Chalmers, an English author, in his 'Political Annals,' London (1780). Judge Samuel Eddy, a man of great learning and scrupulous veracity, who was Secretary of State in Rhode Island from 1797 to 1819, and had all the records at command, says that he carefully investigated all the laws of the colony from the first Charter (1643-44) to 1719, and that 'there is not a word on record of the act referred to by Chalmers' and contained in the 'Revision of 1745' prior to that year. This he shows conclusively, 1. By citing the First Charter, in which liberty is granted the colonists to make their own laws, and the consequent passage in 1647 of a body of colonial laws, providing that 'All men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God.' 2. He cites the Second Charter (1663), which provides that 'No person within said colony at any time hereafter shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences in opinion in matters of religion.' That they may 'freely and fully have and enjoy their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments.' 3. He cites an expression of the Assembly, of May, 1665 that 'It hath been a principle held forth and maintained in this colony from the beginning thereof, so it is much in their hearts to procure the same liberty to all persons within this colony forever as to the worship of God therein.' A military law, passed May, 1677, is to the same effect. 4. In 1680, the Assembly said: 'We leave every man to walk as God shall persuade their hearts and do actively and passively yield obedience to the civil magistrate.' Judge Eddy says: 'Thus you have positive and indubitable evidence that the law excluding Roman Catholics from the privileges of freemen was not passed in 1663-64, but that at that time and long after they were entitled to all the privileges of other citizens.' He adds, that his search was had 'with a particular view to this law excluding Roman Catholics from the privileges of freemen, and can find nothing that has any reference to it, nor any thing that gives any preference or privileges to men of one set of religious opinions over those of another till the Revision of 1745.' Roger Williams was a member of the Upper House, 1664, 1670-71, and of the Lower House in 1667, and died 1683. Eddy says: 'That such a law could have been passed in the lifetime of the first settlers is hardly credible,' and that the statement in the Revision of 1745 is plainly an error.

It was twenty years after the appointment of the Committee on Revision that their report was printed, 1745, there being no printing-press in the colony till that year, and no newspaper till 1758. The existence of this law against Catholics in 1745 does not necessarily show that the law was passed at that time, but Eddy does show that it must have been enacted between 1719 and 1745, the Revision being the only record of the law. Exactly in what year it passed does not anywhere appear, but it existed as an unrepealed statute in 1745, amongst the laws then officially printed by the colony, while Eddy proves that the date 1663-64 is plainly a mistake. The universal reputation of Rhode Island in the neighboring colonies, for the largest freedom in religion, is well sustained by these laws, which completely deny that any were persecuted therefor, much less Roman Catholics. Cotton Mather says, that there were no Roman Catholics in the colony in 1695, and Chalmers says the same of 1680. Seeing, then, that this anticatholic, parenthetic clause is not to be found in any manuscript law of the colony either before 1663-64, or after, and so long as no date can be fixed upon for its enactment, the fair presumption follows that it is an interpolation. This presumption is strengthened also by the additional facts, that although 'all men' had from the founding of the colony walked 'as their consciences persuade' them, yet, for twenty-seven years no Roman Catholic had come to the colony, or been notified that he could not come, nor has any Catholic ever been refused his full rights there to this day. The law of May 19th, 1647, made

express provision for the liberty of all to walk unmolested in the name of his God, and yet, according to Chalmers, it was thirty-three years after that enactment, namely, in 1680, before any Catholic availed himself of this freedom. So, then, there was nothing in 1663-64 to call for the legislative insertion of such a clause changing the law from what it had been since the founding of the colony. The general supposition of the best historians of Rhode Island is, that it was introduced into a mixed and irregular digest of the laws of that colony, which appeared in England, by some timid person, who feared that the English Protestants would complain that Rhode Island gave too much liberty to Catholics, and so that her charter would be revoked, hence, he ventured to make the interpolation to save difficulty. In 1676 England was thrown into an intense excitement by the general belief in a 'Popish plot' for the assassination of William III. The popular idea was that the Protestants were to be given over to a British St. Bartholomew; the Duke of York, a bigoted Catholic, was to usurp the throne, and all were ready for a bloody civil war. Some friend of Rhode Island may have shared in this panic, but there is not the slightest evidence that its legislators did, especially as they repealed the smuggled clause on discovery. The following appears as the law in 1798: 'Whereas a principal object of our venerable ancestors, in their migration to this country and settlement in this State, was, as they expressed it, to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil State may stand and be best maintained with a full liberty in religious concernments: Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall he be enforced, restrained or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religions opinions or belief, but that all men shall be free to profess and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in nowise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.' This whole legal presentation is found in Robert Walsh's 'Appeal,' an octavo, published in Philadelphia, 1819, pp. 429-435. Religious liberty for Jews in Rhode Island must be referred to here. At the opening of the seventeenth century, Holland was the only country where they enjoyed this blessing. Their largest European congregation was in Amsterdam, also their Talmud Tora, or school for Hebrew youth. Leonard Busher made the first plea for their liberty in England, in 1614, saying: 'The king and Parliament may please to permit all Christians, yea, Jews, Turks and pagans, so long as they are peaceable and no malefactors.' A second plea was made by Roger Williams, in three passages of his 'Bloody Tenet,' published in London, 1644, one of which reads thus, and the others are of the same tenor: 'It is the will and command of God, that since the coming of his Son, the Lord Jesus, a permission of the most paganish, Jewish, Turkish or antichristian consciences and worships, be granted to men in all nations and all countries. That civil States with their officers of justice are not governors or defenders of the spiritual and Christian state and worship.' Drs. Featley, Baillie and others charged him with the most shocking blasphemy for this doctrine, and popular indignation was so savage that his book was burned. Samuel Richardson demands, in his work on the 'Necessity of Toleration,' published 1647 (p. 270): 'Whether the priests were not the cause of the burning of the book entitled "The Bloody Tenet," because it was against persecution? And whether their consciences would not have dispensed with the burning of the author of it?' Baillie himself said: 'Liberty of conscience, and toleration of all or any religion, is so prodigious an impiety, that this religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very naming of it. Whatever may be the opinions of John Goodwin, Mr. Williams and some of that stamp, . . . yet Mr. Burroughs explodes that abomination.' The Jews had been driven from England in 1290, and after banishment for 364 years, they

petitioned Cromwell and Parliament for permission to return, that they might trade in the realm and follow their religion. What influence Williams's book had exerted in favor of their return does not appear, but about six years after its publication their request was granted, and in 1665 they built their first synagogue in King Street, London. This controversy was soon transferred to America. Edward Winslow wrote to Winthrop, under date of November 24th, 1645, saying that at a late session of the Legislature they had had a violent contest over the proposition: 'To allow and maintain full and free toleration of religion to all men that would preserve the civil peace, and submit unto government, and there was no limitation or exception against Turk, Jew. Papist, Arian, Socinian, Nicholayton, Familist, or any other, etc.' Mr. Winslow says that the mover submitted it to him, and 'having read it, I told him I utterly abhorred it as such as would make us odious to all Christian commonweals. . . . But our governor and divers of us having expressed that sad consequences would follow, especially myself and Mr. Prence, yet, notwithstanding, it was required according to order to be voted. But the governor would not suffer it to come to vote, as being that indeed would eat out the power of godliness, etc. . . . By this you may see that all the troubles of New England are not at the Massachusetts. The Lord in mercy look upon us and allay this spirit of division that is creeping in amongst us.' In direct opposition to this teaching and in harmony with the teaching of Roger Williams, the General Assembly of Rhode Island decreed, in 1647, three years after his publication of the 'Bloody Tenet,' and three years before England permitted Jews to return to the realm, that in this colony, 'ALL men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God.' In 1649 Edward Winslow published his 'Danger of Tolerating Levelers in a Civil State,' and in 1652 Roger Williams published his letter to Endicott, Governor of Massachusetts, with an Appendix addressed to four classes of the clergy, 'Popish, Prelatical, Presbyterian and Independent,' in which he says of those who refuse to be Christians: 'Yea, if they refuse, deny, oppose the doctrine of Jesus Christ, whether Jews or Gentiles, why should you call for fire from heaven, which suits not with Jesus Christ, his Spirit and ends. Why should you compel them to come in, with any other sword but that of the Spirit of God?' At that time there was no organized Jewish congregation in Great Britain or any of her American Colonies. As early as 1650 a few Portuguese Jews from Holland had found their way to New York against the protest of Peter Stuyvesant, made to the West India Company at Amsterdam in 1654; but as the Jews were large stockholders in that company, they insisted on certain privileges being granted to their co-religionists. The citizens of New Amsterdam would not train with them in the Burgher Company, and the Jews were exempted from military duty on condition of paying sixty-five stivers per month. In 1655 a special Act permitted them to live and trade there, provided that they would support their own poor. On the 27th of July, 1655, they petitioned for a burying ground, but were refused on the pretext that they had 'no need of it yet;' one of their number dying, on the 14th of February, 1656, they were granted a lot 'for a, place of interment,' outside the city. On the 13th of March, 1656, Stuyvesant; director of the Company, was instructed that they should enjoy the same civil and political privileges that they enjoyed in Holland, but that 'they should not presume to exercise religious worship in synagogues or meetings, and when they requested that privilege,' he was 'to refer the petition to his superiors.'

Still they were not allowed' to exercise any handicraft or to keep any open retail store,' but they were at liberty to 'exercise their religious worship in all quietness within their houses. To which end they will, doubtless, seek to build their dwellings together in a more convenient place, on the one or the other side of New Amsterdam.' In the spring of 1657 they were admitted to the right of

citizenship, but the learned Rabbi Lyons, possibly the highest Hebrew authority on the subject, says in his 'Jewish Calendar' (page 160), that their 'first minutes of congregational affairs, written in Spanish and English, are dated Tishree 20th, 5489-1728,' and that these refer to 'rules and regulations adopted, 5466-1706, twenty years previous.' Their first synagogue was not dedicated 'till 1696, when Samuel Brown was their rabbi. On the same high authority we find that the Jewish congregation, Teshuat Israel, was organized in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1658, under the broad provision of 1647, that 'ALL MEN,' in that Colony 'may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God.' Such liberty they had not elsewhere on this globe at that time, Holland not excepted, for even there they were forbidden to 'speak or to write disparagingly of the Christian religion; to make converts to their own faith; to exercise any handicraft or carry on retail trade; and marriages between Christians and Jews were strictly prohibited.' They labored under none of these restrictions in Rhode Island, but in all these respects stood upon a perfect equality with Baptists, Quakers and other religionists, and that congregation has remained undisturbed to this day, a period of two hundred and twenty-eight years, and is but fourteen years younger than the first Baptist Church of that city. Arnold says that they did much to build up the commercial interests of Newport. Some of them rose in public favor for their services to the State, and on August 20th, 1750, 'Moses Lopez, of Newport, was excused at his own request from all other civil duties, on account of his gratuitous services to the government in translating Spanish documents.' This indicates that he had done all the civil duties of a freeman up to that time. By the year 1763, the little Jewish congregation at Newport had increased to sixty families, their necessities demanding the erection of a synagogue, which they began to build in 1762, and which their rabbi, Isaac Touro, dedicated to Jehovah in 1763, with 'great pomp and ceremony.' This large increase in their number was due chiefly to the great earthquake of 1755, the center of which was in Spain and Portugal; it swallowed up fifty thousand inhabitants of Lisbon alone. Many of the Jews, who fled for safety from more cruel foes than the yawning earth, came to Rhode Island, where their own brethren had worshiped God in peace and safety for one hundred and eight years. These facts entirely disprove the alleged fact that in 1663-64 Rhode Island passed a law restricting religious liberty to those 'professing Christianity.'

Some writers have fallen into singular confusion in treating of this subject, making Roger Williams and Rhode Island identical on the one hand, by holding them responsible for each other's acts. and on the other by confounding the civil and religious liberties of that Colony as if they were one. A noted case cited under this groundless assumption is that of Aaron Lopez and Isaac Elizur. These two Hebrews petitioned the Superior Court of Rhode Island, at its March term, in 1762, for naturalization under an Act of Parliament, and were rejected on the ground, that to naturalize them would violate the spirit of the charter; that none could be made citizens but Christians; and that the Colony was too full of people already. The last of these reasons throws suspicion on the other two given for the decision, as it was simply ridiculous; yet it serves to show that the Court was moved by other considerations than those of guarding high chartered rights. But, whatever its motive might have been, the question before it was a purely civil question. involving only the naturalization of a foreigner, and not his right to religious liberty under the laws of Rhode Island. There are millions of people in the United States today who enjoy all the religious rights of its native-born citizens, but not being citizens they seek naturalization, at the courts; which, as in the case of Chinamen, is often denied. So these two men were, without doubt, members of the Jewish congregation which at that moment was building a synagogue under the protection of Rhode

Island law, and now they wished to add citizenship to religious right. Mr. Charles Deane has written with a discriminating pen on this point. He complains of a misapprehension on this question of refusing to admit to the franchise those who were not Christians, and says:

'The charter of Rhode Island declared that no one should be "molested" . . . or called in question for any difference of opinion in matters of religion. The law in question does not relate to religious liberty, but to the franchise. Rhode Island has always granted liberty to persons of every religious opinion, but has placed a hedge about the franchise; and this clause does it. Was it not natural for the founders of Rhode Island to keep the government in the hands of its friends, while working out their experiment, rather than to put it into the hands of the enemies of religious liberty? How many ship-loads of Roman Catholics would it have taken to swamp the little Colony in the days of its weakness?' The 'clause' to which he refers is the so-called 'Catholic exclusion,' which has already been considered, but this distinction between the civil and religious questions involved here is precisely as clear in the case of the Jews as of the Catholics.

Arnold well says: 'The right to be admitted a freeman, or even to be naturalized, was purely a civil one, dependent upon the view that the town councils might take of the merits of each individual case. The right to reject was absolute,' as well in the case of a Baptist as a Jew. 'Freemen,' he continues, 'were admited into the Colony by the Assembly, to whom the application should have been made, if freemanship was what these Jews wanted. . . . Naturalization was granted properly by the Courts, but usually by the Assembly, who exercised judicial prerogatives in this matter as in many others. . . . The decision in the case of Lopez appears to be irregular in every respect. It subverts an Act of Parliament, violates the spirit of the charter, enunciates principles never acted upon in the Colony, and finally dismisses the case on a false issue. . . . The reasons assigned for the rejection, in the decree above given, were false. . . .If that had been the fundamental law from the beginning, no one could have been. admitted a freeman who was not a Christian; but Jews were admitted to freemanship again and again by the Assembly. . . . The charter of Rhode Island guaranteed, and the action of the Colony uniformly secured, to all people perfect religious freedom. It did not confer civil privileges as a part of that right upon any one, such only were entitled to those whom the freemen saw fit to admit.' At the time that the Superior Court gave this decision, Rhode Island was passing through a scene of high political excitement, and Arnold attributes its decision to 'the strife then existing between Chief-Justice Ward and Governor Hopkins. . . . For many years prior to that time there was scarcely a session of the Assembly, when one or more cases of the kind (naturalization) did not occur, in which the names and nationalities of the parties show them to be either Roman Catholics or Jews.' Amongst these, he mentions the case of Stephen Decatur (1753), a Genoese, the father of the celebrated Commodore, and that of Lucerna, a Portuguese Jew, in 1761. No class of people more earnestly and gratefully recognize Roger Williams as the apostle of their liberties than do the American Jews. One of their ablest writers says in a recent work: 'The earliest champion of religious freedom, or "soul liberty," as he designated that most precious jewel of all liberties, was Roger Williams. . . . To him rightfully belongs the immortal fame of having been the first person in modern times to assert and maintain in its fullest plenitude the absolute right of every man to "a full liberty in religious concernments," and to found a State wherein this doctrine was the key-stone of its organic laws. . . . Roger Williams, the first pure type of an American freeman, proclaimed the laws of civil and religious liberty, that "the people were the origin of all free power in government," that God has given to men

no power over conscience, nor can men grant this power to each other; that the regulation of the conscience is not one of the purposes for which men combine in civil society. For uttering such heresies; this great founder of our liberties was banished out of the jurisdiction of the Puritans in America. . . . In grateful remembrance of God’s merciful providence to him in his distress, he gave to it (the new town) the name of Providence. "I desired," said he, "it might be a shelter for persons distressed for conscience." . . . The infant community at Providence at once set about to frame laws for government, in strict accord with the spirit of the settlement. "Masters of families incorporated together into a township, and such others as they shall admit into the same, only in civil things." This simple instrument is the earliest constitution of government whereof we have any record, which not only tolerated all religions, but recognized as a right, absolute liberty of conscience.’

Chapter 5

04 The Providence and Newport Churches

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS IV. THE PROVIDENCE AND NEWPORT CHURCHES

ROGER WILLIAMS, having adopted the old Baptist principle of absolute soul-liberty and given it practical effect in the civil provisions which he had devised, could not stop there. This deep moral truth carried with it certain logical outworkings concerning human duty as well as its rights, and as his doctrine could not stand alone in his thought, he was compelled to take another step forward. Relieved from all outside authority in matters of conscience, to which he had formerly submitted, he was now directly responsible to God for the correctness of his faith and practice, and by all that he had suffered he was bound to walk in an enlightened conscience. This compelled him to inquire what obedience God demanded of him personally, and threw him directly back upon his word as to his personal duty in the matter of baptism. While an infant he had been christened, but having now put himself under the supreme Headship of Christ, without the intervention of human authority, he found himself at a step on pure Baptist ground, and determined to be baptized on his own faith.

Williams with five others had settled Providence in June, 1636, and their numbers soon grew, so that in about three years there appear to have been about thirty families in the colony. In the main, the Christian portion of them had been Congregationalists, but in their trying position they seem to have been left unsettled religiously, especially regarding Church organization. Winthrop says that they met both on week-days and the Sabbath for the worship of God; but the first sign of a Church is found sometime previous to March, 1639, when Williams and eleven others were baptized, and a Baptist Church was formed under his lead. Hubbard tells us that he was baptized 'by one Holliman, then Mr. Williams re-baptized him and some ten more.' Ezekiel Holliman had been a member of Williams's Church at Salem, which Church, March 12th, 1638, charged him with 'neglect of public worship, and for drawing many over to his persuasion.' For this he 'is referred to the elders, that they may endeavor to convince and bring him from his principle and practice.' [Felt, Ecc. Hist. i, p. 334] Through its pastor, Hugh Peters, the Salem Church wrote to the Dorchester Church July 1st, 1639, informing them that 'the great censure' had been passed upon 'Roger Williams and his wife, Thomas Olney and his wife, Stukley Westcot and his wife, Mary Holliman, with widow Reeves,' and that 'these wholly refused to hear the Church, denying it and all the Churches of the Bay to be the true Churches, and (except two) all are re-baptized.' [Felt, i, 379,380] In the baptism of these twelve we find a case of peculiar necessity, such as that in which the validity of 'lay-baptism' has never been denied. Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome, all held that in cases of necessity 'laymen' should baptize and the Synod of Elvira so decreed. Mosheim writes: 'At first, all who were engaged in propagating Christianity, administered this rite; nor can it be called in question, that whoever persuaded any person to embrace Christianity, could baptize his own disciple.' [Ecc. Hist. i, pp. 105,106] Some, amongst whom we find Winthrop, have thought that Williams became a Baptist under the influence of a sister of Mrs. Hutchinson; others, that John Clarke, then of Aquidneck, was very likely the instrument of influencing him to this choice. But Clarke makes no reference in his writings to the baptism of his intimate friend, as he

probably would have done had he led him to this step. So far as appears, there was not a Baptist minister in the colony at the time. Williams was an ordained minister in the English Episcopal Church and had been re-ordained at Salem, May, 1635, after the Congregational order, so that no one could question his right to immerse on the ground of non-ordination. He has left no account of his baptism, and some have questioned whether he was immersed, a point that we may now examine.

Under date of March 16th, 1639, Felt says: 'Williams, as stated by Winthrop, was lately immersed;' [Ecc. Hist., i, p. 402] and that he was immersed has never been questioned by any historian down from Winthrop to Bancroft, until recently. In 1879 this question was raised, but only then on the assumption that immersion was not practiced by the English Baptists until 1641, and so, that in America, Williams must have been 'affused' in March, 1639! Richard Scott, who was a Baptist with Williams at Providence, but who afterward became a Quaker, writing against Williams thirty-eight years afterward, says: 'I walked with him in the Baptists' way about three or four months, . . . in which time he broke from his society, and declared at large the ground and reason for it; that their baptism could not be right because it was not administered by an apostle.

After that he set upon a way of seeking, with two or three of them that had dissented with him, by way of preaching and praying; and there he continued a year or two till two of the three left him. . . . After his society and he in a Church way were parted, he then went to England.' [Appendix to Fox's Fire-band Quenched, p. 247] Here he gives no hint that 'the Baptists' way differed in any respect in 1639 from what it was when he wrote. Hooker's letter to Shepard, November 2d, 1640, shows clearly that immersion was practiced at Providence at that time. When speaking of Humphrey inviting Chauncey from Plymouth to Providence, on account of his immersionist notions, Hooker says: 'That coast is more meet for his opinion and practice.' And Coddington, Governor of Rhode Island, a determined enemy of Williams, put this point unmistakably, thus: 'I have known him about fifty years; a mere weathercock, constant only in inconstancy. . . . One time for water baptism, men and women must be plunged into the water, and then threw it all down again.' [Letter to Fox, 1677] But Williams's own opinion of Scripture baptism, given in a letter to Winthrop, November 10th, 1649, should set this point at rest. Speaking of Clarke, the founder of the Baptist Church at Newport, he writes: 'At Seekonk a great many have lately concurred with Mr. Clarke and our Providence men about the point of a new baptism and the manner of dipping, and Mr. Clarke hath been there lately, and Mr. Lucar, and hath dipped them. I believe their practice comes nearer the first practice of our great founder, Jesus Christ, than other practices of religion do, and yet I have not satisfaction neither in the authority by which it is done, nor in the manner.' These words were written ten years after he repudiated his Providence baptism by Holliman, and after he had cast aside baptism altogether, both as to 'authority' and 'manner.' As to the legitimate use of the phrase 'new baptism' by him, its sense in this case would relate to an institution administered afresh to the candidates at Seekonk in addition to their infant baptism, and to the recent introduction of that practice on this continent, as contrary to the entire previous practice here, and not to the creation of a new rite, or the revival of an old one; for even in 1649 he thought it nearer the practice of Jesus Christ. There can be no doubt as to what these elders, Clarke and Lucar, did in administering baptism at Seekonk, for Clarke's Confession of Faith, found in the records of his Church (No. 32), says: 'I believe that the true baptism of the Gospel is a visible believer with his own consent to be baptized in common water, by dying, or, as it were, drowning,

to hold forth death, burial and resurrection, by a messenger of Jesus, into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.' [Backus, i, 208] Williams says here, that 'our Providence men' 'concurred' with Clark and the converts at Seekonk, and gives no intimation that the Providence Baptists had ever differed from his own views concerning dipping as 'nearer the first practice of our great founder, Jesus Christ, than other practices of religion do.' The hand of God appears to have led Roger Williams to plant the good seed of the kingdom in that colony, and then to step aside, lest any flesh should glory in his presence. In that day there was a very respectable class of men, both in England and the older colonies, nicknamed 'Seekers,' simply because they were earnest inquirers after truth; and, concluding that it was impossible to find it then on earth, they looked for its new manifestation from heaven. They sought a visible and apostolic line of purely spiritual character, something after the order of the late Edward Irving, and not finding this, they waited for a renewal of Apostles with special gifts of the Spirit to attest their credentials. When Williams withdrew from the Baptists he was classed with these. His theory of the apostolate seems to have been the cause of his withdrawal, and of his doubt concerning the validity of his baptism. A few years later, in his 'Bloody Tenet' and his 'Hireling Ministry,' he denied that a ministry existed which was capable of administering the ordinances, for in 'the rule of Antichrist the true ministry was lost, and he waited for its restoration, much after John Smyth's view, in a new order of succession. Of course he looked upon his baptism as defective, and withdrew from the Baptists. His was not an unusual case at that period.

Walter Cradock tells us, in 1648, of 'a man that was a member of a Church and, because he saw infants baptized and himself was not, he broke off from them, and said that there was no Church, and all the streams did run for two months together on baptism; there was nothing talked of but that, and concluded the Anabaptists and all were Antichristian, and there was no Church nor any thing till we had Apostles again. As I told you, that any that hold that principle and follow it closely and rationally, they will infallibly come to Apostles, and miracles, and signs from heaven.' [Gospel Liberty, p. 144] The withdrawal of Williams from the Baptists did not disrupt brotherly love between them to the end of his life, and he did not prize this brotherly fellowship lightly. In reply to Fox, 1672, he says: 'After all my search and examinations and considerations, I do profess to believe that some come nearer to the first primitive Churches and the institutions and appointments of Jesus Christ than others; as in many respects, so in that gallant and heavenly and fundamental principle of the true matter of a Christian congregation, flock, or society; namely, actual believers, true disciples and converts, living stones, such as can give some account how the grace of God hath appeared unto them.' It will be in order here to say a few words concerning the Church which he planted at Providence. The advanced views of Williams in regard to the need of personal regeneration in a Christian and his utter rejection of infant baptism, views radically distinctive of Baptists both in his day and ours, and the direct opposite of those held by the standing order in the New England colonies of his time, show clearly the grounds of his baptism by Holliman. Of his personal regeneration he says: 'From my childhood, now above three-score years, the Father of Lights and Mercies touched my soul with a love to himself, to the only begotten, the true Lord Jesus, to his Holy Scriptures.' [Address to the Quakers, March 10, 1673] Three years after making this statement, he states to George Fox that a Gospel Church must be made up of such regenerate men, and calls them actual believers, true disciples and converts, living stones, such as can give some account how the grace of God hath appeared unto them and wrought that heavenly change in them.' This change he calls 'that gallant and heavenly and fundamental

principle of the true matter of a Christian congregation, flock or society.' [Reply to Fox, 1676] And as these were the views which he held in 1675, thirty-six years after his own baptism, it is only fair to credit him with them at the time of his baptism. His tractate, 'Christenings make not Christians,' published in London, 1645, gives a full exposition of his radical views on this subject, in language so full and round as to make them worthy of the best teachers of Baptist theology in the present century. This rare book, which was supposed to be lost, but which has recently been found amongst the enormous accumulations of the British Museum and republished in Rider's Rhode Island Historical Tracts, must speak here. On page 5 he says : 'To be a Christian implies two things, to be a follower of that anointed One in all his offices, second to partake of his anointings.' On page 7 he deplores departure from the true kingdom of God as shown by the marks of a 'false conversion and a false constitution or framing of national Churches, in false ministries, the ministrations of baptism, Supper of the lord,' etc. He charges, on pages 10,11, that false Christians had made amongst the heathen monstrous and 'most inhuman conversions, yea, ten thousands of the poor natives, sometimes by wiles and subtile devices, sometimes by force, compelling them to submit to that which they understood not, neither before nor after such their monstrous christening of them. Thirdly, for our New England parts, I can speak uprightly and confidently. I know it to have been easy for myself, long ere this, to have brought many thousands of these natives, yea, the whole country, to a far greater antichristian conversion than ever was yet heard of in America. I have reported something in the chapter of their religion [in his Key] how readily I could have brought the whole country to have observed one day in seven; I add to have received a baptism (or washing), though it were in rivers (as the first Christians and the Lord Jesus himself did), to have come to a stated Church meeting, maintained priests and forms of prayer, and the whole form of antichristian worship in life and death.'

After repeating that he could so have converted the Indians, he asks: 'Why have I not brought them to such a conversion? I answer: Woe be to me, if I call light darkness, or darkness light; sweet bitter, or bitter sweet; woe to me, if I call that conversion unto God, which is, indeed, subversion of the souls of millions in Christendom, from one worship to another, and the profanation of the holy name of God, his holy Son and blessed ordinances. . . . It is not a suit of crimson satin will make a dead man live; take off and change his crimson into white, he is dead still. Off with that, and shift him into cloth of gold, and from that to cloth of diamonds, he is but a dead man still. For it is not a form, nor the change of one form into another, a finer and a finer and yet more fine, that makes a man a convert--I mean such a convert as is acceptable to God in Jesus Christ according to the visible rule of his last will and testament.

I speak not of hypocrites, which may but glitter, and be no solid gold, as Simon Magus, Judas, etc. But of a true external conversion [probably a misprint for eternal] I say, then, woe be to me! if intending to catch men, as the Lord Jesus said to Peter, I should pretend conversion, and the bringing of men, as mystical fish, into a Church estate, that is, a converted estate, and so build them up with ordinances as a converted Christian people, and yet afterward still pretend to catch them by an after conversion.' On pages 17,18, he thus more fully defines what he held repentance and conversion to be: 'First, it must be by the free proclaiming and preaching of repentance and forgiveness of sins (Luke 14) by such messengers as can prove their lawful sending and commission from the Lord Jesus to make disciples out of all nations; and so to baptize or wash them, into the name or profession of the Holy Trinity. Matt. 28:19; Rom. 10:14,15. Secondly, such

a conversion, so far as man's judgment can reach, which is fallible, as was the judgment of the first messengers, as in Simon Magus, etc., as in the turning of the whole man from the power of Satan unto God. Acts 16. Such a change, as if an old man became a new babe (John 4); yea, as amounts to God's new creation in the soul. Eph. 2:10.' In view of the fact that Williams remained with the Baptists but three or four months, some have seriously doubted whether he formed a Church there after that order at all, and amongst these, at one time, was the thoughtful and accurate Callender; but he seems at last to have concluded otherwise. Scott's words appear to settle this point, for he not only says that he walked with Williams in the Baptists' way, but that Williams 'broke from his society, and declared at large his reasons for doing so;' that two or three 'dissented with him;' and that he parted with 'his society' 'in a Church way.' What became of 'his society' after he left it is not very clear. Cotton Mather says: 'Whereupon his Church dissolved themselves;' and Neal, that 'his Church hereupon crumbled to pieces.' [Magnalia, ii, 432; Neal's Hist. Diss., p. 111] It is difficult to know how far the so-called 'Records' of the Providence Church may be relied upon, as we shall see, but they say that 'Mr. Holliman was chosen assistant to Mr. Williams;' and it is probable that upon this authority Professor Knowles says, in his 'Life of Williams,' that Holliman 'became a preacher,' and fostered the society [page 168]. Scott's account carries the implication throughout that the main body held together as Baptists when Williams left them. Great blame has been thrown upon Roger Williams for leaving the 'society' in Providence, and his conduct can be accounted for in part by his preconceived notions of a succession in the ministry, as is indicated in the expression already quoted, from his pen: 'By such messengers as can prove their lawful sending and commission.' But this accounts for it only in part. We may suppose that the affairs of the colony demanded the greater part of his time and energies. And moreover, we are not without indications that he found it about as hard to get along with compeers in that 'society' as they found it to get along with him; for none of them were made of the most supple material in human nature, as their after contentions and divisions about psalm-singing, laying on of hands, and other things show. Also the following shows that he did not regard some of them as any more orthodox in some doctrinal matters than they needed to be. He says, in a letter to John Whipple, dated Providence, August 24th, 1669: 'I am sorry that you venture to play with the fire, and W. Wickenden is toasting himself in it, and my want of tongs to rake him out without burning my fingers, etc. You know who it is that counts you and us as fools for believing the Scriptures; namely, that there shall be any hell at all, or punishment for sin after this life. But I am content to be a fool with Jesus Christ, who tells us of an account for every idle word in the day of judgment.' This rather indicates that some of the Providence brethren were tinctured with 'new theology,' while Roger stood squarely with Christ Jesus on the doctrine of future retribution, and had his own trials with the rather peculiar people of that old First Church for fully half a century. From this time on the early history of the Church becomes a perplexing confusion, from the absence of records; if any minutes were kept they cannot be found. In fact, during the socalled King Philip's War, in 1676, most if not all the houses in Providence were destroyed by the Indians, and the records, if there were any, of course, perished in the flames. About a century ago Rev. John Stanford preached for a year to the First Baptist Church in Providence, and made an honest attempt to collect the most reliable information that he could command, and formulated a Book of Records. Stanford's original manuscript of twenty pages folio has been preserved in the archives of the society, and also copied into the first volume of the Church records, which begin only in April, 1775. His history of the Church was published by Rippon in the 'Baptist Annual Register' for

1801-2. The doctor possessed unusual ability, and was not supposed to misrepresent in the slightest degree; but it was impossible for him to construct a reliable history without authentic material. All that he had was tradition and a few fragments, and he complains thus of his scanty supply: 'No attention to this necessary article has been paid;' and he further says that he attempted this collection 'under almost every discouraging circumstance.' After doing the best that he could, his supposed facts are so fragmentary as to leave long gaps unfilled, with their value so impaired that few careful writers feel at liberty to follow them entirely. Then they contain some few contradictions which the doctor was not able to explain, and which perplex all calm investigators ; for example, they state that Williams was pastor of the Church for four years instead of four months; that it is not known when Thomas Olney was baptized or ordained, and that he came to Providence in 1654; whereas, in another place, they state that he was in the canoe with Williams when the Indians saluted him with 'What cheer?' and his name always appears in the list of members baptized by Williams, and amongst the thirteen original proprietors of Providence. Professor Knowles complains of these errors; also Dr. Caldwell, a most candid and careful writer, says in his history of this Church, that this record 'contains many errors, which have been repeated by later writers, and sometimes as if they had the authority of original records.' Of the above contradictions he remarks: 'Mr. Stanford, in the Records, confounding Mr. Olney with his son, makes the following statement, which is an almost unaccountable mixture of errors.' Where such serious defects abound in any records, it is clear that little firm reliance can be placed upon their testimony, and this without reflection on the compiler, who stated only what he found, and attempted no manufacture of facts to complete his story. We are obliged, therefore, to consult side lights and outside testimony, and take it for what it is worth, according to the means of information enjoyed by contemporaneous and immediately succeeding witnesses. These are not numerous in this case, nor are they very satisfactory, because their testimony does not always agree, nor had they equal means of knowing whereof they spoke. Hence several different theories have been put forth on the subject, in the friendly discussions of those who have cherished them, and so far without a solution of the difficulties. In 1850 Rev. Samuel Adlam, then pastor of the First Church at Newport, wrote a pamphlet in which he attempted to show that if Roger Williams established a Church, and it did not fall to pieces after he withdrew from it, that his successor was Thomas Olney, Sr.; and that, in 1652-53, the Church divided on the subject of laying on of hands. Then that Wickenden went out with the new body, while Olney remained with the old body, which he continued to serve as pastor until his death, in 1682, after which that Church existed until 1715, when it died; and so that the present Church at Providence dates back only to 1652-53. He founds this claim on the statement of John Comer, who left a diary in manuscript, and, writing about 1726-31, said: 'Mr. William Vaughn finding a number of Baptists in the town of Providence, lately joined together in special Church covenant, in the faith and practice, under the inspection of Mr. Wiggington [Wickenden], being heretofore members of the Church under Mr. Thomas Olney, of that town, he, that is, Mr. William Vaughn, went thither in the month of October, 1652, and submitted thereto (the laying on of hands), whereupon he returned to Newport, accompanied with Mr. William Wiggington and Mr. Gregory Dexter.' For the above reason, JOHN COMER believed that the Newport and not the Providence Church was the first in what is now Rhode Island, and the first in America. Backus, who wrote in l777, and Staples, in his 'Annals of Providence' (1843), both accept Comer's statement in relation to Olney as correct, Backus stating that Thomas Olney; Sr., 'was next to Mr. Williams in the pastoral office, and continued so to his death, over that part of the

Church who were called Five Principle Baptists, in distinction from those who parted from their brethren about the year 1653, under the leading of elder Wickenden, holding to the laying on of hands upon every Church member.' This he repeats, and adds that when Williams 'put a stop to his further travel with' the First Church in Providence, 'Thomas Olney was their next minister,' after which he laments that darkness fell 'over their affairs.' [Hist. Baptists, i, p. 405; ii, pp. 490,491,285, Weston's ed.] Comer's testimony carried great weight with these authors, and justly; for he was a most painstaking man, possessing a clear and strong mind under high culture, ranking with the first men of his day. He was born in Boston, was nephew to Rev. Elisha Callender, pastor of the First Baptist Church there, and was baptized by him in 1725. His parents had been Presbyterians, but on reading Stennett's reply to Russell, became Baptists. They educated their son at Yale, and he was chosen colleague to Peckham at Newport. Morgan Edwards says of him: 'He was curious in making minutes of very remarkable events, which swelled at last into two volumes. . . . To this manuscript am I beholden for many chronologies and facts in this my third volume. He had conceived a design of writing a history of the American Baptists, but death broke his purpose at the age of thirty years, and left that for others to execute.' [Materials for Hist. of R.I. Baptists] This manuscript is now in possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society at Providence, and in writing it he gathered many facts from Samuel Hubbard and Edward Smith, both contemporary with the events which they related to him.

Those who do not accept the positions taken by Comer in this matter, and they constitute the great majority, claim that Rev. Chad Brown was the immediate pastoral successor of Williams; that when the division took place, in 1652-53, it was Oiney who went out from the old Church with a new interest, and not Wickenden; that tlie Oiney interest ceased to exist in 1715, and so, that the present First Church at Providence is the veritable Church which Williams formed in 1639. All admit that there was a division in the Church in 1652-53, but it seems impossible on present evidence to determine fully which was the seceding party. John Callender, another nephew of Elisha Callender, born 1706, graduated at Harvard, and settled as successor to Peckham at Newport, a man of wonderful attainments and accuracy, preached a great Historical Sermon in 1738 on 'The History of Rhode Island' covering its first century, which document has become standard authority; he states the case with the widest difference from Comer. He says: 'About the year 1653 there was a division in the Baptist Church at Providence about the rite of 'laying on of hands, which some pleaded for as essentially necessary to Church communion, and the others would leave indifferent. Hereupon they walked in two Churches, one under Mr. C. Brown, Wickenden, etc., the other under Mr. Thomas Olney, but laying on of hands at length generally prevailed.' On page 61, in the first edition of his sermon, he has this foot-note: 'This last continued till about twenty years since, when, becoming destitute of an elder, the members united with other Churches.'

Stephen Hopkins, in his 'History of Providence,' published in 1765, says, with both Comer and Callender before him: 'The first Church formed at Providence by Mr. Williams and others seems to have been on the model of the Congregational Churches in the other New England colonies. But it did not continue long in this form; for most of its members very soon embraced the principles and practices of the Baptists, and some time earlier than 1639 gathered and formed a Church at Providence of that society. . . . This first Church of Baptists at Providence hath from the beginning kept itself in repute, and maintained its discipline, so as to avoid scandal, or schism, to this day;

hath always been, and still is, a numerous congregation, and in which I have with pleasure observed very lately sundry descendants from each of the above-mentioned founders, except Holliman.' [Providence Gazette, 1765] When Williams published h is 'Bloody Tenet' in 1643-44, he held the doctrine of laying on of hands, for he says therein: 'Concerning baptism and laying on of hands, God's people will be found to be ignorant for many hundred years, and I cannot yet see it proved that light is risen, I mean the light of the first institution, in practice.'

He repeats the same sentiment in the 'Bloody Tenet, yet More Bloody,' 1652, and in his 'Hireling Ministry,' 1652 [page 21]. This throws a ray of light upon the statement of Morgan Edwards, made in 1770: 'At first laying on of hands was held in a lax manner, so that they who had no faith in the rite were received without it, and such (saith Joseph Jenks) was the opinion of the Baptists in the first constitution of their Churches throughout this colony.' Again he says: ' Some divisions have taken place in this Church. The first was about the year 1654, on account of laying on of hands.

Some were for banishing it entirely, among which Rev. Thomas Olney was the chief, who, with a few more withdrew and formed themselves into a distinct Church, distinguished by the name of Five Point Baptists, and the first of the name in the province; it continued in being to 1715, when Mr. Olney resigned the care of it, and soon after it ceased to exist.' Mr. Olney, to whom Edwards refers as having resigned in 1715, could not have been the Rev. Thomas Olney who was one of the constituent members of the Church, and an assistant to Rev. Chad Brown. He died in 1682. His son, Thomas Olney, Jr., who is said also to have been an elder, died in 1722, at the advanced age of ninety-one. He was the town clerk until his death.

It seems clear from the statements of the most reliable historians that the first warm contention on the subject at Providence was between Wickenden and Olney, as to whether the point of being 'under hands' should be made a test of fellowship ; that Olney went out, that Wickenden and Brown remained with the old Church, and that in that body, according to Callender, laying on of hands prevailed, and held its own till the days of Manning, when it ceased to be a test of membership, and gradually died out. The absence of records and contradictory statements from various sources, as to a succession of pastors until the coming of Dr. Manning, render it next to impossible to follow a regular thread here, and the tangle is made worse by the statements of all, that in its early history the Church had three or four elders at once. Dr. Barrows says, of the first Newport Church, that it had elders 'besides a pastor,' and mentions three by name; and Dr. Caldwell says, that the Providence Church had 'two or three elders' at the same time. At the time of the division, 1652-53, there were four elders in this Church--Brown, Wickenden, Olney and Dexter. From Williams onward they were a glorious body of men. Some of them were Five and some Six Principle men; but there was not one Seventh Principle Baptist amongst them, who held to the 'five barley loaves and two small fishes.' For two generations they served the Church without salaries, a practice which must have ruined it without special grace. Their course in this direction induced Morgan Edwards to say: 'The ministry of this Church has been a very expensive one to the ministers, and a very cheap one to the Church.'

There is abundant cause for gratitude that DR. MANNING found his way to Providence as pastor in 1771. From that day it began to write a new history, but not without a struggle. He came first as a visitor and was invited to preach. But, 'Being Communion day, Mr. Winsor invited Mr. Manning to partake with them, which the president cordially accepted. After this several members were

dissatisfied with Mr. Manning's partaking of the Lord's Supper with them; but at a Church meeting, appointed for the purpose, Mr. Manning was admitted to communion by vote of the Church. Notwithstanding this, some of the members remained dissatisfied at the privilege of transient communion being allowed Mr. Manning; whereupon another meeting was called previous to the next communion day, in order to reconcile the difficulty. At said meeting Mr. Manning was confirmed in his privilege by a much larger majority. At the next Church meeting Mr. Winsor appeared with an unusual number of members from the country, and moved to have Mr. Manning displaced, but to no purpose. The ostensible reason of Mr. Winsor and of those with him for objecting against President Manning was, that he did not make imposition of hands a bar to communion, though he himself had received it, and administered it to those who desired it. Mr. Winsor and the Church knew. Mr. Manning's sentiments and practice for more than six years at Warren, those, therefore, who were well-informed attributed the opposition to the president's holding to singing in public worship, which was highly disgustful to Mr. Winsor. The difficulty increasing, it was resolved to refer the business to the next Association at Swansea. But when the case was presented, the Association, after a full hearing on both sides, agreed that they had no right to determine, and that the Church must act for themselves. The next Church meeting, which was in October, was uncommonly full. All matters relative to the president were fully debated, and by a much larger majority were determined in his favor. It was then agreed all should sit down at the Lord's Table the next Sabbath, which was accordingly done. But at the subsequent communion season, Mr. Winsor declined administering the ordinance, assigning for a reason, that a number of the brethren were dissatisfied. April 18, 1771, being Church meeting, Mr. Winsor appeared and produced a paper, signed by a number of members living out of town, dated Jonston, February 27. 1771. These parties withdrew on the issue, and formed a Six Principle Church.' [Providence Church Records] On June 10th, 1771, the first Church sent to Swansea, inviting elders Job and Russel Mason to come and break bread to them after Samuel Winsor had left them to form a new Church. They replied, June 28th: 'Whereas, you have sent a request for one of us to break bread among you, we laid your request before our Church meeting; and there being but few present, and we not being able to know what the event of such a proceeding might be at this time, think it not expedient for us to come and break bread with you' [Providence Church Records]. Before Manning accepted the pastorate permanently, the Church appointed him to break bread, and he acted as pastor pro tem. After the Church got through with all its quiddities and contentions, and came to labor earnestly for the salvation of men, the Holy Spirit was graciously outpoured upon it, and its prosperity became marked. In 1774 a young man named Biggilo was accidentally killed in Providence, and his death stirred the whole city. Tamer Clemons and Venus Arnold, two colored women, gave themselves to Christ, were converted and baptized; and the record says, 'The sacred flame of the Gospel began to spread. In fifteen months one hundred and four confessed the power of the Spirit of Christ, in the conversion of their souls, and entered the gates of Zion with joy.' They had no meeting-house for nearly sixty years, but met in groves or private houses, till noble elder Tillinghast built one, at his own expense, in 1700.

Under the ministry of Dr. Manning, this, however ceased to meet their necessities, and in 1774 the present beautiful edifice was erected at a cost of ,7,000, and dedicated to God on May 28th, 1775. Our fathers delighted greatly in its tall steeple, 196 feet in height, and in their new bell, which weighed 2,515 pounds, bearing this motto: 'For freedom of conscience, the town was first planted; Persuasion, not force, was used by the people; This church is the eldest, and has not recanted,

Enjoying and granting bell, temple, and steeple.'

Mind you, reader, this was one year before the clang of that grand old sister bell at Philadelphia which rang in our independence. But, alas for the vanity of noisy metal, the Baptist bell split its sides in 1787, and that at Independence Hall followed its example, since which time the Providence people have kept their best bell in the pulpit, without a crack, from Manning to T. Edwin Crown, not the son of Chad, but his last worthy successor. Few bodies on earth have been honored with such a line of pastors for two and a half centuries, and few Churches have been so faithful to the great, first principles of the Gospel, without wavering for an hour. These she has maintained, too, without any written creed or human declaration of faith, standing firmly on the text and spirit of the Bible, as her only rule of faith and practice; notwithstanding that for a time her organization was followed by a set of crude notions and practices which do not characterize the Baptists of today, and which do not entitle her founders to canonization by any means.

Taking Roger's Romish quiddity about apostolic succession and his thesis about some other things into account, they were a fair match for each other. The First Church at NEWPORT and its founder now invite our attention. JOHN CLARKE, M.D., has few peers in any respect amongst the founders of New England, and, except in point of time, is more properly the father of the Baptists there than Roger Williams, who must ever remain its great apostle of religious liberty. Clarke was born in Suffolk, England, in 1609; was liberally educated and practiced as a physician in London for a time; but seems to have been equally versed in law and theology, with medicine. His religions and political principles led him to cast in his lot with the New World and he arrived in Boston in November, 1637. There is no evidence that he was a Baptist at this time, but rather he seems to have been a Puritan, much like Roger Williams when he landed there; and as Clarke expected to practice medicine in Boston, he would scarcely have been tolerated there at all as a Baptist. At that moment the Congregational Churches of Boston and vicinity were in a warm controversy with Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother-in-law, Mr. Wheelwright, touching their doctrines. After they were banished, November 20th, 1637, excitement ran high, and a number of persons who had more or less sympathy with them, either on account of their views or their banishment, determined to retire from the colony and found one of their own, where they could have peace. Clarke went with this band, it is supposed to New Hampshire, where they spent the winter of 1637-38 at or near Dover.

Finding the climate too severe, in the spring they determined to make either for Long Island or Delaware. When they reached Cape Cod, they left their vessel to go overland and make for Providence, where Roger Williams welcomed them warmly, from which time the names of Clarke and Williams become inseparable in the political and religious history of our country. Williams suggested that they remain in that region, and after deliberate consideration, Clarke purchased of the Indians, through the agency of Williams, Aquidneck, otherwise and now called the island of Rhode Island, whose chief city is Newport. "Their first settlement was at the north end of the island, at what is now Portsmouth. Here, March 7th, 1638, their first step was to form a civil government, declaring themselves a 'body-politic,' submitting themselves to Christ and his holy 'truth, to be guided and judged thereby,' much after the form of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. They then chose Coddington as judge or magistrate, appointed civil officers, and voted a whipping-post, a jail and a pair of stocks. At one time, it was supposed that this was a religious compact, because they appointed 'three elders,' January 2d, 1639. These, however, were civil officers, or associate judges in the Hebrew sense. They were to assist Coddington 'in the execution of justice and

judgment, for the regulating and ordering of all offenses and offenders,' and they were to report to the freemen quarterly. They also determined that in laying out the town, two civil commissioners should locate the meeting-house for Portsmouth. These settlers numbered eighteen, most of them being Congregationalists and members of Cotton's Church in Boston, but some of them were under its censure and that of the Court of Massachusetts for imbibing certain peculiar views of Christian doctrine. Whether Anne Hutchinson was with them at the moment does not appear, but her husband was. So far as appears none of them were Baptists, but sympathized with her in theological sentiments, as John Cotton and Sir Henry Vane did at one time, and now determined to enjoy the freedom of their consciences. It is not clear whether Clarke was at this time a Congregationalist, but they formed a Church, to which he was the preacher, whether or not he was the pastor. Winthrop's Journal implies that there were no Baptists amongst them. Indeed, why should the State Church at Boston send a deputation to a Baptist Church at Portsmouth? He says that they 'gathered a Church in a very disorderly way; for they took some excommunicated persons, and others who were members of the Church in Boston and were not dismissed.' . . . That 'many of Boston and others, who were of Mrs. Hutchinson's judgment and partly removed to the isle of Aquiday; and others who were of the rigid separation, and savored of anabaptism, removed to Providence.' Had he known of a Baptist at Portsmouth, he would have been likely to say so, and would not have contented himself with mentioning that this Church was gathered in a disorderly way. In February, 1640, the Boston Church sent three of its members 'to understand their judgments in divers points of religion formerly maintained by all or divers of them.' This committee of discipline reported to that Church, March 16th, 1640, that the new Church at Portsmouth was irregular in that they followed the unwarrantable practice of taking the Lord's Supper with excommunicated persons; but the deputation gives no hint that any of them were Baptists. The Portsmouth Church refused to hear these messengers, demanding: 'What power one Church hath over another?' When they reported to Cotton's Church: 'The elders and most of the Churches would have cast them out, as refusing to hear the Church, but all not being agreed it was deferred.' In 1638 Newport was settled, at the south end of the island, where a Church was formed in 1641, of which Clarke was pastor, probably another Congregational Church, for we have no sign that even then he held Baptist views of the ordinances. Lechford, who visited the Rhode Island colonies, and speaks freely of them (1637-41) says: 'At Providence, which is twenty miles from the said island (R.I.), lives Master Williams, and his company, of divers opinions; most are Anabaptists.' But of Newport, which he also visited, he says: 'At the island called Acquedney are about two hundred families. There was a Church where one Master Clarke was elder. The place where the Church was is called Newport. But that Church, I hear, is now dissolved.' The next most reliable account of Clarke is from John Callender, the sixth successor to Clarke, as pastor of the First Baptist Church at Newport, who preached the Century Sermon at Newport, March 24th, 1738. In his discourse he uses this language: 'It is said that in 1644 Mr. John Clarke and some others formed a Church on the scheme and principles of the Baptists. It is certain that in 1648 there were fifteen members in full communion.' In 1730 Comer, an earlier successor of Clarke, says that this body maintained 'the doctrine of efficacious grace, and professed the baptizing of only visible believers upon personal profession by a total immersion in water, though the first certain record of this Church is October 12th, 1648.' An interesting item may be mentioned here, namely: That Samuel Hubbard and his wife, of Fairfield, held to the baptism of believers, and she being arraigned twice for this faith, they removed to Newport and united with Clarke's Church

November 3d, 1648. These things taken together lead to the highly probable conclusion, that Clarke became a Baptist somewhere between 1640 and 1644, but we have no record of the time of his baptism, or that of his Church. A long train of circumstances indicate that his steps had led in the same path with those of Williams in the main; through Puritanism, love of religious liberty, disgust at the intolerance of Massachusetts, and so into full Baptist positions. Williams was not a Baptist when he first met Clarke, early in 1638, nor was he immersed till March, 1639, a year afterward. With the brotherly affection which subsisted, between them, the intervention of Williams in securing the island of Rhode Island to Clarke, and their common views on soul-liberty, is it reasonable to suppose that Williams would have sought baptism at the hands of an immersed layman, if Clarke, his next neighbor, was then a Baptist? True, Williams had ceased to be a Baptist when the Baptist Church of which Clarke became pastor was formed, so that he could not have baptized Clarke. But other elders had taken the Church that Williams had left, and Clarke could have received baptism of one of them at Providence, as easily as William Vaughn, of the First Baptist Church at Newport, could go to Providence and receive imposition of hands from Wickenden in 1652. Be this as it may, however, there is nothing to show that Clarke was a Baptist in England, but much to indicate that his love for liberty of conscience led him to embrace Baptist principles and practices in Rhode Island. Morgan Edwards writes of the Newport Church:

'It is said to have been a daughter of Providence Church, which was constituted about six years before. And it is not at all unlikely that they might be enlightened, in the affair of believer's baptism, by Roger Williams and his company, for whom they had the greatest kindness. . . . Clarke, its first minister, 1644, remained pastor till 1676, when he died. . . . Tradition says that he was a preacher before he left Boston, but that he became a Baptist after his settlement in Rhode Island, by means of Roger Williams.' [Materials for Hist. of Baptists in R.I.] His services in the cause of God and liberty were a marvel. In 1651 the colony sent him and Williams to obtain a new charter, which would set aside Coddington's. Williams returned in 1654, leaving Clarke alone to manage the affair, which he did during the Protectorate, and in 1663 he secured from Charles II that remarkable document which was held as fundamental law in Rhode Island till 1842. It was an immense triumph of diplomacy to obtain a charter from Charles II, which declared that 'no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences of opinion or matters of religion.' No wonder that he was hailed with delight on his return to Rhode Island in 1664, after an absence of twelve long years on this high mission.

He served the public in the General Assembly as Deputy Governor, and in other capacities, requiring strength of judgment and versatility of talents. His 'News from New England,' 'Narrative of New England Persecutions,' with several other works, bear the marks of a powerful pen. Callender said of him: 'No character in New England is of purer fame than John Clarke.' The Historian of Rhode Island says that 'to him Rhode Island was chiefly indebted for the extension of her territory on each side of the bay, as well as for her royal charter.' And Roger Williams bears this testimony: 'The grand motive which turned the scale of his life was the truth of God--a just liberty to all men's spirits in spiritual matters, together with the peace and prosperity of the whole colony.' As a consistent Baptist, he displayed a healthy comprehension of all our principles and gave a beautiful unity to our infant cause in the colonies. And it is equally beautiful to see how he accepted from Williams all that related to liberty of conscience, although Williams did not agree

with him in regard to Church life. Williams, at Providence, made the distinction between Church and State, radical and complete from the first. Clarke at first took the Bible as the code of the civil State, so that in Providence Church and State were distinct, but in Aquidneck they were confounded, and only after severe experience did that colony come to adopt the Providence doctrine. When this was done, Baptist Churches sprang up in different directions, under the missionary influences of the Newport Church, and people came from many places to unite in its fellowship.

These two Baptists shaped the early history of the present State of Rhode Island, and her religious policy has since shaped that of all the States. After the Providence Plantations and the people of Narraganset Bay became united under one charter, an old writer said of them: 'They are much like their neighbors, only they have one vice less and one virtue more than they; for they never persecuted any; but have ever maintained a perfect liberty of conscience.' After quoting these words, Edwards remarks: 'In 1656 the Colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven pressed them hard to give up the point, and join the confederates to crush the Quakers, and prevent any more from coming to New England. This they refused, saying: "We shall strictly adhere to the foundation principle on which this colony was first settled, to wit: That every man who submits peaceably to the civil authority, may peaceably worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience without molestation." This answer made the said colonies hate them the more, and meditate their ruin by slanderous words and violent actions. They had to resist Old England as well as New England. Sir Henry Vane admonished them in a letter. Williams says: "I spent almost five years' time with the State of England to keep off the rage of the English against us."

Letter-writers calumniated them as the scum and runaways of other countries which, in time, would bring a heavy burden on the land--as sunk into barbarity, that they could speak neither good English nor good sense, as libertines, antinomians, and every thing except what is good, as despisers of God's worship, and without order or government. In their address to the Lord Protector, 1659, they say: "We bear with the several judgments and consciences of each other in all the towns of our colony, the which our neighbor colonies do not; which is the only cause of their great offense against us."' [Materials for Hist. of Baptists in R.I.] Mr. Clarke passed through several severe controversies. One, on the 'inner-light' question, with those who claimed to be led entirely thereby. Many of them were called 'Seekers,' and some became 'Friends.' Against this doctrine Clarke contended manfully for the Baptist claim of the sufficiency of the Bible as the rule of faith and practice, and carried the public sentiment with him. In 1652, while he was in England, the question of 'laying on of hands' as a test of membership arose. A number withdrew from his Church in 1656, on this issue, and formed a 'Six Principle' Baptist Church in Newport; then, in 1671, another body went out and formed a 'Seventh Day' Church, on the persuasion that the seventh day is the divinely appointed Sabbath. The first successor of Clarke as pastor was Obadiah Holmes, 1676-82; the second Richard Dingley, 1689-94; then William Peckham, 1711-32; John Comer, 1726-29, a colleague to Peckham. John Callender became pastor in 1731, died in 1748, and from him the pastoral succession has gone on in a line of worthies which would honor the history of any Church, while many of its deacons have been known as the first men in the commonwealth. The Church has always been Calvinistic, and has practiced singing as a part of public worship, excepting for a time, in the early part of the eighteenth century. In 1726 it voted

to take ’a weekly contribution for the support of the ministry.’ It has been a living, working band of Christians from its organization, and stands on the old platform where it has stood for nearly two and a half centuries as prominent and healthful as a city on a hill.

05 Chauncey?Knollys?Miles and the Swansea Church

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS V. CHAUNCE--KNOLLYS--MILES AND THE SWANSEA CHURCH

Several hints are found in the early colonial writings, that an individual here and there amongst the colonists inclined to Baptist views in relation to infant baptism and immersion before the immersion of Williams. Governor Winslow wrote of the Baptists, in 1646: 'We have some living amongst us, nay, some of our Churches, of that judgment;' and Mather states that 'many of the first settlers of Massachusetts were Baptists, and they were as holy and watchful and faithful and heavenly a people as any, perhaps, in the world.' [Hypocrisy Unmasked, Magnalia, ii, 459] We have seen that when Williams was banished he was not a Baptist, nor does it appear that there was then one immersed believer in America. There is no evidence that he expressed any difference with his Pedobaptist brethren as to the proper subjects and method of baptism before he found himself in the wilderness. Yet we have seen that while he was teacher at Plymouth, Elder Brewster read his Baptist tendencies in his preaching, and predicted that he would run into 'Anabaptistry.' It is, therefore, a singular fact that Rev. Charles Chauncey who had been an Episcopal clergyman in England, and who arrived in Boston in 1638, should have brought the doctrine of immersion with him, and made directly for that same Plymouth, where somehow there was an 'Anabaptist' taint in the air, to the scant edification of Brewster. Felt writes that Chauncey arrived at Plymouth 'a few days before the great earthquake on the 1st of June,' 1638. At that time Mr. Reyner was teacher to the Church at Plymouth, and Morton's manuscript reports this: 'After Mr. Reyner had been in place a considerable time it was desired that Mr. Charles Chauncey should be invited, who, being a very godly and learned man, they intended upon trial to choose him pastor of the Church here for the more comfortable performance of the ministry with Mr. John Reyner, the teacher of the same; but there fell out some difference about baptizing, he holding it ought only to be by dipping and putting the whole body under water, and that sprinkling was unlawful. The Church yielded that immersion or dipping was lawful, but in this cold country not so convenient. But they could not and durst not yield to him in this--that sprinkling, which all the Churches of Christ, for the most part, at this day practice, was unlawful and a human invention, as the same was pressed; but they were willing to yield to him as far as they could and to the utmost, and were contented to suffer him to practice as he was persuaded, and when he came to minister that ordinance he might do it to any that did desire it in that way; provided, he could peaceably suffer Mr. Reyner and such as desired it to have theirs otherwise baptized by him, by sprinkling or pouring on of water upon them, so as there might be no disturbance in the Church thereabouts. But he said he could not yield thereunto, upon which the Church procured some other ministers to dispute the point with him publicly, as Mr. Ralph Patrick, of Duxburrow, who did it sundry times, ably and sufficiently, as also some other ministers within this government; but he was not satisfied; so the Church sent to many other Churches to crave their help and advice in this matter, and, with his will and consent, sent them his arguments written under his own hand. They sent them to the Church of Boston, in the Bay of Massachusetts, to be communicated with other Churches there; also they sent the same to the

Churches of Connecticut and New Haven, with sundry others, and received very able and sufficient answers, as they conceived, from them and their learned ministers, who all concluded against him. But himself was not satisfied therewith. Their answers were too large here to relate.

They conceived the Church had done what was meet in the thing.' While this Baptist principle was planting itself, by the hands of one who was not a Baptist, in the very Mayflower Church--and possibly Chauncey practiced immersion from the very rock on which the Pilgrims landed--the same leaven was working its way into the heart of the Plymouth colony, at Scituate. In Chap. II, of the British Baptists, we have seen that Spilsbury's Church, London, came out of the Church of which Lathrop, the Separatist, was pastor, in 1633. In 1634 Lathrop himself left London, with about thirty of his members, and settled at Scituate, Mass. Dean, the Scituate historian, agreeing entirely with Wilson about the troubles of that Church in regard to baptism, says: 'Controversy respecting the mode of baptism had been agitated in Mr. Lathrop's Church before he left England, and a part had separated from him, and established the first Baptist (Calvinistic) Church in England in 1633. Those that came seem not all to have been settled on this point, and they found others in Scituate ready to sympathize with them.'

Lathrop remained in Scituate as pastor until 1639, when he and a majority of his Church removed to Barnstable, and Chauncey became pastor at Scituate. Dean further says that a majority of those left at Scituate believed in immersion, but 'nearly half the Church were resolute in not submitting to that mode.' One party held to 'infant sprinkling; another to adult immersion exclusively; and a third, of which was Mr. Chauncey, to immersion of infants as well as of adults.' Winthrop shows that down to June, 1640, Chauncey was still at Plymouth, though not as pastor, and considerable excitement arose there about his views on baptism. On November 2d, 1640, Hooker, Williams's opponent, wrote to Shepherd, his son-in-law, thus: 'I have of late had intelligence from Plymouth. Mr. Chauncey and the Church are to part, he to provide for himself, and they for themselves. At the day of fast, when a full conclusion of the business should have been made, he openly professed he did as verily believe the truth of his opinion as that there was a God in heaven, and that he was as settled in it as that the earth was upon the center. If ever such confidence find success I miss my mark. Mr. Humphrey, I hear, invites him to Providence, and that coast is most meet for his opinions and practice.' [Felt, Ecc. Hist., i, p. 443]

He seems to have been greatly beloved at Plymouth, for Winthrop writes that the Church there 'were loath to part with him;' and Bradford that he 'removed to Scituate, against the earnest wishes of the Plymouth Church to retain him.' He continued his ministry at Scituate till 1654, and, the minority of his Church there having formed a new Church, February 2d, 1642, those that were left seem to have been a unit on the subject of immersion. [Dean, Hist. Scit., p. 60] Some of the records in this case are interestingly quaint, such as this: 'Cotton answers Chauncey's arguments,' and the 'Church at Plymouth dissents from Chauncey's views, one of the reasons being 'that immersion would endanger the lives of infants in winter, and to keep all baptisms till summer hath no warrant in God's word.' [Felt, i, 442] It does not appear, however, that he or his congregation became Baptists, for they retained infant baptism.

Felt says of him, July 7th, 1642: 'Chauncey at Scituate still adheres to his practice of immersion. He had baptized two of his own children in this way. A woman of his congregation who had a child of three years old, and wished it to receive such an ordinance, was fearful that it might be too

much frightened by being dipped, as some had been. She desired a letter from him, recommending her to the Boston Church, so that she might have the child sprinkled. He complied, and the rite was accordingly administered.' [Felt, i, 497] November 27th, 1654, he became President of Harvard College.

HANSERD KNOLLYS had avowed himself a Non-conformist in England, and had been made a prisoner at Boston, in Lincolnshire, but his keeper allowed him to escape, and with his wife he arrived at Boston, Mass., July, 1638. There he was looked upon with suspicion, and reported to the authorities as an Antinomian. Two men in Piscataqua (Dover, N. H.) came and invited him there to preach, and in August he went. He remained there and formed a Church, to which he preached till September, 1641, when he removed, with certain of his congregation, to Long Island, N.Y` where Forrett, agent of the Duke of York, protested against his remaining; and he arrived in London, December 24th, 1641. While in Dover he had trouble into which baptism entered as an element, although Knollys was not a Baptist at that time. Lechford, an Episcopalian, who visited Dover in 1641, speaks of him as then engaged in a controversy about baptism and Church membership. The baptismal point appears to have concerned infant baptism, and on this wise. Another Church sprang up in Dover, whether de novo or as a split from Knollys's, does not appear, but a majority of the people went to the other Church, under the lead of a Mr. Larkham, an English Puritan and a graduate of Cambridge, who could not agree with the Congregationalists here. At Dover Larkham 'received all into his Church, even immoral persons, who promised amendment, he baptized any children offered, and introduced the Episcopal service at funerals'

Knollys and his Church excommunicated Larkham and his adherents, and a tumult arose in the community that brought no great honor to either side. One of the things that drove Knollys out of the English Church, says Wilson, was his scruple against 'the cross in baptism, etc., and he objected to the admission of notoriously wicked persons to the Lord's Supper.' His refusal to take immoral persons into the Church, and to baptize children, 'any offered' as Larkham did, implies that he believed in personal regeneration as a qualification for membership, but not necessarily that he rejected infant baptism entirely, as he might have thought, with John Robinson, that the children of believers only should be christened. Indeed, it is quite probable that he did not then reject infant baptism altogether, for on March 23d, 1640, we find him bearing letters from the Dover to the Boston Church, asking advice about the scruples of the former Church as to whether they should have any fellowship with excommunicated persons, 'except in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper?' In their answer the Boston Church calls them 'godly brethren, who came from the Church of Dover,' and tells them that the excommunicated might be present at preaching or prayers, and other ordinances of the Church, but not at the Supper. To this Knollys replied: 'It is desired by our Church that the elders of this Church would certify their judgments by letter.' All of which is inconsistent with the idea that either he or his Church were Baptists at that time, while seeking the advice of a Congregational Church. Nor, had they been Baptists, should we have found Knollys first writing from Dover to friends in London, complaining that the government of the Bay was 'worse than a high commission,' and then sending, July, 1639, a retraction to Winthrop, and afterward, February 20th, 1640, making a public confession, in a lecture delivered before the elders and magistrates of New Hampshire, that he had slandered the Bay government. In fact, this body would not have heard a lecture from a Baptist. [Felt, ii, pp. 449,399,448] All the power of England could not have compelled him to humble himself thus ten years later. Baptist principles

had clearly begun to work their way into his mind in Dover, and on his return to London the work was completed. For a time he kept school in his own house on Great Tower Hill; then he was chosen master of a free school in St. Mary Axe, where in one year he had one hundred and fifty-six scholars; after which lie went into the Parliament army to preach to the soldiers. When Episcopacy was laid aside he preached again in the parish churches, till the Presbyterians began to persecute him. This brought out his Baptist sentiments, which he avowed with great boldness when preaching one day in Bow Church, Cheapside.

There his attack on infant baptism was so strong that, on a warrant, he was thrown into prison. As in the case of Clarke and Holmes. we have no account of his baptism, but we find him immersing Henry Jesse in June, 1645, and in the same year he formed a Baptist Church at Great St. Helenas, London, where he preached to a thousand people, and became one of the noblest heroes that ever proclaimed the Baptist faith; probably New England having more to do in making him what he was as a Baptist than Old England. [Wilson, Hist. Dissenting Chs; Evans's Eng. Baptists, ii, 131] This agrees with Evans, who, speaking of Knollys becoming a Baptist, says of him: 'Knollys, some years before, had fled from the fierce anger of the hierarchy to the wilds of the New World, but had now returned.' By some means a little Baptist leaven had found its way to Weymouth, Mass., in 1639. Robert Lenthal was to be settled there as pastor, when it was discovered that he held that 'all the requisite for Church membership should be baptism,' whatever this might mean. He, therefore, with several others, attempted to collect a Church, and got many subscribers to a paper with this in view. They were summoned before the Court in Boston, March 13th, 1639, when John Smith was fined twenty pounds, and committed during the pleasure of the Court; Richard Sylvester was disfranchised, and fined forty shillings; Ambrose Morion was fined ten pounds; John Spur, twenty pounds; James Brittane was sentenced to be whipped eleven stripes, because he could not pay his fine; and Lenthal was required to appear at the next Court. He went to Rhode Island, and we find him there with Clarke. It is hard to understand exactly what his views were, but the 'Massachusetts Records' say he held 'that only baptism was the door of entrance into the visible Church,' such a Church 'as all baptized ones might communicate in,' which looks like adult baptism.

JOHN MILES AND THE BAPTIST CHURCH AT SWANSEA, MASS. So far as is known Miles was the first Welsh Baptist minister who ever crossed the Atlantic. He was born in 1621, at Newton, near the junction of the historic rivers, Olchon and Escle. He matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, March 11th, 1636, and is on record as 'a minister of the Gospel ' in 1649, in which year he formed the first Strict Communion Church at Ilsten, near Swanzea, Wales (so spelled at that time, according to Thomas), now Swansea. His love of truth, his art in organization, together with his perseverance and courage, soon made him a leader in the denomination; and in 1651 we find him representing the Welsh Baptists at the Minister's Meeting in London. Persecution soon selected him as one of its first victims, and when the cruel Act of Uniformity, 1662, ejected two thousand ministers, and opened all sorts of new sufferings to God's servants, he, with a large number of his Church, removed to America, carrying their Church records with them, which are still preserved. They settled at Wannamoiset, then within the bounds of Rehoboth, but afterward, 1667, called Swansea, and but ten miles from Providence, though in the Plymouth Colony. The finger of God guided them to this as a field prepared for Baptist culture, and a fruitful one it became. In 1646 Obadiah Holmes had removed there from Salem, of which Church he had been a member and

united with the Congregational Church, under the pastoral charge of Mr. Newman. But, in some way he and eight others had imbibed Baptist principles, possibly from Williams, and in 1649 they established a separate meeting of their own. For this they were excommunicated and punished by the civil authority. The whole commonwealth of Plymouth was stirred and petitions against them came pouring in, one signed by all the clergy of the colony except two, and one from the government of Massachusetts itself. In June, 1650, Holmes and Joseph Torrey were bound to appear at the next court, and in October they, with eight others, were indicted by the Grand Jury. It is difficult to find what penalty was inflicted on them, but, suffice it, their meeting was broken up, and Holmes, with most of his brethren, removed to Newport, where, in due time, he became the pastor of the Baptist Church. The following is the presentment by the grand inquest: 'October the 2d, 1650. We, whose names are heer under written, being the grand inquest, doe present to this Court, John Hazael, Mr. Edward Smith and wife, Obadiah Holmes, Joseph Tory and his wife, and the wife of James Man, William Deuell and his wife, of the town of Rehoboth, for continueing of a meeting uppon the Lord's day from house to house, contrary to the order of this Court enacted June 12th, 1650.' [Plymouth Records, ii, p. 162]

Things were in this condition when Miles and his brethren arrived on the ground, and in 1663, soon after their arrival, they formed the first Baptist Church in what is now the State of Massachusetts. Seven men, whose names have come down to us with that of 'John Miles' at their head (the names of the females are not given), formed a Church covenant in the house of John Butterworth, and a noble band they were. From the first, Miles was a favorite in the community, and on March 13th, 1666, the people of Rehoboth voted that he should lecture for them on the Sabbath and once in two weeks on the week-day. After the death of Mr. Newman, who opposed Miles earnestly, Mr. Symmes had preached for several years in the Pedobaptist Church, and still preached there. Hence this action made great disturbance. So, May 23d, the town agreed: 'That a third man alone for the work of the ministry should be forthwith looked for, and such an one as may preach to the satisfaction of the whole, if it be the will of God, for the settling of peace amongst us.' Richard Bullock protested against this act 'as the sole work of the Church.' This infant Church suffered various legal difficulties, and the Court at Plymouth fined Miles five pounds, July 2d, 1667, for setting up a public meeting without the knowledge and approbation of the Court. They were ordered to stop the meeting where it was then held, but if they would remove to another point, and behaved well there, perhaps they might be permitted to remain in the colony.

Soon after, this Church was brought face to face With a new and great danger. Finding that they were decent citizens after all their heterodoxy, the colony was disposed to give them a grant of land, and did so: to 'Captain Thomas Willet, Mr. Paine, Sr., Mr. Brown, John Alien, and John Butterworth,' as trustees for a new town. Willet and Paine were not Baptists, the others were, and amongst other things Willet proposed: 'That no erroneous persons be admitted into the township.' This tried the metal of the Welsh brethren on the tenet of soul-liberty, of which subject they knew but little, and well-nigh tripped. Glad to find a place where they could worship God in peace, they 'gathered and assembled' as a Church, and addressed an 'explication' to the trustees, in which they conceded, that 'Such as hold damnable heresies, inconsistent with the faith of the Gospel; as, to deny the Trinity, or any person therein; the deity or sinless humanity of Christ. or the union of both natures in him, or his full satisfaction to the divine justice of all his elect, by his active and passive obedience, or his resurrection, ascension into heaven, intercession, or his second coming

personally to judgment; or else to deny the truth or divine authority of the Scriptures, or the resurrection of the dead, or to maintain any merit of works, consubstantiation, transubstantiation, giving divine adoration to any creature, or any other antichristian doctrine, directly opposing the priestly, prophetical, or kingly offices of Christ, or any part thereof; or such as hold such opinions as are inconsistent with the well-being of the place, as to deny the magistrates power to punish evil doers, as well as to encourage those that do well, or to deny the first day of the week to be observed by divine institution as the Lord's day or Christian Sabbath, or to deny the giving of honor to whom honor is due, or to oppose those civil respects that are usually performed according to the laudable customs of our nation each to other, as bowing the knee or body, etc., or else to deny the office, use, or authority of the ministry, or a comfortable maintenance to be due to them from such as partake of their teachings, or to speak reproachfully of any of the Churches of Christ in the country, or of any such other Churches of Christ in the country, or of any such other Churches as are of the same common faith with us or them; all such might be excluded!' [Backus, i, 285,286; Weston's ed.]

What were those Welshmen thinking about? Clearly, they had not been to school at Salem yet, and we may be thankful that they were corresponding with a militia officer and not forming a new State, or, in a short time, Swansea would have been as bad as Glamorganshire, from which they had fled. They remind one of birds in the stress of storm, who make for the first bright light, and in their joy dash themselves against it to destruction, rather than use it as a guide. But their folly is more apparent still when we find them drawing a distinction between essential and nonessential Christian doctrines thus:

'We desire that it be also understood and declare that this is not understood of any holding any opinion different from others in any disputable point, yet in controversy among the godly learned, the belief thereof not being essentially necessary to salvation; such as pedobaptisin, antipedobaptism, church discipline or the like; but that the minister or ministers of the said town may take their liberty to baptize infants or grown persons as the Lord shall persuade their consciences, and so also the inhabitants take their liberty to bring their children to baptism or to forbear.'

It is slightly comforting that they were so far in advance of the neighboring colonies as to allow their neighbors to christen their children, if 'the Lord shall persuade their consciences,' while their neighbors would not allow them to be immersed on their faith in Christ, whether the Lord had persuaded their consciences thereto or not. Still, as Baptists, they were far enough from hardpan at that time, on the subject of religious liberty. A little of Roger Williams's back-bone would not have hurt them at all, or even a bit of honest John Price's old Welsh obstinacy. He was a Baptist minister at Dolan, who endured great persecution, and died at Nantmel, 1673. He would not conform to the Church of England in any thing, and as that Church always buried its dead with the head toward the west, he ordered his buried toward the east. Then, a brass plate was to be put on his grave-stone to certify that he would not conform to their whims dead or alive.

John Miles soon became a power in all the region round about. December 19th, 1674, the town appointed him master of a school, at a salary of forty pounds per annum, 'for teaching grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, and the tongues of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, also to read English and to write.' His house was made the garrison for the military forces when the town was assaulted in the

Indian War under King Philip, June 24th, 1675. The Church multiplied and became strong, taking deep root in the colony. They built their first meeting-house about three miles north-east of Warren, and in 1679 a new one at Kelley's Bridge, with a parsonage for Miles. But they were stoutly opposed, until the whole region became Baptist. It is reported of their pastor, that once when brought before the magistrates for preaching, he asked for a Bible, and turning to Job 19:28, read: 'Ye should say, Why persecute we him, seeing the root of the matter is found in me?' He said no more, but sat down and the Court so felt the power of the passage that, instead of cruelty, he was treated with kindness. He died at Tyler's Point, February 3d, 1683.

We have seen that the authorities of Massachusetts were sorely tried with the leniency of Plymouth in the case of Holmes and his compeers at Rehoboth, but as they could do nothing further in that direction, they proceeded at once to make things as stringent as possible for the persecution of Baptists in their own jurisdiction. Judging by their excited condition, a plague broke out in the colony which might be designated the 'anabaptistical-phobia,' and fright seized them as if some one had been bitten by a live Baptist. The General Court caught the disease badly, and on the 13th of November, 1644, decreed :

'It is ordered and decreed, that if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or the lawful right and authority to make war, or to punish the outward breakers of the first table, and shall appear to the Court willfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment.' But the reasons which they give in the preamble, are, if possible, more expressive of their unhappy condition than the law itself; hence, they use these words to introduce the enactment: 'Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully and often proved that, since the first arising of the Anabaptists, about one hundred years since, they have been the incendiaries of the commonwealths and the infectors of persons in many matters of religion, and the troubles of Churches in all places where they have been, and that they who have held the baptizing of infants unlawful have usually held other errors or heresies together therewith, though they have, as other heretics used to do, concealed the name till they spied out a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them by way of question or scruple; and whereas divers of this kind have, since our coming into New England, appeared amongst ourselves, some whereof have, as others before them, denied the ordinance of magistracy, and the lawfulness of making war, and others the lawfulness of magistrates and their inspection into any breach of the first table; which opinions, if they should be connived at by us, are like to be increased amongst us, and so must necessarily bring guilt upon us, infection and trouble to the Churches, and hazard to the whole commonwealth.' This state of high fever brought the patient to a crisis, and left him extremely weak when the black train of his dreams and horrible bugbears had passed away. In other words, it was the beginning of the end with religious tyranny in Massachusetts, and under the ruling of divine Wisdom this was the best day's work that its Court ever did for that present glorious State. Men of conscience and common sense felt it a sorry time when their common brethren in Christ Jesus had come to be 'banished' as 'heretics' in a free land, for opposing the baptism of infants, or leaving a congregation where it was practiced, as hazarding the existence of a Christian commonwealth, and bringing 'guilt' upon the venerable heads of those who could not keep their

hands off the 'first table' of God's law. As might have been expected, this abuse of power awakened a heart-felt indignation all over the colony, for it touched the consciences of men, and without guise or pretense, assumed control over them. Remonstrance and petition soon found expression; many petitions against the law and others for its continuance came in from various sources, some in March, 1645, others in May, 1646. Yet the Court not only refused to repeal the law, bill even to alter or explain it, although Samuel Maverick, Dr. Child and five others of great influence, not Baptists, threatened to appeal to Parliament on this and other subjects of grievance. The Court was compelled to issue a 'Declaration' to the people in its own defense, in which they were weak enough to confess that the Baptists were 'peaceable' citizens amongst them. They say, November 4th, 1646, to those that 'Are offended also at our law against Anabaptists. The truth is, the great trouble we have been put unto and hazard also, by familistical and anabaptistical spirits, whose conscience and religion hath been only to set forth themselves and raise contentions in the country, did provoke us to provide for our safety by a law, that all such should take notice how unwelcome they should be unto us, either coming or staying. But for such as differ from us only in judgment, in point of baptism, or some other points of less consequence, and live peaceably amongst us, without occasioning disturbance, etc., such have no cause to complain, for it hath never been as yet put in execution against any of them, although some are known to live amongst us.'

Why could they not leave Pilate alone in history, to wash his hands in innocency? That business belonged to the Old, not the New, World. Every syllable here shows their misgivings and counter consciousness touching their own Law. They begin by depreciating their enactment into a 'notice' the law itself says that it is a provision for ' banishment.' They say that the Baptist 'conscience and religion' have raised 'contentions in the country; 'their law itself says that they were 'incendiaries of the commonwealth.' Here, they taper down the Baptist offense to a difference 'from us only in judgment in point of baptism;' the law calls them 'heretics' and 'troublers of Churches.' Their Declaration says that those Baptists who 'live peaceably amongst us, without occasioning disturbance, shall have no cause to complain;' but their law also says that it is disturbance of itself, 'to openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance.' And finally, their appeal to the public says that 'some of the Baptists were known to live peaceably amongst us,' but to deny the right of the magistrates' authority to punish the outward breakers of the first table, is a just reason why they should 'be sentenced to banishment,' and this the most 'peaceful' of them denied. It is a sure thing that both their 'Tenet' and its commentary need washing again thoroughly. Complaints went over to England, and as there was now no chance to glory over this matter under the pretense of civil wrong-doing, as in the case of Roger Williams, the thing must be met there on its naked merits, as a square act of religious tyranny. Hence, Governor Winslow was sent to England to answer this charge. [Mass. Col. Records, ii, p. 162]

Brought to an account before the home government, it was demanded of him: 'You have a severe law against Anabaptists, yea, one was whipt at Massachusetts for his religion? And your law banisheth them?' To which the gracious old governor meekly answered: ''Tis true, the Massachusetts government have such a law as to banish, but not to whip in that kind. And certain men desiring some mitigation of it; it was answered in my hearing: 'Tis true, we have a severe law,

but we never did, or will, execute the rigor of it upon any, and have men living amongst us, nay, some in our Churches of that judgment, and as long as they carry themselves peacefully as hitherto they do, we will leave them to God, ourselves having performed the duty of brethren to them. And whereas, there was one whipt amongst us, 'tis true we knew his judgment what it was; but had he not carried himself so contemptuously toward the authority God hath betrusted us with in an high exemplary measure, we had never so censured him; and, therefore, he may thank himself who suffered as an evil doer in that respect. But the reason whereof we are loath either to repeal or alter the law is, because we would have it remain in force to bear witness against their judgment and practice, which we conceive them to be erroneous.' [Hypocrisy Unmasked, 101] The person reported by the governor as whipped here was Thomas Painter, of Hingham, whose contemptuous crime against the 'authority' of the magistrates consisted in refusing to have his child christened. True, the governor said, they had no law 'to whip in that kind,' which only aggravates their crime against humanity, for they did whip him, law or no law, and for what the governor says, they knew to be simply his 'judgment.' But from the mild manner in which he speaks of this harmless law, as a mere verbal 'witness' against 'erroneous' 'judgment and practice' on the part of the Baptists, they wished the British government to understand and treat it as a dead-letter. Indeed, he gives the promise in the name of Massachusetts, whose representative he was, that although the law is severe, 'we never did, or will, execute the rigor of it upon any.' How did Massachusetts keep this sacred promise? We shall see. The feeling engendered in England by this new crusade against 'heretics' in America, 1645, was very deep. Some, who had persecuted the Baptists there, supported the colony in its rigor, and some condemned it severely. Richard Hollingworth said: 'Our belief of New England is, that they would suffer the godly and peaceable to live amongst them, though they differ in point of Church government from them.' And another author, a member of John Goodwill's congregation, 'J.P.' wrote in as cool a strain: 'Why do not our Congregational divines write to the brethren of New England, and convince them of their error, who give, as some say, the civil magistrate a power to question doctrines, censure errors? Sure we are some have been imprisoned, some banished, that pleaded religion and mere conscience, and were no otherwise disturbers of the civil peace than the Congregational way is like to be here. If Old England be said to persecute for suppressing sects and opinions because threatening the truth and civil peace, why may not the same name be put upon New England, who are found in the same work and way?' Another thing which deepened the intense feeling on the subject was, that works on infant baptism, pro and con, began to flood the colony, and the people eagerly inquired what all these terribly blighting opinions of the 'Anabaptists' were; and when they found that the bugaboo lodged in the right of a man to keep his conscience whole in choosing to baptize his child or not, like reasonable beings they began also to think whether or not it were rather desirable to exercise such freedom where Jehovah had exacted no such service. Discussion was all that the Baptists needed to arrest this tyranny, and the law of 1644 had unintentionally thrown the door wide open for such discussion, Hulbard speaks of 'many books coming out of England in the year 1645, some in defense of Anabaptism and other errors, and for liberty of conscience, as a shelter for a general toleration of all opinions' As far back as 1643 Lady Deborah Moody, who had bought a farm of 400 acres at Swampscott, was obliged to remove to Gravesend, Long Island, 'for denying infant baptism.' Winthrop says of her: 'The Lady Moody, a wise and amiable religious woman, being taken with the errors of denying infant baptism, was dealt withal by many of the elders and others, and admonished by the Church at Salem. . . . To

avoid further trouble, she removed to the Dutch, against the advice of her friends. Many others infested with Anabaptism removed thither also. She was after excommunicated.' [Journal, ii, pp. 123,124] True, she was a member of the Salem Church, which she united with April 5th, 1640, but lived in the Bay Colony, and left it 'to avoid further trouble.' Salem had become disturbed also on this Baptist issue, for July 8th, 1645, Townsend Bishop, a prominent man there, was 'presented,' Bays Felt, for 'turning his back on the ceremony of infant baptism.' He adds with significance, 'he soon left the town.' But the authorities began to punish Baptists in Massachusetts Bay, under the law of 1644. William Witter, of Lynn, was arraigned before the Essex Quarterly Court, February, 1646, for saying that 'they who stayed while a child is baptized do worship the devil.' Martha West and Henry Collense testify that he charged such persons with breaking the Sabbath and taking the name of the Trinity in vain. Brother Witter certainly did give very free use to his tongue, but the Court had an effectual cure for all 'heretics' who did that. The law would not connive at such 'opinions,' they were a 'hazard to the whole commonwealth;' he had openly condemned infant baptism, and had 'purposely' departed 'the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance,' and for such wickedness he must be recompensed. He was sentenced to make a public confession before the congregation at Lynn? on the next Sabbath, or be censured at the next General Court.

John Wood was arraigned the next day before the same Court 'for professing Anabaptist sentiments and withholding his children from baptism,' and John Spur was bound to pay a fine of ,20. On July 13th, 1651, Spur was expelled from the Boston Church, 'because he ceased to commune with them, on the belief that their baptism, singing of psalms and covenant, were human inventions.' By this time a spirit of general discontent was settling down upon the public mind, and persons in various places were beginning to express their sympathy for the Baptists and to adopt their sentiments on the subject of infant baptism; a state of things which the magistrates found it difficult to repress, and which at last forced not only resistance, but direct aggression, as the surest method of self-defense. Relief was found only in assuming a firm position and a determined stand against such grinding tyranny. If these Baptists stayed away from Congregational Churches, where they were unhappy, those Churches forced them to attend and treated them shamefully for not coming; then, if they went at their command, their presence made these Churches equally unhappy. They were disturbers of the peace when they kept away, and they were contentious when they went; a contradictory state of things which must cure itself, being a slander on the Lamb of God and a disgrace to the seventeenth century.

06 The Boston Baptists

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS VI. THE BOSTON BAPTISTS

Fierce bigotry and intolerance did much for the ancient Baptists in Jerusalem of old, and this history repeated itself in Boston during the year 1651. The story is very simple. William Witter, a plain old farmer, lived at Swampscott, near Lynn, and was a member of the Congregational Church there. As far back as February 28th, 1643, he renounced infant baptism, and was brought before the Court, charged with speaking indecently of that ordinance. But having made some sort of an apology, he was arraigned a second time, February 18th, 1646, and was formally excommunicated July 24th, 1651, 'for absenting himself from the public ordinances nine months or more and for being rebaptized.' [Ms. Rec. Essex Court, 25, 9 mo., 1651] Meanwhile he had become a member of Clarke's Church at Newport; at what time does not appear, but evidently some time before, as he had not attended the Church at Lynn for more than nine months. Having become blind as well as old, and living little, if any thing, less than seventy-five miles from his Church, he was unable to attend its communion or to share its Christian sympathy and fellowship, all his surroundings being hostile to him. Whether he had invited a visit from representatives of the Newport Church, or they were prompted to visit him in his affliction, is not stated, but the Church records say: 'Three of the brethren, namely, Mr. John Clarke, pastor, Obadiah Holmes and James Crandall, were taken upon the Lord's day, July 20th, 1651, at the house of one of the brethren whom they went to visit; namely, William Witter, in the 'town of Lyn.' But it is clear from the record itself that he was a 'brother' in that Church, as Backus calls him; also Arnold, in his History of Rhode Island calls him 'an aged member' and Dr. Palfrey mentions him as a 'brother in the Church of Baptists.' The above named three started on this mission of love worthy of Jesus himself and an honor to his servants. They passed quietly on their long journey, possibly through Boston, and reached Witter's home on Saturday night, hoping for a quiet Sabbath under a Christian roof. But this was criminal, much as Peter and John sinned against Jerusalem by helping a poor cripple there. When the Sabbath dawned they thought that they would 'worship God in their own way on the Lord's day' in Witter's family. Yes; but what right had they to think any such things Did they not know that it was a crime to worship God 'in your own way' even under your own roof, in Massachusetts? Notwithstanding this Clarke began to preach God's word, from Rev. 3:10, to Witter's family, his two traveling companions, and, as 'he says, to 'four or live strangers that came in unexpected' after I had begun. Quite likely those sinners, of the Gentiles, John Wood, Joseph Bednap and Roger Scott, were all present. Wood had been tried, February 19th, 1646, for 'professing Anabaptist sentiments and withholding his children from baptism;' Rednap had broken the law in usually 'departing from the congregation at the time of administering the seal of baptism;' [Felt, Ecc. Hist., ii, p. 46] and 'Scott was that drowsy sinner who was tried by the Court, February 28th, 1643, for common sleeping at the public exercise upon the Lord's day, and for striking him that waked him and was 'severely whipped' for the same in the ensuing December. This deponent saith not whether he really was at Witter's, or, if so, whether he wanted a quiet nap

unaroused by a pugnacious Puritan Dogberry; perhaps he thought that a stirring Baptist sermon was just the novelty to keep him wide awake on that Sunday and in that particular place. But no matter who was there, Clarke had begun to preach powerfully on the faithfulness of God to his people in the hour of temptation, when two constables invaded the farm-house, rushing in with a warrant from Robert Bridges, the 'ordinary;' and the Newport brethren were brought before this officer of justice as prisoners. Bridges insisted that they should attend service at the State Church, and they insisted that they would not. Clarke said: 'If thou forcest us into your assembly we cannot hold communion with them.' Clarke was very clear-headed, but he mistook the squire, for it was not 'communion' that he was aiming at. The law required all to attend the State Church; and, therefore, them; and go they should anyhow, so they were forced into the assembly. Clarke says that when he was taken in he removed his hat and 'civilly saluted them,' but when he had been conducted to a seat he put on his hat, 'opened my book and fell to reading.' This troubled the 'ordinary,' and he commanded the constable to 'pluck off our hats, which he did, and where he laid mine there I let it lie.' When the service closed Clarke desired to speak to the congregation, but silence was commanded and the prisoners were removed. Some liberty was granted them on Monday, which they used, as Paul and Silas used theirs at Philippi, when they entered into the house of Lydia and exhorted the brethren. So here, Clarke and his brethren entered the house of Witter and actually shocked the magistrates by commemorating the love of Jesus together in observing the Lord's Supper. This act filled the cup of their iniquity to the brim, and it was probably the main object of their visit. On Monday they were removed to Boston and cast into prison, the charges against them being, for 'disturbing the congregation in the afternoon, for drawing aside others after their erroneous judgments and practices, and for suspicion of rebaptizing one or more amongst us.' Clarke was fined ,20, Holmes ,30, Crandall ,5, and on refusal to pay they were 'to be well whipped,' although Winthrop had told the English government that they had no law 'to whip in that kind.'

Edwards says that while 'Mr. Clarke stood stripped at the whipping-post some humane person was so affected with the sight of a scholar, a gentleman and reverend divine, in such a situation, that he, with a sum of money, redeemed him from his bloody tormentors.' Before this he had asked the Court: 'What law of God or man had he broken, that his back must be given to the tormentors for it, or he be despoiled of his goods to the amount of ,20?' To which Endicott replied: 'You have denied infant baptism and deserve death, going up and down, and secretly insinuating into them that be weak, but cannot maintain it before our ministers' Clarke tells us 'that indulgent and tender-hearted friends, without my consent and contrary to my judgment, paid the fine.' [Materials for Hist. R.I. Baptists] Thus some one paid the fine of Clarke and Crandall, and proposed to pay that of Holmes. The first two were released, whether they assented or not, but Holmes who was a man of learning, and who afterward succeeded Dr. Clarke as pastor of the Newport Church, would not consent to the paying of his fine, and because he refused he was whipped thirty stripes, September 6th, 1651. He said that he 'durst not accept of deliverance in such a way.' He was found guilty of 'hearing a sermon in a private manner,' or, as the mittimus issued by Robert Bridges expresses it, 'For being taken by the constable at a private meeting at Lin, upon the Lord's day, exercising among themselves, to whom divers of the town repaired and joined with them, and that in time of public exercise of the worship of God; as also for offensively disturbing the peace of the congregation, at their coming into the public meeting in the time of prayer, in the afternoon, and for saying and manifesting that the Church in Lin was not constituted

according to the order of our Lord. . . . And for suspicion of their having their hands in rebaptizing of one or more.' Bancroft says that he was whipped 'unmercifully,' and Governor Jenks, 'that for many days, if not some weeks, he could take no rest but upon his knees and elbows, not being able to suffer any part of his body to touch the bed whereon he lay.' While enduring this torture, he joined his Lord on the cross and Stephen, in praying that this sin might not be laid to the charge of his persecutors; and when his lacerated flesh quivered and blood streamed from his body, so powerfully did the grace of the Crucified sustain him that he cheerfully said to his tormentors: 'You have struck me with roses!' His remarkable words call to mind the superhuman saying of another noted Baptist, James Bainham, the learned Barrister of the Middle Temple, who was martyred in the days of Henry VIII. Fox shows (ii, p. 246) that he repudiated the baptism of infants. Sir Thomas More lashed him to the whipping-post in his own house at Chelsea, and the whip drew blood copiously from his back; then, when he was burning at the stake, his legs and arms being half-consumed, he exclaimed in triumph: 'O, ye Papists! behold ye look for miracles, and here you may see a miracle. In this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in a bed of down; it is to me as a bed of roses!' Holmes had much of this noble martyr's spirit. Most touchingly he himself wrote: 'I said to the people, though my flesh should fail and my spirit should fail, yet God will not fail; so it pleased the Lord to come in and so to fill my heart and tongue as a vessel full, and with an audible voice I break forth, praying unto the Lord not to lay this sin to their charge, and telling the people that now I found he did not fail me, and, therefore, now I should trust him forever who failed me not. For, in truth, as the strokes fell upon me I had such a spiritual manifestation of God's presence as the like thereof I never had, nor can with fleshy tongue express, and the outward pain was so removed from me, that, indeed, I am not able to declare it to you. It was so easy to me that I could well bear it; yea, and in a manner felt it not, although it was grievous, as the spectators said, the man striking with all his strength--yea, spitting on his hands three times, as many affirmed--with a three-corded whip, giving me therewith thirty strokes. When he had loosened me from the post, having joyfulness in my heart and cheerfulness in my countenance, as the spectators observed, I told the magistrates, you have struck me as with roses, and said, moreover, although the Lord hath made it easy to me, yet I pray God it may not be laid to your charged.' The vengeful feeling of the authorities toward these harmless men illustrates the severity which was intended. During their examination, Governor Endicott charged them with being 'Anabaptists,' said they 'deserved death,' and that 'they would not have such trash brought into their dominion.' The Court lost its temper, and even John Wilson, a clergyman of a very gentle spirit, struck Holmes, and said: 'The curse of God go with thee;' to which the sufferer replied: 'I bless God I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus.' After the whipping of Holmes, thirteen persons suffered in one way or another for the sympathy which they manifested for him and were unable to repress. John Spur and John Hazel were sentenced to receive ten lashes, or a fine of forty shillings each. Their crime was, that they had taken the holy confessor by the hand when he was led to the whipping-post by the executioner. This fine was paid by their friends without their consent. The story which they both tell in detail, of their arrest under warrants issued by Increase Nowel, as well as of their trial and sufferings for greeting their abused brother, are most affecting. Hazel being about sixty years of age and infirm, had come fifty miles to comfort his friend Holmes in prison. Professor Knowles tells us that this old Simeon from Rehoboth died before he reached his home. The saint paid a severe penalty for allowing his soft old heart to pity a poor lacerated brother, who had left his noble wife and eight children to visit the blind in his affliction. This outrage aroused the most bitter resentment

everywhere, and to his honor it should be known to the end of the world, that Richard Saltonstall, one of the first magistrates of Massachusetts, who was then in England, sent a dignified and indignant letter, dated April 25th, 1652, to Rev. Messrs. Cotton and Wilson, in which he wrote: 'It doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecutions in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. First, you compel such to come into your assemblies as you know will not join with you in worship, and when they show their dislike thereof, and witness against it, then you stir up your magistrates to punish them for such as you conceive their public affronts. . . . These rigid ways have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints. I do assure you that I have heard them pray in the public assemblies that the Lord would give you meek and humble spirits, not to strive so much for uniformity as to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. When I was in Holland, about the beginning of our wars, I remember some Christians there, that then had serious thoughts of planting in New England, desired me to write to the governor thereof, to know if those that differ from you in opinion, yet holding the same foundation in religion, as Anabaptists, Seekers, Antinomians, and the like, might be permitted to live among you, to which I received this short answer from your then governor, Mr. Dudley: ''God forbid," said he, "our love for the truth should be grown so cold that we should tolerate errors." I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibility of judgment. . . . We pray for you and wish you prosperity every way; hoped the Lord would have given you so much light and love there, that you might have been eyes to God's people here, and not to practice these courses in the wilderness which you went so far to prevent.' [Hutchinson's Col. Original Papers, pp. 401,3-8]

Cotton undertook in reply to justify the dark deed, and made as shameful a failure as ever an inquisitor made in defense of the Inquisition. He saw nothing in Holmes's conduct but willful obstinacy, and if a citizen is obstinate in his opinions is it not the bounden duty of the magistrates to whip it out? And so he threw the entire responsibility upon the victim himself. These are his words:

'As for his whipping, it was more voluntarily chosen by him than inflicted on him. His censure by the Court was to have paid, as I know, thirty pounds or else be whipped; his fine was offered to be paid by friends for him freely; but he chose rather to be whipped; in which case, if his suffering of stripes was any worship of God at all, surely it could be accounted no better than will-worship.' So obtuse was his conscience in all that related to the freedom of man's soul in the worship of God, that he could not see the base injustice of fining a man for his convictions of duty to God, and then whipping him because he would not consent to recognize the righteousness of his own punishment by paying an unjust fine. Governor Jenks, of Rhode Island, understood the matter as Holmes understood it, and in writing, early in the eighteenth century, said:

'The paying of a fine seems to be but a small thing in comparison of a man's parting with his religion, yet the paying of a fine is the acknowledgment of a transgression; and for a man to acknowledge that he has transgressed, when his conscience tells him he has not, is but little, if any thing at all, short of parting with his religion.' But, with the heartlessness of a stone, Cotton says: 'The imprisonment of either of them was no detriment. I believe they fared neither of them better at home, and I am sure Holmes had not been so well clad in many years before.' He evidently respected Holmes's coat more than the shoulders which it covered. He continues:

’We believe there is a vast difference between men’s inventions and God’s institutions. We fled from men’s inventions, to which we else should have been compelled; we compel none to men’s inventions. If our ways, rigid ways as you call them, have laid us low in the hearts of God’s people, yea, and of the saints, as you style them, we do not believe it is any part of their saintship.’ [Mas. Hist., iii, pp. 403-6]

All this is rendered the more humiliating, when we keep in mind that the entire transaction was unlawful. The statute of November 13th, 1644, called for the ’banishment’ of Baptists, but Winslow said that they had no law ’to whip in that kind;’ hence, the wanton cruelty of the whole case, without even the show or pretense of law. Possibly this may account for the fact that so many able historians have passed it by in silence. Johnson does not refer to it in his History of 1654, nor Morton in his Memorial of 1669, nor Hubbard in his History of 1680, nor Mather in his of 1702. Others, who did make the record, generally palliated the conduct of the persecutors as best they could. But it was left for Dr. Palfrey, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, to make light of this helpless confessor’s suffering, by expressing his suspicion that the magistrates sought ’to vindicate what they thought the majesty of the law, at little cost to the delinquent.’ It is difficult to understand how a grave historian can, with any show of seriousness, maintain that the majesty of law was jeoparded by refusing to attend a State Church, and by taking the Lord’s Supper elsewhere without disturbing any one; or if it were, that it could be vindicated by plowing furrows amongst the muscles and nerves of a Christian’s back till it was raw. Besides, there was no law to be vindicated in this case. The statutes against the Baptists, as we see, provided that they should be banished, not flogged. If this brutal beating were a mere perfunctory farce, why was it necessary to deal out upon the quivering flesh of Holmes the last lash up to thirty? Increase Nowel was a ruling elder in the Church, the judges sat in its chief seats, and should have remembered the cruel scourging of their Saviour by a heartless judge. Instead, as Edwards says, ’with a whip of three cords belaboring his back till poor Holmes’s flesh was reduced to jelly,’ so they recollected their Redeemer in his servant. The thirty lashes with the three-corded whip counted ninety strokes in all; though others, whipped at the same time for rape and counterfeiting money, received but ten! And what does it count to the honor of his tormentors that the patient sufferer said: ’You have struck me as with roses.’ The spiritual exaltation of martyrs in all ages has asserted itself by lifting them above physical sufferings, which, in themselves, have been most excruciating. Can it be pretended that because poor Bainham cried that the flames were like a bed of down, they therefore did not reduce his body to a cinder? Neither can it be claimed that what Holmes called ’a whip of roses’ did not almost flay him alive. He, himself, tells us that his pangs were so ’grievous’ that with strong crying and tears he prayed to him who was able to save him, so that neither his flesh nor spirit ’ failed,’ but like his Master he was heard and strengthened to endure what he feared. Surely, Dr. Palfrey’s notions of law and its ’majesty’ needed as much revision as did his suspicions and tender mercies. This whipping of Holmes was as grievous a piece of tyranny as ever was inflicted at the hands of Christian men, and it can find no palliation in the divine grace vouchsafed to his spiritual support. Often when the body of a holy man is the most severely racked, his spirit seems consciously to glance aside and, as it were, stand apart from the body to exult in its own superiority to his suffering flesh. But all cynical pooh-poohment of their agonies is unworthy of a man who pretends to human consciousness. That soullessness which excuses the whipping of Holmes would justify the burning of Latimer and Ridley.

It was sufficiently painful that Dr. Palfrey should tinge the cheek of the nineteenth century by a gratuitous fling at Holmes's stripes as harmless; but it was reserved for a learned and aged minister of that lowly One who said, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me,' to select for himself the distinction of sneering at this bleeding child of God. In 1876 Rev. Dr. Dexter, in his work on Roger Williams, not only cites Palfrey's unworthy remark with approval, but on page 145 reveals an unlovely animus in doing so, by the sneer: 'Holmes whipped--having insisted upon it.' Palfrey might well have spared the sensibilities of Christ-like men despite the studied finish of his sentence, but much less was it needful for this venerable scholar of three-score years to wound refined humanity by studied coarseness. Though thrust out of the text, in contrast with Palfrey's words and carefully veiled in his Index, no charitable man can persuade himself that the red sores on Holmes's back would have suited the doctor's gloating better had such flowers glowed in a heap at the sufferer's feet, as in the case of Bainham. Palfrey knew that his ground was delicate and trod lightly, but to use Paul's words of Isaiah, Dr. Dexter 'is very bold,' and rushes where Palfrey 'suspected ' that he would like to tread softly.

Without honor to Massachusetts history, and without throwing one ray of light upon this dark blot on its pages, Dr. Dexter has offered himself as the apologist of this barbarity toward his Baptist brethren, and for this purpose adopts and elaborates a most astounding theory from Dr. Palfrey. He claims that the object of this pilgrimage to Swampscott was not to administer spiritual consolation to Witter, but as he puts it, to float 'the red flag of the anabaptistical fanaticism' 'full in the face of the Bay bull.' In other words, taken from his Index again, 'Clarke and his party leave Newport to obtain a little persecution in Massachusetts,' and that to accomplish a purely political end. His statement of the case is briefly this. Some time before, Coddington, of Rhode Island, had gone to London to obtain leave from England to institute a separate government for the islands of Rhode Island and Canonicut, he to be the governor. Dr. Dexter's words are:

'In the autumn of 1650 it was understood that he was on his way home with this new instrument, and it was further understood that it was Mr. Coddington's desire and intention to bring about under it, if possible, the introduction of Rhode Island into the confederacy then existing of the other colonies, if not absolutely to prevent its annexation to Massachusetts.' Clarke and Coddington were not on good terms, and the 'Anabaptist pastor was bitterly opposed to the newcoming order of things.' 'When the crisis approached, he seems to have felt that a little persecution of the Anabaptists--if such a thing could be managed--by Massachusetts, might serve an important purpose in prejudicing the Rhode Island mind against Coddington's scheme.'

Accordingly, the visit to Witter was carefully planned and executed as a means of enraging the 'Bay bull!' [As to Roger Williams, p. 19.] Possibly, Coddington had the above project in view, and he may have been opposed by Clarke; but certainly and naturally, this cruelty to Holmes raised a storm of indignation against its perpetrators. These are the only facts in addition to those of the journey itself which Dr. Dexter adduces in support of his proposition. It is one of the cardinal principles of jurisprudence that a man is to be held innocent until proved to be guilty, and that his motives are to be presumed good until shown to be evil. A Christian historian is bound to observe, at least, the same measure of just judgment that obtains in ordinary tribunals. And, no candid man will conclude that the facts recounted here are inconsistent with good intentions, or that they point to the conclusion that Holmes and his associates went to Massachusetts to carry out a political

plot. One who will read Dr. Dexter's own account of this transaction with care, will see that the alleged ulterior designs are not even inferences from facts. They are supplied entirely by the writer himself, and are artfully worked into the thread of the narrative.

Outside of the common presumption of innocence, the actual occurrences tend distinctly to show that the real reason of the visit to Swampscott was the one openly avowed. The conduct of the three visitors was that of men who shunned rather than courted publicity. If their purpose had been to flaunt the 'red flag full in the face of the Bay bull,' they would not have gone quietly to Witter's house and held religious service there, almost in secret. They would have made their presence and their infraction of the local law as conspicuous as possible. As it was, they were dragged from their quiet and seclusion, and forced into a public congregation against their will and remonstrance, by a constable. Then, pre-eminent amongst the three, the behavior of Holmes after the arrest was simply that of strong convictions and heroic consistency.

Whatever may be said in extenuation of the action of the Puritans of Massachusetts in this case, and it is little at the most, they were intolerant and inquisitorial. They had come to New England not to establish religious freedom, but a religious absolutism of their own. As Dr. Dexter naively puts it, they had determined 'to make their company spiritually homogeneous.' Give them the credit of being children of their age for what it is worth; but the case is entirely different with a minister of Jesus, who has breathed the air of New England for half a century, and is writing in the last quarter of the nineteenth century; who instead of asking for a charitable verdict upon their faults, seeks to justify them, in the warp and in the web, and to that end sets himself systematically to revile the dead who suffered their tyranny. His strictures show him to be so obviously the committed advocate of an untenable theory, that with all his acuteness, his dogmatizing is not even plausible. Upon him must rest the stain of having imputed to these confessors, without the slightest foundation, only wicked intentions in the performance of an act of Christian mercy. Bancroft is not alone in saying that Holmes was 'whipped unmercifully,' nor Arnold, that he was 'cruelly whipped.' Oliver, in his Puritan Commonwealth says that he was 'livid with the bruises from the lash,' and Gay writes in Bryant's History of the United States: 'Such was his spiritual exaltation that when the ghastly spectacle was over, and his clothes were restored to him to cover his scored and bloody back, he turned to the magistrates standing by, and said, "You have struck me with roses."' A writer of the present day is no more responsible for this treatment of Baptists by the Massachusetts authorities, than were their victims, and it is honorable to the historic pen to hear men who have no special interest in those victims, beyond that of common humanity, express their honest convictions, as Mr. Winsor, Librarian of Harvard, does in his Memorial History of Boston. He says that the 'Anabaptists' received 'grievous treatment from the magistrates of the Puritan commonwealth. . . . Our rulers were most perplexed and dismayed by the experience already referred to, namely, the alarming increase in the colony of unbaptized, because their parents were not members of the Church. . . . It is a sad story. Most pure and excellent and otherwise inoffensive persons were the sufferers, and generally patient ones. But the struggle was a brief one. The Baptists conquered in it and came to equal esteem and love with their brethren. Their fidelity was one of the needful and effective influences in reducing the equally needful but effective intolerance of the Puritan commonwealth.' [i. pp. 171-9, Boston, 1880]

There is, however, a sadly ludicrous side to Dr. Dexter's showing which few care to follow. He counts Massachusetts out of his theory entirely, for he fails to show that she was in such a lovable

frame of mind as to court union with Rhode Island and with her frightful 'red flag.' Whether a public proposition for the wholesale importation of vipers into the Bay Colony, or a confederation with the 'Anabaptistical fanaticism' of Rhode Island, would have most alarmed that commonwealth, it is hard to say. Bryant thinks that 'These Rhode Island people grew, from the beginning, more and more intolerable to the Boston brethren. It was bad enough that they should obstinately maintain the rights of independent thought and private conscience; it was unpardonable that they should assume to be none the less sincere Christians and good citizens, and should succeed in establishing a government of their own on principles which the Massachusetts General Court declared was criminal. Even in a common peril the Massachusetts magistrates could recognize no tie of old friendship--hardly, indeed, of human sympathy--that should bind them to such men.' [Hist. U.S., ii, pp. 47-49]

Another aspect of this very cheap persecution theory is the jocose assumption that the Rhode Island people were obtuse and slow to learn that the 'Bay bull' ever did froth at the mouth and tear the turf in violence when he snuffed fresh breezes from the Providence plantations and Aquidneck. Sundry occasions had arisen in the schooling of the 'fanatical' colony to educate her, touching the temper of this rampant bull of Bashan. Some of her best colonists had been driven out of Massachusetts, from Williams down; and Rhode Island must have been a dull scholar indeed to have needed a 'little' new persecution to awaken her, after the lesson of November 13th, 1644.

Last of all, this theory of managing to get up 'a little persecution of the Anabaptists' to order does not accord with Clarke's acknowledged ability as a politician. To be sure he knew that old farmer Witter had been up before the Courts on the charge of being an 'Anabaptist' on two occasions--eight years before this visit and five years before--and that he had not been to the Established Church for more than 'nine months,' all of which should have shown him that the 'Bay bull' was not nearly as furious on that particular farm as in some other places. If this crafty elder had wanted to fire the Baptist heart of Rhode Island to some effect, why did he not make directly for Boston, instead of leaving it quietly; and, as he was there on Saturday, too, why did he not stay over Sunday, go to Cotton's Church, and 'flout' the flag there? Cotton would have known it in a moment, and by Monday night the roaring of the 'bull' would have traveled on the wings of the wind from. Plymouth to Providence, from Boston to the horn of Cape Cod. But instead of that, he hides himself on Sunday in a Baptist family on an obscure farm two miles from a Congregational Church, will not show his face till two constables drag him out, will not go to a Congregational Church till dragged into it, and does not act at all like a child of his generation, but altogether like an unsophisticated 'child of light.' What could the plotter be thinking of to let Mr. Cotton have peace when he was within ten miles of him, and when one wave of the 'flag' would have turned Boston into Bedlam?

Still, these three Newport evangelists might not have been so verdant, after all, as they seemed. These things appear clear to Dr. Dexter, namely: 1. They knew that the 'Bay' kept a persecuting 'bull,' with very long horns, on which to toss defense-less Baptists. 2. That it was very excitable, and a 'red' Baptist flag 'flouted full in its face' was sure to disabuse all minds that had been soothed into the dangerous belief of its loving and lamb-like disposition; but, 3. They could hardly know that it was kept on that Swampscott farm, or that it would make all Bashan tremble, by tearing up the turf generally, even when the 'red flag' was not 'flouted full in its face.' The meshes of Clarke's net are very open if these were his notions, and form an extremely thin veil for the eyes

of the quick-sighted 'Bay bull.' The entire chain of circumstances render it much more rational to interpret this visit as having in view the administration of the Lord's Supper to Witter by the authority of the Newport Church. This service, on Monday morning, throws a strong light upon the entire transaction. Backus, quoting from the Newport Church record, says that the three were 'representatives of the Church in Newport,' and that Witter 'being a brother in the Church, by reason of his advanced age, could not take so great a journey as to visit the Church.' Arnold, the Rhode Island historian, says that 'they were deputed by the Church to visit him, for he 'had requested an interview with some of his brethren,' and Holmes himself, in his letter to Spilsbury and Kiffin, gives this account: 'I came upon occasion of business into the colony of Massachusetts with two other brethren.' On what 'business' so natural as that of their Lord and his Church, being sent as a deputation to 'break bread' with this infirm old brother, who for nearly a year had not been to the Congregational Church at Lynn, and could not get to his own at Newport.

Very early in the history of the English Reformation strong ground was taken against 'hawking about' the Lord's Supper, as an act of superstition. Bingham, in harmony with all Christian antiquity, says that in the Primitive Church, the Eucharist was not offered in a corner 'for the intention or at the cost of some particular persons, but for a communion to the whole Church, as the primitive Church always used it; and there is not an example to be found of the contrary practice.' [Antiq. b. xv., ch. 4, Sec. 4] But so far was this custom cast aside when the Church became corrupt, that the elements were commonly taken to the dying. According to Limborch, in Spain, soldiers and a bellman attended the procession through the streets, and when the bell gave three strokes all the people fell on their knees, even the actors and dancers on the stage, if it passed a theater [page 533]. Many reformers, therefore, deprecated the use of the Supper amongst the sick and dying, as savoring of the worst superstition. None, however, opposed this practice more resolutely than the Baptists, because they held that the Church, as a body, had control of the Supper, and should partake thereof only in its Church capacity. In John Smyth's confession, (13) he says: 'The Church of Christ has power delegated to themselves of announcing the word, administering the sacraments,' and (15) that the Supper is the 'sign of the communion of the faithful amongst themselves.' Article XXXII, of the Baptist Confession of 1689, takes the ground that it is 'to be observed in the Churches,' and is a 'pledge of their communion.' The Philadelphia Confession, 1742, says (Art. XXXII) that the Supper is 'to be observed in the Churches,' and deprecates 'the reserving of the elements for any pretended religious use, as contrary to the institution of Christ.' Baptists have always held that the Supper is a purely Church ordinance, the whole body partaking of the 'one loaf,' when the Church 'has come together into one place.' They have regarded it as the family feast, to indicate family relationships, and hence have always kept it strictly under the custody of the Church, their pastors celebrating it only when and where the Church appoints it to be held; the body itself determining who shall or shall not partake of it in the fraternity; as it is the Lord's table, they have ever gathered about it as a family of the Lord. In 1641 the Boston Congregational Church guarded the table so closely in this respect, that 'if any member of another Church be present, and wishes to commune, he mentions it to one of the ruling elders, "who propounds his name to the congregation," who, if having no objection, grant him the privilege.' [Felt, Ecc. Hist., i, 433]

Gill gives a clear statement of the Baptist position in this matter. He says of the place where it is to be celebrated: 'Not in private houses, unless when the Churches are obliged to meet there in time

of persecution; but in the public place of worship, where and when the Church convened; so the disciples at Troas came together to break bread; and the Church at Corinth came together in one place to eat the Lord's Supper. Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 11:18-33. For this, being a Church ordinance, is not to be administered privately to single persons; but to the Church in a body assembled for that purpose.' [Body of Div., iii, p. 327]

We have no reason for believing that the Church at Newport differed from the Baptists in general on this subject, and Clarke would scarcely so far compromise his Church as to celebrate the Supper in Witter's house, if his Church had not exercised its right to control its administration by deputing him to do so, in its name and as its pastor, and by sending two laymen to accompany him as 'representatives' of the Church on the occasion; 'deputed by the Church to visit an aged member,' as Arnold expresses himself. Such a delegated authority would give weight to the expression used by Holmes also, that he went to Lynn 'upon occasion of business,' and that of importance too, being sent on the 'King's business' by the Church. So far as we have information in the case, every hint which the known facts give point in this direction, and justify Clarke in observing the Supper in Witter's house by the authority of the Church of which they were all members, and not on his own assumption. The reaction from this cruel persecution was immediate and strongly marked. Thoughtful minds raised the universal inquiry: 'What evil have these men done?' Every man's conscience answered promptly: 'None at all, they have but obeyed God as they believed duty demanded; many, who had not before thought on the subject, found their attention called to the same line of duty, and, as usual, many were added to the Lord. Holmes says, that so far from his bonds and imprisonments hindering the Gospel, 'some submitted to the Lord and were baptized, and divers were put upon the way of inquiry.' Upon this state of things his second arrest was attempted, but he escaped. HENRY DUNSTER, the President of Cambridge College (now Harvard), was so stirred in his mind, that he turned his attention to the subject of infant baptism, and soon rejected it altogether. A brief sketch of his life may be acceptable here.

He was born in England about 1612, and was educated at Cambridge, with Cudworth, Milton and Jeremy Taylor. He embraced Puritan principles and came to Boston in 1640, four years after Cambridge College, New England, was established. Of course, at that time it was a mere seminary, but, being one of the most learned men of his times, he was put at its head. He devoted his great powers to its up-building, collected large sums of money for it, giving to it a hundred acres of land himself, and his success in furthering its interests was marvelous. After a scholarly and thorough examination of the question of baptism, he began to preach against infant baptism in the Church at Cambridge, 1653, to the great alarm of the whole community. For this crime he was indicted by the grand jury, was sentenced to a public admonition, put under bonds for better behavior, and compelled to resign his presidency, after a faithful service of fourteen years. Prince pronounced him 'one of the greatest masters of the Oriental languages that hath been known in those ends of the earth,' but he laid aside all his honors and positions in obedience to his convictions. His testimony against infant baptism was very strong. When forbidden to speak, he said, according to the Middlesex Court records: 'The subjects of baptism were visible penitent believers and they only.' After protesting against the christening of a child in the congregation, he said:

'There is an action now to be done which is not according to the institution of Christ. That the exposition as it had been set forth was not the mind of Christ. That the covenant of Abraham is not

a ground of baptism, no, not after the institution thereof. That there were such corruptions stealing into the Church, which every faithful Christian ought to bear witness against.' So masterly were his arguments, that Mr. Mitchel, pastor of the Church, went to labor with him, and he says that Dunster's reasons were so 'hurrying and pressing' that he had 'a strange experience.' They were 'darted in with some impression, and left a strange confusion and sickliness upon my spirit.' So thoroughly was Mitchel shaken, that he fell back 'on Mr. Hooper's principle, that I would have an argument able to remove a mountain before I would recede from, or appear against, a truth or practice received amongst the faithful.' [Life of Mitchel, pp. 49-70]

After Dunster had resigned his presidency, April 7th, 1657, he was arraigned before the Middlesex Court for refusing to have his child baptized. But he was firm, and gave bonds to appear before the Court of Assistants, he removed to Scituate, in the Plymouth Colony, where he maintained his manly protest. Cudworth says of him there: 'Through mercy, we have yet amongst us the worthy Mr. Dunster, whom the Lord hath made boldly to bear testimony against the spirit of persecution.'

He died February 27th, 1659, after great suffering and eminence, and in that magnanimous spirit which a man of holy conviction knows how to foster. Cotton Mather says of him, that he fell asleep 'In such harmony of affection with the good men who had been the authors of his removal from Cambridge, that he by his will ordered his body to be carried there for its burial, and bequeathed legacies to these very persons.' [Magnalia, b. iii, p. 367]

There is abundant proof that, in many thoughtful minds, serious doubts had arisen concerning the scriptural authority of infant baptism and the right of the secular power to interfere in religious affairs. Dunster had done much to bring about this thoughtfulness, and others went further than he seems to have gone. It was obvious to all that the rejection of infant baptism and its enforcement by law must lead to a free Church and a free State, to the casting aside of infant baptism itself as a nullity, and the assertion of the rights of conscience and private judgment in submitting to Gospel baptism. Hence, in the very heart of the Puritan commonwealth, Dunster had planted seed which was indestructible. Cambridge and the adjoining town of Charlestown had been filled with these principles, and out of that center of influence came the first Baptist Church of Massachusetts Bay proper. For more than a generation Baptists had been struggling for a footing there, and at last it was secured. As noble a company of men as ever lived now banded together to withstand all the tyranny of the Puritan inquisition, come what might; and no body of magistrates on earth had their hands fuller of work to suppress the rights of man, than had those of that colony. The struggle was long and hard, but the triumph of manhood was complete at last. The first record on the books of the First Baptist Church in Boston reads thus:

'The 28th of the third month, 1665, in Charlestown, Massachusetts, the Church of Christ, commonly, though falsely, called Anabaptists, were gathered together, and entered into fellowship and communion with each other; engaged to walk together in all the appointments of our Lord and Master, the Lord Jesus Christ, as far as he should be pleased to make known his mind and will unto them by his word and Spirit, and then were baptized, Thomas Gould, Thomas Osborne, Edward Drinker, John George, and joined with Richard Goodall, William Turner, Robert Lambert, Mary Goodall and Mary Newell, who had walked in that order in Old England, and to whom God hath since joined Isaac Hull, John Farnham, Jacob Barney, John Russell, Jr., John Johnson, George Farley, Benjamin Sweetzer, Mrs. Sweetzer, and Ellis Callender, all before 1669.' This

step, however, was not taken until the heroic band had paid a great price for their freedom, for their vexations and sufferings ran through a course of years, before the final organization was effected. Justice to the memory of these blessed ones demands further notice of several of them. Next after the influence of Dunster on the mind of Thomas Gould, of Charleston, & member of the Congregational Church there, the Boston Church may trace its origin to the birth of a child in Gould's family in 1655. When this little John the Baptist of Charlestown raised his first cry in that home, like Zacharias of old, its godly father called his neighbors together to unite with him in thanks to God for the precious gift. But he withheld it from baptism, and was summoned to appear before the Church to answer therefor, when still refusing to have it baptized, he was suspended from communion, December 30th, 1656. The Middlesex Court record says that he was then brought before that body 'for denying infant baptism to his child, and thus putting himself and his descendants in peril of the Lord's displeasure, as in the case of Moses.' He was brought before the same Court with Dunster, April 7th, 1657; and, worse and worse, before the Charlestown Church, February 28th, 1664, for having a meeting of 'Anabaptists' in his house on the preceding 8th of November. October 11th, 1665, he was before the Court of Assistants, charged with 'schismatical rending from the communion of the churches here, and setting up a public meeting in opposition to the ordinance of Christ.' Several other persons were tried with him for the same offense, and as they all professed their resolution yet further to proceed in such their irregular practices; thereby as well contemning the authority and laws here established for the maintenance of godliness and honesty, as continuing in the profanation of God's holy ordinances: Gould, Osborne, Drinker, Turner and George were 'disfranchised,' and threatened with imprisonment if they continued in this 'high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointments.' Zechariah Rhodes, a Rhode Island Baptist, being in Court at the time and hearing this decision, said publicly, that 'they had not to do in matters of religion,' and was committed, but afterward admonished and dismissed. On April 17th, 1666, Gould, Osborne and George were presented to the grand jury at Cambridge, for absence from the Congregational Church 'for one whole year.' They pleaded that they were members of a Gospel Church, and attended scriptural worship regularly. They were convicted of high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointments,' were fined ,4 each, and put under bonds of ,20 each; but as they would not pay their fines, they were thrown into prison. On the 18th of August, 1666, according to the General Court papers of Massachusetts, the Assistant's Court decided that Gould and Osborne might be released from prison if they would pay the fine and costs, but if not they should be banished; they also continued the injunction against the assembling of Baptists for worship. March 3d, 1668, Gould was brought before the Court of Assistants in Boston, on an appeal from the County Court of Middlesex, when the previous judgment was confirmed and he was recommitted to prison. Then, on the 7th of the same month, concluding that fines and imprisonments did nothing to win him, and having a wholesome dread of repeating the Holmes's whipping experiment, the governor and council deciding to reduce him and his brethren 'from the error of their way, and their return to the Lord, . . . do judge meet to grant unto Thomas Gould, John Farnham, Thomas Osborne and company yet further an opportunity of a full and free debate of the grounds for their practice.' They also appointed Rev. Messrs. Allen, Cobbett, Higginson, Danforth, Mitchel and Shepard to meet with them on the 14th of April 'in the meeting-house at Boston at nine in the morning.' The Baptist and Pedobaptist brethren were then and there to publicly debate the following question: 'Whether it be justifiable by the word of God for these persons and their company to depart from the communion of these Churches, and to set up

an assembly here in the way of Anabaptism, and whether such a practice is to be allowed by the government of this jurisdiction?' Now, who was flouting the 'red flag of the Anabaptistical fanaticism full in the face of the Bay bull?' Gould was required to inform his Baptist brethren to appear, and the Baptist Church at Newport sent a delegation of three to help their brethren in the debate. A great concourse of people assembled and Mitchel took the laboring oar in behalf of the Pedobaptists, aided stoutly by others, but after two days' denunciation of the Baptists, they were not allowed to reply. The authorities, however, claimed the victory and berated them soundly as 'schismatics' but as this did not convert them, they returned at once to the old argument of fine and imprisonment, notwithstanding many remonstrances were sent from England by such men as Drs. Goodwin and Owen, and Messrs. Mascall, Nye and Caryl. Mitchel gave this sentence against them, and that ended the matter: 'The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die, and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel.' That sentence had been pronounced in Rome a hundred times, without half the noise about it which these new-fledged inquisitors made.

It may be well to add a few words in regard to Gould's companions in this holy war. Thomas Osborne appears to have been to Gould what Silas was to Paul. As far back as November 18th, 1603, the Charlestown Church records say that he, 'being leavened with principles of Anabaptism, and his wife leavened with the principles, of Quakerism,' that Church admonished them. But the admonition appears to have done no good, for July 9th, 1665, they were up before the Church again, with other 'Anabaptists' on the charge that they had embodied themselves in a pretended Church way.' Osborne refused to have his babe baptized, and his wife said that she could not 'conscientiously attend on ordinances with us,' and they were excommunicated on the 30th 'for their impenitency;' and on May 15th, 1675, he was fined because he worshiped with the Baptist Society, now in Boston. Edward Drinker, another of these worthies, is first heard of at Charlestown, but was not a member of the Congregational Church there, yet the Roxbury Church records say that when the Baptist Church was formed, its brethren 'prophesied in turn, some one administered the Lord's Supper, and that they held a lecture at Drinker's house once a fortnight.' This good man was baptized into the fellowship of the new Church, but was disfranchised by the Court when he became a Baptist, and was imprisoned for worshiping with his Church, 1669. He suffered much for his conscience, and we find him writing to Clarke, at Newport, as late as November 30th, 1670, in respect to the trials of the Church, which at that time had left Charlestown, and met at Noddle's Island, now East Boston. In this letter he tells Clarke that Boston and its vicinity were 'troubled,' much as Herod was at the coming of the King to Bethlehem, and especially the old Church in Boston and their elders. Indeed, he adds, that many 'gentlemen and solid Christians are for our brother's (Turner) deliverance, but it cannot be had; a very great trouble to the town; and they had gotten six magistrates' hands for his deliverance, but could not get the governor's hand to it. Some say one end is that they may prevent others coming out of England; therefore, they would discourage them by dealing with us.' He then states that they had received several additions to the Church at Noddle's Island, that one of their elders, John Russell, lived at Woburn, where already five brethren met with him, and others in that town were embracing their opinions. William Turner and Robert Lambert were from Dartmouth, England, and were members of Mr. Stead's Church there, but became freemen in Massachusetts Bay, and were disfranchised for becoming Baptists, and when, on May 7th, 1668, the Court demanded whether Lambert would cease attending the Baptist worship, he answered that he was bound to continue in

that way, and was 'ready to seal it with his blood;' he was sentenced to banishment, with Gould, Turner and Farnham. November 7th, 1669, inhabitants of Boston and Charlestown offered a petition to the Court in their favor, when ten persons were arrested for daring to sign this petition for mercy in their behalf. Most of them apologized for appearing to reflect upon the Court, but Sweetzer was fined ,10, and Atwater ,5. March 2d, 1669, the magistrates liberated Gould and Turner from prison, for three days, that they might 'apply themselves' to the 'orthodox' for the 'further convincement of their many irregularities in those practices for which they were sentenced.' But in order to enjoy this chance at 'convincement ' they must give good security to the prison keepers for their return to confinement. They were imprisoned because they would not move away. In November, 1671, Sweetzer writes: 'Brother Turner has been near to death, but through mercy is revived, and so has our pastor Gould. The persecuting spirit begins to stir again.' He afterward became a captain, and in a fight with the Indians on the Connecticut River. May 19th 1676, being ill, he led his troops into battle and fell at their head. He was a devout Christian, and beloved greatly in Boston.

These and other Baptists were forbidden again and again to hold any meetings, to which measure the General Court was moved by an address from the ciders in convention, April 30th, 1668. They say: 'Touching the case of those that set up an assembly herein the way of Anabaptism,' that it belongs to the civil magistrates to restrain and suppress these open 'enormities in religion,' and for these reasons. 'The way of Anabaptism is a known and irreconcilable enemy to the orthodox and orderly Churches of Christ.' They make 'infant baptism a nullity, and so making us all to be unbaptized persons . . . by rejecting the true covenant of God (Gen. 17:7-14) whereby the Church is constituted and continued, and cutting off from the Churches half the members that belong to them. Hence, they solemnly conclude that 'an assembly in the way of Anabaptism would be among us as an antitemple, an enemy in this habitation of the Lord; an anti-New England in New England, manifestly tending to the disturbance and destruction of those Churches, which their nursing fathers ought not to allow. . . . To set up such an assembly is to set up a free school of seduction, wherein false teachers may have open liberty to seduce the people into ways of error, which may not be suffered. At the same door may all sorts of abominations come in among us, should this be allowed, for a few persons may, without the consent of our ecclesiastical and civil order, set up a society in the name of a Church, themselves being their sole judges therein; then the vilest of men and deceivers may do the like, and we have no fence nor bar to keep them out. Moreover, if this assembly be tolerated, where shall we stop? Why may we not, by the same reason, tolerate an assembly of Familists, Socinians, Quakers, Papists? yea, 'tis known that all these have elsewhere crept in under the mask of Anabaptism.'

They say that 'if this one assembly be allowed, by the same reason may a second, third, etc.; schools of them will soon be swarming hither. If once that party become numerous and prevailing, this country is undone, the work of reformation being ruined, and the good ends and enjoyments which this people have adventured and expended so much for, utterly lost. The people of this place have a clear right to the way of religion and order that is here established, and to a freedom from all that may be disturbing and destructive thereunto.' [The Rowley Ch. Records]

After a long contest, the infant Church which had first been organized in Charlestown, and then removed to Noddle's Island, ventured to remove to Boston, and as by stealth, Philip Squire and Ellis Callender built a small meeting-house in 1679 'at the foot of an open lot running down from

Salem Street to the mill-pond, and on the north side of what is now Stillman Street;' and Thomas Gould became the first pastor. This building was so small, plain and unpretending, that it did not disturb the 'Bay bull' until it was completed, and the Church entered it for worship, February 15th. Then that amiable animal awoke and played very violent antics, without the aid of Clarke's 'red flag.' In May, the General Court passed a law forbidding a house for public worship without the consent of the Court or a town-meeting, on forfeiture of the house and land. Under this post facto law the Baptists declined to occupy their own church edifice until the king, Charles II, required the authorities to allow liberty of conscience to all Protestants.

Then the Baptists went back again, for which the Court arraigned them, and March 8th, 1680, ordered the marshal to nail up the doors, which he did, posting the following notice on the door: 'All persons are to take notice that, by order of the Court, the doors of this house are shut up, and that they are inhibited to hold any meetings therein, or to open the doors thereof, without license from authority, till the Court take further order, as they will answer the contrary to their peril. EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.' The Baptists quietly petitioned in May, asking the right to eat their own bread, and the Court gave them this stone, prohibiting them, 'as a society by themselves, or joined with others, to meet in that public place they have built, or any public place except such as are allowed by lawful authority.' The Baptists did not break open the door, but held their public Sunday services on the first Sabbath in the yard, and then prepared a shed for that on the second Sabbath. But when they came together they found the doors open! Never stopping to ask whether the marshal had opened them or the angel which threw back the iron gate to Peter, they went in boldly and said: 'The Court had not done it legally, and that we were denied a copy of the constable's order and marshal's warrant, we concluded to go into our house, it being our own, having a civil right to it.' Since that day there has always been a 'great door and effectual' opened to Boston Baptists.

07 New Centers of Baptist Influence

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS VII. NEW CENTERS OF BAPTIST INFLUENCE--SOUTH CAROLINA--MAINE-- PENNSYLVANIA--NEW JERSEY As a wrathful tempest scatters seed over a continent, so persecution has always forced Baptists where their wisdom had not led them. The first American Baptist that we hear of, out of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, is in a letter which Humphrey Churchwood, a resident of what is now Kittery, MAINE, addressed January 3d, 1682, to the Baptist Church in Boston, of which he was a member. He states that there were at Kittery 'a competent number of well-established people, whose heart the Lord had opened, who desired to follow Christ and to partake of all his holy ordinances.' They asked, therefore, that a Baptist Church should be established there, with William Screven as pastor, who went to Boston and was ordained. Before he returned to Kittery, Churchwood and others of the little band were summoned before the magistrates and threatened with fines if they continued to hold meetings. A Church was organized, however, September 25th, 1682. So bitterly did the Standing Order oppose this Baptist movement, that Mr. Screven and his associates resolved to seek an asylum elsewhere, and a promise to this effect was given to the magistrates. It is supposed that they left Kittery not long after the organization of the Church, but it is certain from the province records, that this 'Baptist Company' were at Kittery as late as October 9th, 1683; for under that date in the records of a Court occurs an entry from which it appears that Mr. Screven was brought before the Court for 'not departing this province according to a former confession of Court and his own choice.' At the Court held at Wells, May 27th, 1684, this action was taken: 'An order to be sent for William Screven to appear before ye General Assembly in June next.' As no further record in reference to Mr. Screven appears, it is probable that he and his company were on their way to their new home in South Carolina before the General Assembly met. They settled on the Cooper River, not far from the present city of Charleston. Some of the early colonists of South Carolina were Baptists from the west of England, and it is very likely that these two bands from New and Old England formed a new Church, as it is certain that, in 1685, both parties became one Church on the west bank of the Cooper River, which was removed to Charleston by the year 1693, and which was the first Baptist Church in the South. In 1699 this congregation became strong enough to erect a brick meetinghouse and a parsonage on Church Street, upon a lot of ground which had been given to the body. It is not known whether the church at Kittery was dissolved or whether it was transferred to South Carolina. Certainly no church organization is traceable there after the departure of Mr. Screven and his company.

Nearly a century passed before we find another Baptist church within the limits of what is now the State of Maine. Then, as the result of the labors of Rev. Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill, Mass., a Baptist church was organized in Berwick and another in Gorham. Four years later, in Sanford, still another church was organized. In April, 1776, William Hooper was ordained pastor of the church in Berwick. This was the first ordination of a Baptist minister in the District of Maine. In Wells, in 1780, a fourth church was organized, of which Nathaniel Lord was ordained pastor. All of these churches were in the south-western part of Maine and became connected with the New

Hampshire Baptist Association. In 1782 Rev. Job Macomber, of Middleboro, Mass., visited the District of Maine. Hearing of a religious interest in Lincoln County, he made his way thither in December and engaged in the work. In January, 1783, he wrote a letter to Rev. Isaac Backus of Middleboro, in which he gave an account of his labors. This letter Mr. Backus read to Mr. Isaac Case, who was so impressed with the need of more laborers in that destitute field, that in the autumn of 1783, after having been ordained, he made his way into the District of Maine, he preached awhile in the vicinity of Brunswick and then visited Thomaston, where, May 27, 1784, as a result of his labors, there was organized a church, of which he became pastor. Three days earlier a church was organized in Bowdoinham, and Rev. Job Macomber was soon after called to the pastorate. January 19, 1785, a church was organized in Harpswell, and Mr. James Potter, who had labored in that place with Rev. Isaac Case, was ordained as its pastor. May 24, 1787, these three pastors, with delegates from their churches, organized the Bowdoinham Association in the house of Mr. Macomber, at Bowdoinham. Mr. Case was made moderator of the association, and Mr. Potter preached the first sermon. In 1789 three more churches and one ordained minister had been added to the association. In 1790 the number of Baptist churches in the District of Maine was 11, with about 500 members. In 1797, ten years after its organization, Bowdoinham Association comprised 26 churches, 17 ordained ministers and 1,088 members. The Lincoln Association, embracing 18 churches, chiefly east of the Kennebec River, was organized in 1805. It was during this year that Rev. Daniel Merrill, pastor of the Congregationalist church in Sedgwick, became a Baptist, together with a large number of his former parishioners. He was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1789, and his church was one of the largest in the District of Maine, lie thought lie would write a book against the Baptists, but his study of the Scriptures convinced him that they were right and that lie was wrong. He at length called the members of his church together for consultation, and they asked him to give them the results of his investigations. He preached seven sermons on baptism, and not long after a Baptist church was organized of which Mr. Merrill became pastor. His sermons on baptism were published and in successive editions were extensively circulated. Mr. Merrill performed valuable missionary service also, and in various ways greatly advanced the Baptist cause in Maine. The Cumberland Association was organized in 1811, York Association in 1819, and the Eastern Maine Association in 1819. In 1826 there were in Maine 199 churches, 126 ordained ministers, and 12,120 members. That year the Penobscot Association was organized. Waldo and Oxford followed in 1829; Kennebec in 1830; Hancock.in 1835; Washington in 1836; Piscataquis in 1839; Saco River in 1842; and Damariscotta in 1843. No new associations have been formed since that time. There are now in Maine 247 Baptist churches, 144 ordained ministers, and 19,871 members. The Baptists of Maine have at Waterville a flourishing college--Colby University, with an endowment of over $550,000, and also three endowed preparatory schools, namely, Goburn Classical Institute, at Waterville; Hebron Academy, at Hebron, and Ricker Classical Institute, at Moulton. The Maine Baptist Missionary Convention, the Maine Baptist Education Society, and the Maine Baptist Charitable Society are strong and efficient organizations.

It now fell to the lot of Rhode Island to send forth new Baptist influence into the then distant colony of PENNSYLVANIA. In 1684, three years after William Penn obtained his charter from Charles II, Thomas Dungan, an aged and zealous Baptist minister, removed from Rhode Island to Cold Spring, Bucks County, Pa., on the Delaware River, and gathered a Church there, which maintained a feeble life until 1702. Thomas Dungan came from Ireland to Newport, in

consequence of the persecution of the Baptists there under Charles II, and appears to have been a most lovable man, whom Keach characterizes as 'an ancient disciple and teacher amongst the Baptists.' He attracted a number of influential families around him, and it is believed that the father of the noted Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a member of his Church at Cold Spring. William Penn, it is supposed, caught his liberal views from Algernon Sidney; he had suffered much for Christ's sake, and had adopted quite broad views of religious liberty; for at the very inception of legislation in Pennsylvania, the Assembly had passed the 'Great Law,' the first section of which provides that in that jurisdiction no person shall 'At any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever, contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection; and, if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice, in matter of religion, such shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace, and be punished accordingly.' [Janney's Life of Penn, p. 211] This provision scarcely matched, however, the radical position of Rhode Island, which provided for the absolute non-interference of government in religion. Hepworth Dixon tells us that the first Pennsylvania Legislature, at Chester, 1682, decided That 'every Christian man of twenty-one years of age, unstained by crime, should be eligible to elect or be elected a member of the Colonial Parliament.' Here, to begin, was a religious test of office and even of the popular franchise, for no one but Christians could either vote for public officers or serve in the Legislature. The laws agreed upon in England by Penn, and the freemen who came with him, restricted toleration to 'all persons who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder and 'Ruler of the world.' The Church at Cold Spring, located between Bristol and Trenton, was protected under these laws, but it seems to have died with Mr. Dungan in 1688, or rather to have lived at a dying rate, for in 1702 it disbanded, and Morgan Edwards, writing in 1770, says That nothing was left there in his day but a grave-yard bearing the names of the Dungans, Gardners, Woods, Doyls and others, who were members of this Church. In 1687 a company of Welsh and Irish Baptists crossed the Atlantic and settled at Lower Dublin, Pa., otherwise called Pemmepeka, Pennepek or Pennypack, a word of the Delaware Indians which signifies, according to Heckewelder, a 'pond, lake or bay; water not having a current." This company organized a Baptist Church, built a meeting-house near the water bearing this name, and sent forth its influence all through Pennsylvania, also into New Jersey and New York, Delaware and Maryland, as its pastors preached in these colonies. Its records were kept with care from the first, and are still preserved in a large folio. We are indebted to Hon. Horatio Gates Jones for the following and many other interesting tenets. The records state:

'By the good providence of God, there came certain persons out of Radnorshire, in Wales, over into tills Province of Pennsylvania, and settled in the township of Dublin, in the County of Philadelphia, namely, John Eaton, George Eaton and Jane, his wife, Samuel Jones and Sarah Eaton, who had all been baptized upon confession of faith, and received into the communion of the Church of Christ meeting in the parishes of Llandewi and Nantmel, in Radnorshire, Henry Gregory being chief pastor. Also John Baker, who had been baptized, and a member of a congregation of baptized believers in Kilkenny, in Ireland, Christopher Blackwell pastor, was, by the providence of God, settled in the township aforesaid. In the year 1687 there came one Samuel Vans out of England, and settled near the aforesaid township and went under the denomination of a Baptist, and was so taken to be.' These, with Sarah Eaton, 'Joseph Ashton and Jane, his wife,

William Fisher, John Watts' and Rev. Elias Keach, formed the Church. Samuel Vans was chosen deacon. and was 'with laying on of hands ordained 'by Elias Keach, who 'was accepted and received for our pastor, and we sat down in communion at the Lord's table.'

Ashton and his wife, with Fisher and Watts, had been baptized by Keach at Pennepek, November, 1687, and 'in the month of January, 1687-88 (0. S.), the Church was organized, 198 years ago, and remains to this day.' Hereby hangs a very interesting story concerning Keach, showing who and what he was. ELIAS KEACH came to this country in 1686, a year before this Church was formed. He was the son of Benjamin Keach, of noble memory, for endurance of the pillory, and for the authorship of a key to Scripture metaphors and an exposition of all the parables. When Elias arrived in Pennsylvania, he was a wild scamp of nineteen, and for sport dressed like a clergyman. His name and appearance soon obtained invitations for him to preach, as a young divine from London. A crowd of people came to hear him, and concluding to brave the thing out he began to preach, but suddenly stopped short in his sermon. There was a stronger muttering than he had counted on in the heart which had caught its life from its honored father and mother, despite the black coat and white bands under which it beat. He was alarmed at his own boldness, stopped short, and the little flock at Lower Dublin thought him seized with sudden illness. When asked for the cause of his fear he burst into tears, confessed his imposture and threw himself upon the mercy of God for the pardon of all his sins. Immediately he made for Cold Spring to ask the counsel of Thomas Dungan, who took him lovingly by the hand, led him to Christ, and when they were both satisfied of his thorough conversion he baptized him; and his Church sent the young evangelist forth to preach Jesus and the resurrection. Here we see how our loving God had brought a congregation of holy influences together from Ireland and Wales, Rhode Island and England, apparently for the purpose of forming the ministry of the first great pastor in our keystone State. Keach made his way back to Pennepek, where he began to preach with great power. The four already named were baptized as the first-fruits of his ministry, then he organized the Church and threw himself into his Gospel work with consuming zeal. He traveled at large, preaching at Trenton, Philadelphia, Middletown, Cohansey, Salem and many other places, and baptized his converts into the fellowship of the Church at Pennepek, so that all the Baptists of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were connected with that body, except the little band at Cold Spring.

Morgan Edwards tells us that twice a year, May and October, they held 'General Meetings' for preaching and the Lord's Supper, at Salem in the spring and at Dublin or Burlington in the autumn, for the accommodation of distant members and the spread of the Gospel, until separate Churches were formed in several places. When Mr. Keach was away, the Church held meetings at Pennepek, and each brother exercised what gifts he possessed, the leading speakers generally being Samuel Jones and John Watts. Keach married Mary, the daughter of Chief-Justice Moore, of Pennsylvania, and the Church prospered until 1689, when they must needs fall into a pious jangle about 'laying on of hands in the reception of members after baptism, predestination and other matters.' Soon after, Keach brought his pastoral work to a close in 1689, and returned to London, where he organized a Church in Ayles Street, Goodman's Fields, preached to great crowds of people, and in nine months baptized 130 into its fellowship. He published several works, amongst them one on the 'Grace of Patience= and died in 1701, at the age of thirty-four. The Pennepek Church, after some contentions, built its first meeting-house in 1707, on ground presented by Rev. Samuel Jones, who became one of its early pastors; for many years it was the

center of denominational operations west of the Connecticut River, and from its labors sprang the Philadelphia Association, in 1707. It was natural that the several Baptist companies formed in different communities by this Church should soon take steps for the organization of new Churches in their several localities, and this was first done in New Jersey, in Middletown in 1688, Piscataqua in 1689, and Cohansey in 1690.

Next to Rhode Island, NEW JERSEY had peculiar attractions for Baptists. It had been ceded to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, by the Duke of York, in 1664, and in honor of Sir George, who had held the Isle of Jersey as a Royalist Governor of Charles II, it was called New Jersey. In the 'Grants and Concessions of New Jersey,' made by Berkeley and Carteret, published in 1665, religious freedom was guaranteed thus: >No person at any time shall be any ways molested, punished, disquieted or called in question for any difference in opinion or practice in matters of religious concernments.' [Leaming and Spicer, p. 14, 1664-1702] The religious freedom of Rhode Island seemed to be as broad as possible, yet, because that colony required all its citizens to bear arms, some Quakers were unwilling to become freemen there, but under these grants they went to New Jersey and became citizens. From the first, therefore, New Jersey was pre-eminent for its religious liberty, so that Baptists, Quakers and Scotch Covenanters became the permanent inhabitants of the new colony. Many of them came from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New York, for the two lords' proprietors dispatched messengers to all the colonies proclaiming the liberal terms of the grants.

Richard Stout, with five others, had settled in Middletown as early as 1648, and Obadiah Holmes, the confessor at Boston, had become one of the patentees of Monmouth County. It is certain that some of the Middletown settlers emigrated from Rhode Island and Long Island as early as 1665. Amongst the original patentees, James Ashton, John Bowne, Richard Stout, Jonathan Holmes, James Grover and others were Baptists. There is some evidence That John Bowne was an unordained preacher, the first preacher to the new colony. Obadiah Holmes was one of the patentees of the Monmouth tract, 1665, owning house lot No. 20 and hill lot No. 6. He never lived in East Jersey, but his son Jonathan did from 1667-80. Obadiah Jr., was on Staten Island in 1689, but in 1690 he resided in Salem County, West Jersey. Jonathan was a member of the Assembly of East Jersey in 1668, and lived in Middletown for about ten years. About 1680 he returned to Rhode Island. His will, made in 1705, is on record at Newport, R.I., under date of November 5th, 1713, and is also recorded at Newton, N.J. He died in 1715. His sons, Obadiah and Jonathan, grandsons of the Boston sufferer, were members of the Middletown Baptist Church, and their descendants are still numerous in Monmouth County. It is very likely that these early Baptists had first taken refuge at Gravesend, Long Island, N.Y. Public worship was early observed in Middletown, and some of them had connected themselves with the Pennepek Church, because, after consultation with that body, they 'settled themselves into a Church state' in 1688. About 1690 Elias Keach lived and preached amongst them for nearly a year. This interest prospered until the close of the century, when they fell into a quarrel, divided into two factions, which mutually excluded each other and silenced their pastors, John Bray and John Okison. After a good round fight about doctrine, as set forth in their Confession and Covenant, they called a council of Churches May 25th, 1711, which advised them to 'continue the silence imposed on the two brethren the preceding year,' 'to sign a covenant relative to their future conduct,' and 'to bury their proceedings in oblivion and erase the record of them.' Twenty-six would not do this, but forty-two

signed the covenant, and, as four leaves are torn out of the Church book, we take it that they went into the 'oblivion' of fire. What became of the twenty-six nobody seemed to care enough to tell us; it may be lovingly hoped that, quarrelsome as they were, they escaped the fate of the four leaves, both in this world and in that which is to come. A most interesting Church was organized in 1689 at Piscataqua. This settlement was named after a settlement in New Hampshire (now Dover), which at that time was in the Province of Maine. We have seen that Hanserd Knollys preached there in 1638-41, and had his controversy with Larkham respecting receiving all into the Church (Congregational), and the baptizing of any infants offered. Although Knollys was not a Baptist at that time, his discussions on these subjects proved to be the seed which yielded fruit after many years. In 1648, ten years after he began his ministry at Dover, under date of October 18th, the authorities of the day were informed that the profession of 'Anabaptistry' there by Edward Starbuck had excited much trouble, and they appointed Thomas Wiggin and George Smith to try his case. Starbuck was one of the assistants in the Congregational Church there, possibly the same people to whom Knollys had preached; but the results of the trial, if he had one, are not given. The Colonial records of Massachusetts make the authorities say (iii, p. 173): 'We have heard heretofore of divers Anabaptists risen up in your jurisdiction and connived at. Being but few, we well hoped that it might have pleased God, by the endeavors of yourselves and the faithful elders with you, to have reduced such erring men again into the right way. But now, to our great grief, we are credibly informed that your patient bearing with such men hath produced another effect, namely, the multiplying and increasing of the same errors, and we fear may be of other errors also if timely care be not taken to suppress the same. Particularly we understand that within these few weeks there have been at Seckonk thirteen or fourteen persons rebaptized (a swift progress in one town), yet we hear not if any effectual restriction is intended thereabouts.' When Knollys left, in 1641, a number of those who sympathized with his Baptist tendencies left with him, and when he returned to London they settled on Long Island, and remained there until that territory fell under the power of English Episcopacy, when they removed to the vicinity of New Brunswick, N.J. There they formed the settlement of Piscataqua (afterward Piscataway, near Stelton) and organized a Baptist Church, which has exerted a powerful influence down to this time, being now under the pastoral care of John Wesley Sarles, D.D. The constituent members of this Church form an interesting study. It is certain that amongst the original patentees, in 1666, Hugh Dunn and John Martin were Baptists, and amongst their associates admitted in 1668 the Drakes, Dunhams, Smalleys, Bonhams, Fitz Randolphs, Mannings, Runyons, Stelles and others were of the same faith. About the time of organizing the Baptist Church at 'New Piscataqua,' as they called the place, the township confined about 80 families, embodying a, population of about 400 persons. From the earliest information this settlement was popularly known as the 'Anabaptist Town,' and from 1675 downward the names of members of the Baptist Church are found amongst the law-makers and other public officials, both in the town and the colony, showing that they were prominent and influential citizens. Their connection with Pennepek was slight, yet some of the families of the old Church may have been in the new.

Amongst them were John Drake, Hugh Dunn and Edmund Dunham, unordained ministers, who had labored for several years in that region as itinerants. About six years before the formation of the Church--1685-90--a company of Irish Baptists, members of a Church in Tipperary, had landed at Perth Amboy and made a settlement at Cohansey, some of whom went farther into the interior. It is quite probable that Dunn and Dunham--were both of that company, and quite as likely that Mr.

Drake was from Dover, N.H., where it is believed that his father had settled many years before from Devonshire, England. Thomas Killingsworth also was present at the organization of this Church, but John Drake, whose family claims kindred with Sir Francis Drake, the great navigator, was ordained its pastor at its constitution, and served it in that capacity for about fifty years.

Another Church was established at COHANSEY. The records of this Church for the first hundred years of its existence were burned, but, according to Asplund's Register, the Church was organized in 1691. Keach had baptized three persons there in 1688, and the Church was served for many years by Thomas Killingsworth, who was also a judge on the bench. He was an ordained minister from Norfolk, England, of much literary ability, eminent for his gravity and sound judgment, and so was deemed fit to serve as Judge of the County Court of Salem. About 1687 a company had come from John Myles's Church, at Swansea, near Providence, which for twenty-three years kept themselves as a separate Church, on the questions of laying on of hands, singing of psalms and predestination, until, with Timothy Brooks, their pastor they united with their brethren at Cohansey. It was meet that before this remarkable century closed the nucleus of Baptist principles should be formed in the great Quaker city of Philadelphia, and this was done in 1696. John Fanner and his wife, from Knolly's Church in London, landed there in that year, and were joined in 1697 by John Todd and Rebecca Woosencroft, from the Church at Leamington, England. A little congregation was held in Philadelphia by the preaching of Keach and Killingsworth and slowly increased. The meetings were held irregularly in a store-house on what was known as the 'Barbadoes Lot,' at the corner of what are now called Second and Chestnut Streets, and formed a sort of out-station to Pennepek. In 1697 John Watts baptized four persons, who, with five others, amongst them John Hohne, formed a Church on the second Sabbath in December, 1698. They continued to meet in the store-house till 1707, when they were compelled to leave under protest, and then they worshiped, according to Edwards, at a place 'near the draw-bridge, known by the name of Anthony Morris's New House.' They were not entirely independent of Pennepek till 1723, when they had a dispute with the Church there about certain legacies, in which the old Church wanted to share; May 15th, 1746, this contest resulted in the formation of an entirely independent Church of fifty-six members in Philadelphia. This rapid review of the Baptist sentiment which had shaped into organization in these colonies at the close of the seventeenth century, together with a few small bodies in .Rhode Island, besides the Churches at Providence and Newport, Swansea, South Carolina and New Jersey, give us the results of more than half a century's struggle for a foothold in the New World. The new century, however, opened with the emigration of sixteen Baptists, from the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen, Wales, under the leadership of Rev. Thomas Griffith, whose coming introduced a new era in Pennsylvania and the region round about. They had organized themselves into what Morgan Edwards calls 'a Church emigrant and sailant ' at Milford, June, 1701, and landed in Philadelphia in September following. They repaired immediately to the vicinity of Pennepek and settled there for a time. They insisted on the rite of laying on of hands as a matter of vital importance, and fell into sharp contention on the subject, both amongst themselves and with the Pennepek Church. In 1703 the greater part of them purchased lands containing about 30,000 acres from William Penn, in Newcastle County, Delaware. This they named the Welsh Tract and removed thither. There they prospered greatly from year to year, adding to their numbers both by emigration and conversion. But they say:

'We could not be in fellowship (at the Lord's table) with our brethren of Pennepek and Philadelphia, because they did not hold to the laying on of hands; true, some of them believed in the ordinance, but neither preached it up nor practiced it, and when we moved to Welsh Tract, and left twenty-two of our members at Pennepek, and took some of theirs with us, the difficulty increased.' For about seventy years their ministers were Welshmen, some of them of eminence, and six Churches in Pennsylvania and Delaware trace their lineage to this Church. As early as 1736 it dismissed forty-eight members to emigrate to South Carolina, where they made a settlement on the Peedee River, and organized the Welsh Neck Church there, which during the next century became the center from which thirty-eight Baptist Churches sprang, in the immediate vicinity.

Humanly speaking, we can distinctly trace the causes of our denominational growth from the beginning of the century to the opening of the Revolutionary War. In the Churches west of the Connecticut there was an active missionary spirit. At first the New England Baptists partook somewhat of the conservatism of their Congregational brethren, but in the Churches planted chiefly by the Welsh in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Virginia, the missionary spirit was vigorous and aggressive. As from a central fortress they sent out their little bands; here a missionary and there a handful of colonists, who penetrated farther into the wilderness, and extended the frontiers of the denomination. Two men are deservedly eminent in thus diffusing our principles, namely, Abel Morgan and Hezekiah Smith. These are fair types of the Baptist ministry of their day, and their work is largely representative of the labors of many others.

ABEL MORGAN was born at Welsh Tract, April 18th, 1713. To prevent confusion of names here, it may be well to state, that the first Welsh minister of this name was born in Wales in 1673, came to America and became pastor of the Pennepek Church in 1711, and died there in 1722. Enoch Morgan was his brother, born in Wales, 1676; he also came to tills country and became pastor of the Church at Welsh Tract, where he died in 1740. The Abel Morgan, therefore, of whom we now speak was Enoch Morgan's son, named after his uncle Abel, pastor at Pennepek. The subject of this sketch was one of the leading minds of his day. He was trained by Rev. Thomas Evans, at the Pencader Academy, and was familiar with the languages. He was ordained in the Welsh Tract Church, 1734, and became pastor of the Middletown Baptist Church, New Jersey, in 1739, which he served until his death, in 1785. He bequeathed his library to this Church for the use of his successors, and many notes in his hand are written upon the margins of the volumes in Welsh and Latin. Rev. Samuel Finley, who became President of Princeton College, being disturbed by the growth of the Baptists, challenged him to a discussion.

Finley wrote his Charitable Plea for the Speechless, and Morgan replied in his 'Anti-Paedo Rantism; or, Mr. Samuel Finley's Charitable Plea for the Speechless examined and refuted, the Baptism of Believers maintained, and the mode of it by Immersion vindicated.' This treatise was printed at Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin, 1747. He had another controversy with Rev. Samuel Harker, a Presbyterian, of Kingswood. His work exhibits careful and thorough scholarship, and the appreciation of his brethren is shown by the fact that he was the first to receive the honorary degree of M.A. from Brown University. In his disputation with Finley quite as much Welsh fire was kindled on the one side as good old Scotch obstinacy on the other; and Morgan did great service in setting forth the scriptural and logical consistency of the Baptist position. In 1772 Abel Morgan served as moderator of the Philadelphia Association, James Manning being clerk. Morgan had

been clerk in 1762, and in 1774 it was on his motion that the Association adopted the use of the Circular Letter. But his great life-work is found in preaching the Gospel. During his pastorate of forty years, in a sparse population, his Church received fully 300 persons into its fellowship upon their confession of Christ. He held regular services in two Middletown meeting-houses, several miles apart, besides preaching often at Freehold, Upper Freehold, and Long Brand, making the whole of Monmouth County his parish. Besides this he made extensive circuits into Pennsylvania and Delaware, preaching the word, as a burning and shining light.

Rev. HEZEKIAH SMITH is another name to be had in everlasting remembrance. He was born on Long Island on the 21st of April, 1737, was baptized at the age of nineteen by Rev. John Gano, and in 1762 was graduated from the College of New Jersey, at Princeton. Immediately on graduating he set out on a horseback journey through the South, preaching the Gospel for fifteen months as he traveled from place to place. On the 20th of September, 1763, he was publicly ordained at Charleston, S.C., for the work of the Christian ministry. In the spring of 1764, having accompanied Manning to Rhode Island, he set out on a second missionary journey, this time to the East through Massachusetts, he arrived at Haverhill, and for a time preached in a Congregational Church in the West Parish, then without a pastor. His piety and eloquence attracted crowds of hearers, many of whom were converted, and in due time he was waited upon by a committee of the Church with a view to permanent settlement. Under these circumstances he was obliged to tell them frankly that he was a Baptist, which information not only abruptly closed his labors in that parish, but led to his persecution on the part of the Standing Order. His friends, however, including some leading citizens, pressed him to form a Baptist Church in the center of the town. After consulting with his spiritual advisers in Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey, he finally consented, and the Church was constituted May 9th, 1765, and he remained its pastor for forty years. The memoirs of Dr. Smith, based on his journals, letters and addresses, have been prepared by Dr. Guild and recently published. They furnish a reliable history of the times in which he lived, and afford a charming insight into his daily life. Further reference will be made to him as a prominent chaplain in the army of the Revolution. In point of self-denying and restless labor, these two men were fair representatives of scores of Baptist ministers, North and South, who served one or two Churches near their homes, but who traveled, generally on horseback, through woods and glades, mountains and plains, in search of lost men. They preached where they could, in house or barn, in forests or streets, gathering the scattered few in remote districts, leading them to Jesus, baptizing and organizing them into Churches. Generally their fame drew the people together throughout an extensive circle, in many instances persons coming from five and twenty to sixty miles to hear them, many of them never having heard any tiling that approached the warm and simple unfolding of the riches of Christ.

Dwellers in log cabins, wooded mountains, the dense wilderness and the broad vales, were gathered into living Churches which still abide as monuments of grace. The formation of Associations was another element which contributed to Baptist success. At first, in many places, these began in simple annual meetings for religious exercises simply, but they naturally drifted into organic bodies including other objects as well. The Baptists were very jealous of them, fearing that they might trench on the independency of the Churches and come in time to exercise authority after the order of presbyteries, instead of confining themselves to merely fraternal aims. This has always been the tendency in the voluntary bodies of Christian history, and for this reason

Associations will bear close watching at all times, as they are simply human in their origin. The original safeguard against this tendency was found in our colonial times in the fact that, except as the Churches met in Association for the purpose of helping each other to resist the oppressions of the State, they transacted no business. The cluster of Churches grouped around Philadelphia were strongly bound together by common interests, particularly as Baptist mission work extended in that part of our land. As early as 1688 general quarterly meetings had been held at the different Churches for mutual encouragement, but there was no representation of these Churches by delegates. In 1707 the Pennepek, Middletown, Piscataqua, Cohansey and Welsh Tract Churches appointed representatives and formed the Philadelphia Association. At that time the Philadelphia congregation was a branch of the Church at Pennepek (Lower Dublin); hence its name does not appear in the list of the Churches; still the name of the largest town was chosen. The essential principles controlling this body were these, with some exception, that regulated the English Churches which met in London, September, 1689. The London body adopted thirty-two Articles as a Confession of Faith. An Appendix was also issued, but not as a part of the Articles, in which these words are used, partly in explanation of the position held by the English Churches on the subject of communion: 'Divers of us who have agreed in this Confession cannot hold Church communion with any other than baptized believers, and Churches constituted of such; yet some others of us have a greater liberty and freedom in our spirits that way; and therefore we have purposely omitted the mention of things of that nature, that we might concur in giving this evidence of our agreement, both among ourselves and with other good Christians.'

Dr. Rippon gave the Minutes and Articles of the Assembly in his Register closing with 1793, but omits the Appendix, as also does Crosby, clearly not considering this a part of the Articles nor of equal authority with them, while some of the members were open communists. THE PHILADELPHIA CONFESSION consists of thirty-four Articles, the twenty-third being in favor of singing in public worship, and the thirty-first in favor of the laying on of hands after baptism. There were some other changes, but slight, and the publication of the Confession was accompanied by a forceful Dissertation on Church Discipline. The Philadelphia Association adopted this September 25th, 1742, and it will be of interest to say that the first edition was printed by Benjamin Franklin in 1743. The foregoing extract taken from the London Appendix is not found in the Philadelphia document, as all the Churches which adopted it there were strict communion in their practice; hence they never accepted the London Appendix, but use these words on the Communion question in the XXXI, one of the new Articles: 'We believe that laying on of hands, with prayer, upon baptized believers as such, is an ordinance of Christ and ought to be submitted unto by all such persons that are admitted to partake of the Lord's Supper.' This Confession became the basis on which almost all the Associations of this country were established, until what is called the New Hampshire Confession was drawn up by the late Dr. John Newton Brown. The value of this Association to the encouragement and maintenance of new Churches is indicated by Morgan Edwards, who says, in 1770, that from the five Churches which constituted it, it had 'so increased since as to contain thirty-four Churches, exclusive of those which have been detached to form another Association.' Its Confession, as a whole, takes the doctrinal ground denominated Moderate Calvinism, as laid down by Andrew Fuller, carefully avoiding all extremes, especially that known as Hyper-Calvinism. The many subdivisions into which these were divided who practiced the immersion of believers, but created tests of fellowship not known to the Churches of the New Testament, found scant comfort in the unmistakable language of this Confession. The scriptural

character of its positions, with the freedom of thought which it left to the Churches on matters not comprised in its Articles, armed it with a powerful moral influence against heterodoxy, and yet left that free scope for the exercise of conscience without which Baptists cannot exist. A like service was rendered by its Treatise of Discipline, which aided the Churches in administering their practices, with such variations as their circumstances of time and place dictated; and, without that crippling effect which Romanism has sometimes assumed in Baptist Churches under the monstrous guise of Baptist usage, which, in other words, simply meant Baptist tradition. The establishment of this Association formed a great epoch in Baptist history, because it fostered those educational and philanthropic causes which needed the co-operation of the sisterhood of Churches, and could not be sustained by purely separate congregations. When Isaac Eaton had it upon his heart to raise an academy in connection with his Church at Hopewell, N.J., the Philadelphia Association passed the following resolution, October 5th, 1756: Concluded to raise a sum of money toward the encouragement of a Latin Grammar School, for the promotion of learning amongst us, under the care of Rev. Isaac Eaton, and the inspection of our brethren, Abel Morgan, Isaac Stelle, Abel Griffith and Peter P. Van Horn.' It is said that the first student at this academy was James Manning, afterward President of Brown University. Samuel Jones and Hezekiah Smith were also amongst the early students, as well as Samuel Stillman, John Gano, Charles Thompson, Judge Howell, Benjamin Stelle, and many others of note, both in Church and State. So many of the Churches were supplied with able pastors from this seminary that the Baptists were moved to establish a college, and the result of their effort was the founding of that noted seat of learning now known as Brown University. In a sense, the Philadelphia, aided by the Charleston and Warren Associations, gave birth to all the Baptist institutions of learning in America by nursing the enterprise at Hopewell. The encouragement and assistance which persecuted Baptists received in other States from these Associations in relation to religious freedom was very great. We have seen that the Philadelphia Association was formed in 1707; then followed the Charleston, S.C., in 1751; the Kehukee, N.C., in 1765 ; and the Warren, R.I., in 1767. When the Warren Association was formed, there were, according to Backus, fifty-five Baptist Churches in New England, but according to Morgan Edwards there were seventy. Some of them observed the Sabbath on the seventh day, some were frankly Arminian in doctrine, and a majority of them maintained the imposition of hands upon the immersed as a divine ordinance. As early as 1729 the General or Arminian Baptists formed an Association at Newport, R.I., and in 1730 thirteen Churches of that colony and Connecticut held yearly meetings upon the Six Principles. The associational idea was thus early at work, but the Warren Association did not grow out of this previous organization. Nor was it related to the quarterly and yearly meetings, as was the Philadelphia body, the Churches which formed it each working on their own lines for a long time. The idea of an association between the Calvinistic Baptist Churches of New England probably originated with Dr. Manning. The growth of our Churches in Massachusetts and the founding of Brown University were so interblended in the formation of the Warren Association that it will be necessary to look at both in connection with that important movement. As far back as 1656 the magistrates of Connecticut asked those of MASSACHUSETTS some questions concerning infant baptism. June 4th, 1657, a meeting of ministers was held in Boston, who adopted what is known as the Half-way Covenant, which provided 'that all persons of sober life and correct sentiments, without being examined as to a change of heart, might profess religion or become members of the Church, and have their children baptized, though they did not come to the Lord's table.' A synod of

all the ministers in Massachusetts ratified this provision in the same year. It will be readily seen that such an unscriptural step opened the doors of the Congregational Churches to an immense influx of unconverted people and to a corresponding worldliness of life. The Baptists were obliged, almost single-handed, to stem this public sentiment, but they bravely stood firm for Gospel principles. The Churches increased in number and influence continually, and in a large measure they counteracted these dangerous influences upon the public mind. The Baptist Church in Boston built a new church edifice in 1680, and in 1683 John Emblem from England became their pastor; after serving them for fifteen years, he died in 1699, when Ellis Callender succeeded him. He was followed by Elisha Callender and Jeremiah Condy, until Samuel Stillman took charge in IT65. By the time that the second Callender became pastor, the spirituality of the Baptists had so commended them to the respect of the better portion of the community that the three principal clergymen in Boston, Increase Mather, Cotton Mather and John Webb, not only consented to be present at his ordination, but Mr. Mather most cheerfully preached the ordination sermon, May 21st, 1718. And what was as noble as it was remarkable, he had the manliness to select as his subject, 'Good Men United!' In the face of the whole colony he condemned 'the wretched notion of wholesale severities' These he called 'cruel wrath,' and said roundly: 'New England also has, in some former times, done something of this aspect, which would not now be so well approved of, in which, if the brethren in whose house we are now convened met with any thing too unbrotherly, they now with satisfaction hear us expressing our dislike of every thing that has looked like persecution in the days that have passed over us.' [Winsor's Memorial Hist. of Boston, iii, p. 422] In 1729 the bitterness of the General Court of Massachusetts was so far relaxed against Baptists as to exempt them from paying the parish ministerial taxes if they alleged a scruple of conscience in the matter. [Winsor, ii, p. 227] This, however, by no means ended their sufferings, for in 1753 the Court required the minister and two principal members of a Baptist Church to sign a certificate that the person to be exempt was a member of that Church, and besides, the Church of which he was a member should obtain a certificate from three other Baptist Churches to prove that the Church to which he belonged really was a Baptist Church. Of course, our Churches resisted this provision and, in 1754, remonstrated with the Assembly at Boston. At once it was moved in this body, but not carried, that the signers of the remonstrance should be taken into custody. In the paper which they had sent to the Assembly they had shown how the Baptists had been thrown into jail, their cattle and goods sold at auction for a quarter of their value because they refused to pay Church rates, and they held that all this was contrary to the royal charter, which granted them liberty of conscience. Manning wrote to Dr. Samuel Stennett, June 5th, 1771, of his brethren's hard treatment in Massachusetts by imprisonment and the despoiling of their property. He says of the authorities:

'They are afraid if they relax the secular arm their tenets have not merit enough and a sufficient foundation to stand. This has been so plainly hinted by some of the committees of the General Court, upon treating with our people, that I think it cannot be deemed a breach of charity to think this of them. . . . Some of our Churches are sorely oppressed on account of religion. Their enemies continue to triumph over them, and as repeated applications have been made to the Court of Justice and to the General Courts for the redress of such grievances, but as yet have been neglected, it is now become necessary to carry the affair to England, in order to lay it before the king.'

Dr. Stennett was known personally to George III, who greatly respected him; hence he used his influence with the king, in company with Dr. Llewelyn and Mr. Wallin, to secure relief. On July 31st, 1771, his majesty 'disallowed and rejected' the act of Massachusetts in oppressing the Baptists at Ashfield; and Dr. John Ryland, in writing to Manning, says that Dr. Stennett procured that order. Three hundred and ninety-eight acres of land, belonging in part to Dr. Ebenezer Smith, a Baptist minister, and the Ashfield Baptists, had been seized and sold to build a Congregational meeting-house. On this land was a dwelling-house and orchard, and also a burying-ground, so that the Baptists found their dead taken from them as well as their property. The Warren Association met at Medfield, Sept. 7th, 1772, and refused to carry in any more certificates for exemption from ministerial taxes, because to do so implied a right on the part of the State to levy such a tax, and because it was destructive to religious liberty and the proper conduct of civil society. They demanded the right to stand on an equality before the law, not as a sect, but as citizens. Meanwhile the Baptist Churches fast multiplied everywhere. A second Baptist Church was formed in Boston itself in 1743, and others followed at various places and dates, as Middleborough, Newton, etc.; so that by 1776 there were about forty Baptist Churches in Massachusetts alone. Their cause in New England received a strong impetus from the preaching of WHITEFIELD and his colaborers, which ushered in the great awakening.

While Whitefield was not a Baptist, he insisted on a spiritual Church and that none but those who had experienced the new birth should become members therein, a position which logically carried men to the Baptists in a community where the Half-way Covenant was in force. He landed at Newport in September, 1740, and for three months preached daily. Tennant, Bellamy, Wheelock, Davenport, and many others followed him, and it is estimated that within two years between thirty and forty thousand persons professed conversion to Christ. Many Churches of the Standing Order arrayed themselves against him; others were indifferent to his movements. Harvard and Yale Colleges officially took ground against him. Dr. Chauncey, of Boston, wrote a volume against him; and the General Court of Connecticut enacted laws restricting ministers to their own pulpits, unless specially invited by the minister of another parish, and making it illegal for any unsettled minister to preach at all.

It was not strange that these converts, finding such opposition or cold welcome in the Congregational Churches, should seek homes elsewhere. In many cases they formed Churches of their own and were known as Separatists, and Backus says that between September, 1746, and May, 1751, thirty-one persons were ordained as pastors of Separate Churches. These new converts were insensibly and inevitably led nearer to the Baptist position than to that taken by the great body of the Congregational State Churches. The Churches of the Standing Order were filled with unconverted persons, with many who had grown up in them from infancy, being introduced at that time by christening; and but a small proportion of their members made any claim to a spiritual regeneration. The intuitions of a converted soul recoil from Church associations with those whose only claim to membership in Christ's mystical body is a ceremony performed over an unconscious infant, for the renewed man seeks fellowship with those who, like himself, have exercised faith in Christ's saving merits, and he is likely to take the Scriptures for his guide in seeking his Church home. Whitefield himself taught his converts, when preaching on Rom. 6:1-4, that their death to sin enjoined another order of duty. He says: 'It is certain that in the words of our text there is an allusion to the manner of baptism, which was by immersion, which our Church [Episcopal] allows,

and insists upon it, that children should be immersed in water, unless those that bring the children to be baptized assure the minister that they cannot bear the plunging.' [Sermons, xiii, p. 197, Boston ed.] In these and similar words he showed his hearers that the New Testament disciples were a body of immersed believers, and when Jonathan Edwards repudiated the Half-way Covenant, numbers embraced his views; some few new Baptist Churches were formed in Massachusetts, but many Whitefieldians and Baptists attempted to build together in what were popularly known as New Light or Separatist Churches. Of course such a compromise between Baptist and Pedobaptist principles could not long be practiced, and gradually the Baptists withdrew to form their own congregations. Backus says that for the twenty years between 1760 and 1780 two new Baptist Churches were organized each year. The life and ministry of ISAAC BACKUS himself illustrates the sweep of the Baptist movement in New England. He was converted to God during this great awakening, and with many misgivings united with the Congregational Church at Norwich, Conn., but afterward joined with fifteen others in forming a Separate Church, composed of Baptists and Pedobaptists. Two years afterward, 1748, having now readied the age of twenty-six years, he formed a Church of this mixed order at Middleborough, Mass. Soon the question of baptism began to agitate the body, and a number of his people rejected infant baptism and sprinkling as baptism. After a time Mr. Backus followed them on conviction, and in 1756 he formed the First Baptist Church at Middleborough. The story of his change of faith and denominational relations is a type of the inward and outward changes through which many earnest men passed at that time, and united with the Baptists or formed new Churches of that order and Backus acted as a leader in this direction.

We have seen that James Manning was first a student at Hopewell; after spending four years at the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, from which he was graduated in 1762 with the second highest honors of his class, he was intrusted by the Philadelphia Association with the arduous task of establishing a denominational college 'on some suitable part of this continent.' After consulting largely with friends, amongst them Gardner, the Deputy-Governor of Rhode Island, he established a Latin School at Warren, and organized a Baptist Church there in 1764. This school was subsequently removed to Providence, where it is still continued as the University Grammar School. In 1765 he was appointed President of the College of Rhode Island, and Professor of Languages and other branches of learning, with full power to act in these capacities at Warren and elsewhere. He began his work with one student, William Rogers, from Newport; three others were added within a year, and at the first commencement, in 1769, he graduated seven. A college charter was obtained from the General Assembly of Rhode Island, and $2,000 were subscribed for building and endowing the college. He saw at once that his success depended on the interest which the Churches took in the institution, and seeing that this could only be accomplished by united effort, he and Hezekiah Smith determined on forming an Association, with the double purpose of resisting the oppressions of the Standing Order in New England and of securing an educated Baptist ministry. This was accomplished, at Warren in 1767. For six years the college remained at Warren, when a contest, arose between Warren, East Greenwich, Newport and Providence for the honor of the permanent location, and in 1770 the college was removed to Providence. Manning then resigned his pastorship at Warren, accepted that of the Providence Church in 1771, and for twenty years held the twofold relation of pastor and president. The Warren Association was intimately identified with the development at the college for many years, thus making them mutual blessings. Backus tells us that a number of elders being together in

consultation about the affairs of the young institution, they sent invitations to other brethren, and the result was the meeting at Warren of representatives from eleven Churches, with three ministers from the Philadelphia Association for consultation concerning the organization of the new Association. John Gano was pastor of the Baptist Church in New York at that time and brother-in-law of President Manning. Gano presided over their delegations, and Isaac Backus acted as clerk. After full deliberation, some of the Churches, fearing that an Association might assume jurisdiction over them, faltered, and that body was formed by the representatives, of four Churches only, namely, Warren, Bellingham, Haverhill and Second Middleborough, but the latter Church withdrew at the second meeting, 1768.

President Manning then drew up a statement closely defining the objects of the Warren Association, adapted to remove misapprehensions, and in 1770 the Middleborough Church with Backus as pastor, returned, 'upon the express condition that no complaint should ever be received by the Association against any particular Church that was not of the Association, nor from any censured member of any of our Churches.' This body of Churches defined that its union was 'consistent with independency and power of particular Churches, because it pretended to being other than an advisory council, utterly, disclaiming superiority, jurisdiction, coercive right and infallibility.' On these principles the Association won its way, and in 1777 it embraced in its membership 31 churches and 1,617 communicants. The service which it rendered to Baptist interests in those days of weakness and trial was very great, for it was a missionary society as well as a fraternal body. It organized an Educational Fund for ministerial education; it appointed a committee to present serious Baptist grievances to the government of Massachusetts and Connecticut; it sent an agent to England to lay their case before the king; and it appealed for subscriptions to all the Baptist Churches of this continent, admonishing them to rally to the support of their own college as a Christian duty. Also it appointed Benjamin Foster and others to prepare a spelling-book, a good English grammar and a Baptist catechism. Foster was a graduate of Yale, was appointed to defend the Pedobaptist position in the exercises of that college, and became a Baptist on conviction as the result. The hallowed influences exerted by the Philadelphia and Warren Associations in molding the Baptist denomination in the New World can never be told.

Justice, however, demands as high a tribute to MORGAN EDWARDS as to James Manning, for his zeal and ability in establishing the college. Indeed, Dr. Guild, the present librarian of Brown University, frankly pays him this tribute. He says of Morgan:

'He was the prime mover in the enterprise of establishing the college, and in 1767 he went back to England and secured the first funds for its endowment. With him were associated the Rev. Samuel Jones, to whom in 1791 was offered the presidency; Oliver Hart and Francis Pelot, of South Carolina; John Hart, of Hopewell, the signer of the Declaration of Independence; John Stites, the mayor of Elizabethtown; Hezekiah Smith, Samuel Stillman, John Gano and others connected with the two Associations named, of kindred zeal and spirit. The final success of the movement, however, may justly be ascribed to the life-long labors of him who was appointed the first president, James Manning, D.D., of New Jersey.' [New England Magazine, January 1886, p. 4]

It is right to say here that he, being a Welshman, it was meet that he should be the 'prime mover' in establishing the first Baptist college in America on the very soil where Roger Williams, his countryman, had planted the first free republic of this land. There is also very much poetic lore in

the thought that he should leave his Church in Philadelphia to enlist the men of Wales in the interests of the young institution. He brought back a large sum of money for this object, and had so stirred the sympathies of Dr. Richards, of South Wales, that he bequeathed his library of 1,300 volumes to its use. And now, probably, there is not such a collection of Welsh books in America as is found in the town of the brave Welshman who founded Providence. Welsh affection for Brown merits that 'poetic justice' which led its present librarian to bless the memory of the other immortal Welshman, Morgan Edwards, as the prime mover in its establishment. Mr. Edwards was thoroughly educated and became pastor of the Philadelphia Church, on the recommendation of Dr. Gill, in 1761, and remained there till 1771, when he removed to Delaware, where he died in 1795. His influence was very great, but would have been much enlarged had he identified himself with the cause of the colonies in their struggle with the mother country. His family was identified with the service of his majesty of England, and Morgan was so full of Welsh fire that he could not hold his tongue, which much afflicted his brethren and involved him in trouble with the American authorities, as we find in the following recantation: At a meeting of the Committee of White Clay Creek, at Mr. Henry Darby's, in New York, August 7th, 1775, William Patterson, Esq., being in the chair, when the Rev. Morgan Edwards attended and signed the following recantation, which was voted satisfactory, namely:

'Whereas, I have some time since frequently made use of rash and imprudent expressions with respect to the conduct of my fellow-countrymen, who are now engaged in a noble and patriotic struggle for the liberties of America, against the arbitrary measures of the British ministry; which conduct has justly raised their resentment against me, I now confess that I have spoken wrong, for which I am sorry and ask forgiveness of the public. And I do promise that for the future I will conduct myself in such a manner as to avoid giving offense, and at the same time, in Justice to myself, declare that I am a friend to the present measures pursued by the friends to American liberty, and do hereby approve of them, and, as far as in my power, will endeavor to promote them. Morgan Edwards'

How sound his conversion was to Revolutionary 'measures' is not a proper question to raise here, but as the offense was one of the tongue, he made the amend as broad as the sin, and there is no known evidence that he ever gave too free rein to the unruly member thereafter on the subject of the 'noble and patriotic struggles for the liberties of America.' It is sure, however, that when American liberties were secured he brought forth abundant fruits, 'meet for repentance,' in the labors which he devoted to the cause of American education. He also traveled many thousands of miles on horseback to collect materials for the history of the Baptist Churches in the colonies which he had done so much to build up. His purpose was to publish a history in about twelve volumes. He issued the first volume in 1770, which treated of the Pennsylvania Baptists; the second volume related to the New Jersey Baptists and was published in 1792; his treatment of the Rhode Island Baptists was not sent forth by him, but appeared in the sixth volume of the Rhode Island Historical Collections of 1867. He left the third volume in manuscript, concerning the Delaware Baptists, which is now in possession of the Baptist Historical Society, Philadelphia.

He was as noble, refined and scholarly a servant of Christ as could be found in the colonies. He died in Delaware in 1795; his body, which was first buried in the Baptist meeting-house, La Grange Place, between Market and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, now rests in Mount Moriah Cemetery, and every true American Baptist blesses his memory.

08 The Baptists of Virginia

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS VIII. THE BAPTISTS OF VIRGINIA No chapter of Baptist history, European or American, fills honest hearts with warmer gratitude and thanksgiving than that of Virginia. The first settlers of this colony were cavaliers, from the upper classes of English society, profoundly loyal to the English government and zealous of religious observances. The Virginian charter of April 10th, 1606, made the Church of England the religion of the colony, and devotion to the king, its head and defender, the test of loyalty; hence all were taxed for its support. Before Plymouth Rock was known, and nearly a quarter of a century before Massachusetts Bay Colony was organized, the soil of Virginia was hallowed by praise to God in public worship. Captain John Smith tells us this beautiful story of his religious acts at Jamestown:

'When I first went to Virginia, I well remember we did hang an awning, which is an old sail, to three or four trees to shadow us from the sun. Our walls were rails of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut planks, our pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees. In foul weather we shifted into an old rotten tent. This was our church, till we built a homely thing like a barn, set up crotchets, covered with rafts, sedge and earth, so was also the walls, the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most part far much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind or rain. Yet we had daily common prayer, morning and evening; every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the Holy Communion, till our minister, Mr. Hunt, died. But our prayers daily, with a homily on Sunday, we continued two or three years after, till more preachers came. And surely God did most mercifully hear us, till the continual inundations of mistaken directions, factions and numbers of unprovided libertines, near consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wilderness.'

Happy had it been for the colonists if this freedom and simplicity of voluntary worship had been continued amongst them, as this noble character commenced it in his rude Jamestown temple, without doubt the first ever erected in North America. The charter made withdrawal from the Episcopal Church a crime equal to revolt from the government. It further required that if any one were drawn away from the 'doctrines, rites and religion, now professed and established within our realm of England,' the person so offending should be 'arrested and imprisoned, until he shall fully and thoroughly reform him, or otherwise when the cause so requireth, that he shall with all convenient speed be sent into our realm of England, here to receive condign punishment, for his or their said offense.

Each successive Governor promulgated his own code of laws, directing his subordinate in the details of administration. That of Sir Thomas Dale, in 1611, provided that every man or woman, 'now present or hereafter to arrive' should give an account of his or their faith and religion, and repair unto the minister, that their orthodoxy might be tested. Upon refusal to do this the minister should give notice to the Governor or chief officers of the town, and for the first refusal the offender was to be whipped, for the second to be whipped twice and to acknowledge his fault on the

Sabbath day in the congregation, and for the third offense he was to be whipped every day until the acknowledgment was made and forgiveness craved. The very severity of this code prevented its full execution, and succeeding Governors relaxed these provisions in their several codes. But though corporal punishment was gradually abandoned, the spirit of intolerance as to any departure from the Church of England remained the same, being quite as severe as that of Massachusetts Bay against all dissent from Congregationalism. Hening says that the General Assembly appears to have devoted itself to enforcing attendance on the services of the Church of England in the colony. In 1623 it provided that public worship should be held in every plantation according to its canons, that its ministers should be paid by a tax upon the people, and that no other ministers but those of that Church 'shall be permitted to preach or teach, publicly or privately,' and that the Governor and Council shall take care that all Non-conformists depart the colony with all conveniency. The first nine Acts of 1661 provided for the support of the State Church; in each parish a church edifice was to be built out of the public treasury, together with a parsonage house and the purchase of a globe for the minister's use. He was to receive a salary of ,80 sterling, a provision subsequently changed to 16,000 pounds of tobacco, to be levied on the parish and collected like other taxes. Each minister must be ordained by a Bishop in England, all other preachers were to be banished; every person who wilfully avoided attendance on the parish Church for one Sunday was to be fined fifty pounds of tobacco; every Non-conformist was to be fined ,20 for a month's absence, and if he failed to attend for a year he must be apprehended and give security for his good behavior, or remain in prison till he was willing to attend Church. Much pretense has been made, that because the early settlers of the colony were cavaliers, they were less austere, more polished and of gentler blood than the Puritans of Massachusetts. But the brutal intolerance of the English Court was faithfully copied by them, and no darker or more bloody pages stain English or Massachusetts history than those that defile the early records of Virginia. White tells us of a band of men who were driven from Virginia 'for their religious opinions' in 1634. [Annals of Annapolis, p. 23] Bulk records the revolting barbarities inflicted on Stevenson Reek for the same cause in 1640. He 'stood in the pillory two hours with a label on his back, paid a fine of ,50, and was imprisoned at the pleasure of the Governor,' for simply saying, in a jocular manner, that his majesty was at confession with my lord of Canterbury.' [Ecc. Hist. of Va., ii, pp. 51-67] Holmes details, at length, that in 1648 four missionaries were sent from Massachusetts to Virginia, Messrs. James, Knollys, Thompson and Harrison. They held a few meetings there in private, but their little congregations were violently broken up and the missionaries banished, while many of their hearers were imprisoned.' [Annals, 289] James Ryland, a member of the House of Burgesses from the Isle of Wight County, prepared a Catechism which was pronounced 'blasphemous' for which he was expelled in 1652; and for some other trivial religious offense a member from Norfolk was expelled in 1663. Virginia had adhered to the king against Cromwell and the Commonwealth, and Dr. Hawks, the eloquent Episcopal historian of Virginia, tells of four of Cromwell's soldiers who were 'rudely hung, as a warning to the remainder' in 1680, for their religions opinions, under the pretense that 'their assemblages' were 'perverted from religious to treasonable purposes', 'these religious assemblages themselves being regarded as a subversion of the government.' [Hist. of Episcopacy in Va., pp. 71-72]

Hening states that the 111th Act of the Grand Assembly of 1661-62 declared that, 'Whereas, Many schismatical persons, out of their averseness to the orthodox established religion, or out of the new-fangled conceits of their own heretical inventions, refuse to have their children baptized; Be it

therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all persons that in contempt of the divine sacrament of baptism, shall refuse when they may carry their child to a lawful minister in that county, to have them baptized, shall be amersed two thousand pounds of tobacco; half to the informer, half to the public.' [Statutes at large, ii, pp. 165-166] This was a blow dealt at the Quakers, as there seem to have been no Baptists in the colony at that time. Several Acts of the Assembly in 1659, 1662 and 1693 made it a crime for parents to refuse the baptism of their children. Jefferson writes: 'If no execution took place here, as in New England, it was not owing to the moderation of the Church or the spirit of the Legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself, but to historical circumstances which have not been handed down to us.' When William and Mary came to the throne, in 1689, their accession was signalized by that enactment of Parliament called the ACT OF TOLERATION. Even this, as Dr. Woolsey remarks, 'removed only the harshest restrictions upon Protestant religious worship, and was arbitrary, unequal and unsystematic in its provisions.' Still, it was the entering wedge to religious freedom, and while the Baptists of England gladly availed themselves of it and organized under it in London as a great Association for new work, a hundred and seventeen Churches being represented, the authorities of Virginia thought it inoperative in their colony. It was not until a score of years after the passage of this Act that the colonial Legislature gave to the colonists the meager liberties which it granted to the British subject. When, however, news of this Act reached Virginia, the few individual Baptists then scattered abroad there resolved on their full liberty as British subjects under its provisions. They entreated the London Meeting to send them ministers, an entreaty which was followed by a correspondence running through many years. In 1714 Robert Nordin and Thomas White were sent as ordained ministers to the colony, but White died upon the voyage. Up to this time there seems to have been no organized body of Baptists in Virginia, although there are traces of individuals in North Carolina as early as 1696, who had fled from Virginia to escape her intolerance. Semple finds the first Baptist Church of Virginia organized in association with the labors of Nordin at Burleigh, Isle of Wight County, in 1714, on the south side of the river and opposite Jamestown. Howell thinks that before the coming of Nordin there had been a gathering of citizens there, joined by others from Surry County for consultation, and that they had petitioned the London Baptists to send them help. Be this as it may, Nordin was soon followed by two other ministers, Messrs. Jones and Mintz, and under the labors of these men of God the first Church was formed in that year, and soon after one at Brandon, in the County of Surry. The first is now known as Mill Swamp; it is thought that the Otterdams Church is the second. These were General Baptists, but in a few years they embraced Calvinistic sentiments, and Nordin labored in that region till he died, in 1725. While this movement was in progress in the southern part of Virginia, the influence of the Welsh Baptists, in Pennsylvania and Delaware, began to be felt in Berkeley, London and Rockingham Counties, which were visited by their ministers. Semple thinks that these laborers first readied the colony through Edward Hays and Thomas Yates, members of the Saters Baptist Church, in Maryland, and that Revs. Loveall, Heaton and Gerard soon followed them. Churches were then gathered at Opecon, Mill Creek, Ketocton and other points in rapid succession, which became members of the Philadelphia Association, from which they received the counsel and aid of David Thomas, John Gano and James Miller, which accounts in part for the rapid spread of Baptist principles in North Virginia. They were soon strengthened, also, by the labors of two men of great power, formerly of other denominations, who became Baptists. Shubael Steams, a native of Boston, Mass., was converted under the preaching of George Whitefield, and united himself with

the revival party of the Congregationalists, called New Lights, in 1745. He continued with them for six years, when lie became convinced, from an examination of the Scriptures, that infant baptism was a human institution and that it was his duty to confess Christ on his faith.

Accordingly, he was immersed by Elder Palmer at Tolland, Conn., May 20th, 1751, and was ordained a Baptist minister. After continuing in New England for about three years, he longed to carry the Gospel to the regions beyond, and made for Berkeley and Hampshire Counties, Va. There God made him wonderfully successful, and his fame spread through all the region. He itinerated largely in North Carolina as well as in Virginia, and gathered an immense harvest for Christ. Morgan Edwards describes him as a marvelous preacher for moving the emotions and melting his audiences to tears. The most exciting stories are told about the piercing glance of his eye and the melting tones of his voice, while his appearance was that of a patriarch.

Tidence Lane, who afterward became a distinguished Baptist minister, says that he had the most hateful feelings toward the Baptists, but curiosity led him to hear Mr. Steams:

'Upon my arrival, I saw a venerable old man sitting under a peach-tree, with a book in his hand and the people gathering about him. He fixed his eyes upon me immediately, which made me feel in such a manner as I never had felt before. I turned to quit the place, but could not proceed far. I walked about, sometimes catching his eyes as I walked. My uneasiness increased and became intolerable. I went up to him, thinking that a salutation and shaking of hands would relieve me; but it happened otherwise. I began to think that he had an evil eye and ought to be shunned; but shunning him I could no more effect than a bird can shun the rattlesnake when it fixes its eyes upon it. When he began to preach my perturbations increased, so that nature could no longer support them and I sank to the ground.'

Rev. Daniel Marshall was brother-in-law to Steams, and had formerly been a Presbyterian minister at Windsor, Conn., but had served for some years as a missionary to the Indians on the upper Susquehanna. War between the colony of Maryland and the Indians had arrested his work, and on examining the Scriptures, he, too, became a Baptist, being immersed near Winchester, Va., in the forty-eighth year of his age. He and Steams preached in Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Churches were multiplied in every direction. Dr. Howell, in treating of this period, says that 'The fields were white to harvest. God poured out his Holy Spirit. One universal impulse pervaded, apparently, the minds of the whole people. Evidently hungering for the bread of life, they came together in vast multitudes. Everywhere the ministry of these men was attended with the most extraordinary success. Very large numbers were baptized. Churches sprang up by scores. Among the converts were many able men, who at once entered the ministry, and swelled continually the ranks of the messengers of salvation.' So quickly did the work of God spread amongst the people in every direction, that the influence of our Churches began to be felt in shaping the political destinies of the colony; and that influence has continued to our times. Prominent amongst the causes of this rapid growth was the character of the preaching. The preachers were from the people to whom they spoke, so that they understood their necessities and difficulties. Reports of many of these early sermons are extant. They are characterized by great simplicity of thought and structure, are peculiarly adapted to arouse the conscience to the need of Christ, to present his finished work in all its gracious bearings, and to lead to immediate decision in his service. Colonial life had fostered independent thought and a willingness to meet peril in shaking off the State

Church, whose ministers no longer commanded the respect of the people. Formalism had engendered license in the pulpit as well as in the pew, so that many of the clergy were not only cruel, but immoral, also. The very means which in earlier years had been taken to hinder the spread of Baptist doctrines now contributed to their dissemination, and the people hungered for the bread of life.

Persecution, as usual, over-reached itself, and the reaction was very great. John Leland says, the Baptist 'ministers were imprisoned and the disciples buffeted.' James Madison, in writing to a Philadelphia friend, in 1774, said:

'That diabolical, hell-conceived principle of persecution rages among some, and to their eternal infamy the clergy can furnish their quota of imps for such purposes. There are at the present time, in the adjacent county, not less than five or six well-meaing men in close jail for proclaiming their religious sentiments, which are the main quite orthodox.'

Yet this hard flint of persecution struck the true fire of soul liberty. Dr. Hawks is compelled to admit of the State clergy that they were in many cases a disgrace to their profession; and Hammond denounces them thus: 'Many came, such as wore black coats and could babble in a pulpit, roar in a tavern, exact from their parishioners and, rather, by their dissoluteness, destroy than feed their flocks.' These so embittered the spirits of the baser class against the pure and godly men who went everywhere preaching the word that, even after the Toleration Act had compelled the colony to modify her laws, and they could not legally be imprisoned for preaching the Gospel, mob law was let loose upon them everywhere, and they were thrust into prison for the sin of others in disturbing the public peace. Everywhere their congregations were disturbed and broken uup. Howe says: 'A snake and a hornet's nest were thrown into their meeting, and even in one case fire-arms were brought to disperse them.' [Hist. Collections of Va., p. 379]

Taylor says that the Baptist ministers were 'Fined, pelted, beaten, imprisoned, poisoned and hunted with dogs; their congregations were assaulted and dispersed; the solemn ordinance of baptism was rudely interrupted, both administrators and candidates being plunged and held beneath the water till nearly dead; they suffered mock trials, and even in courts of justice were subjected to indignities not unlike those inflicted by the infamous Jeffreys.'

Dr. Semple, actuated by the same sweet spirit and sincere honesty which moved Taylor, gives this description of the Baptist ministers: They 'were without learning, without patronage, generally very poor, very plain in their dress, unrefined in their manners and awkward in their address; all of which, by their enterprising zeal and unceasing perseverance, they either turned to advantage or prevented their ill effects.'

Yet they had the stoutest hearts, the most masculine intellects, and some of them were eloquent to a proverb; a perfect phalanx of Christian Spartans. About thiry of them were put in prison, some of them several times, but by preaching Jesus through the gates and on the high walls many were brought to Christ. Rev. Eleazar Clay, the guardian of the great statesman, Henry Clay, wrote from Chesterfield County to John Williams: 'The preaching at the prison is not attended in vain, for we hope that several are converted, while others are under great distress and made to cry out, What shall we do to be saved?' and he begged him to come down and baptize the converts. Crowds gathered around the prisons at Fredericksburg, in the counties of King and Queen, Culpepper,

Middlesex and Essex, Orange and Caroline. They were preached to by Harris, Ireland, Pickett, the Craigs, of whom there were three brothers, Greenwood, Barrow, Weathersford, Ware, Tinsley, Waller, Webber and others whose names will be honored while Virginia exists. And there are some noted cases of holy triumph, as in the prison at Culpepper, whence Ireland, much after the order of Bunyan, who was 'had home to prison in the county jail of Bedford,' dated his letters, from 'my palace in Culpepper.' On the very spot where the prison stood, where powder was cast under the floor to blow him up, and brimstone was burnt to suffocate him and poison was administered to kill him; on that spot where he preached through the iron grates to the people, there the Baptist meeting-house now stands; and the Church which occupies it numbers more than 200 members. These diabolical schemes were all frustrated and, after much suffering, he barely escaped with his life; yet he says: 'My prison was a place in which I enjoyed much of the divine presence; a day seldom passed without some token of the divine goodness toward me.' Waller, a most powerful man, who before his conversion was the terror of the good, being known as the 'Devil's Adjutant and Swearing Jack,' spent 113 days in four different prisons, besides enduring all forms of abuse; but in Virginia alone he immersed 2,000 believers and helped to constitute eighteen Churches. Want of space demands silence concerning a list of most illustrious ministers and laymen, whose names will never be honored as they deserve, until some equally illustrious son of Virginia shall arrange and shape her abundant mass of Baptist material with the integrity of a Bancroft and the eloquence of a Macaulay. For three months in succession three men of God lay in the jail at Fredericksburg for the crime of preaching the glorious Gospel of the blissful God-

Elders Lewis Craig, John Waller and James Childs. But their brethren stood nobly by these grand confessors. Truly, in the words of Dr. Hawks, 'No dissenters in Virginia, experienced for a time harsher treatment than did the Baptists. They were beaten and imprisoned; and cruelty taxed its ingenuity to devise new modes of punishment and annoyance. The usual consequences followed. Persecution made friends for its victims; and the men who were not permitted to speak in public found willing auditors in the sympathizing crowds who gathered around the prisons to hear them preach from the grated windows. It is not improbable that this very opposition imparted strength in another mode, inasmuch as it at last furnished the Baptists with a common ground on which to make resistance.' [Hist. Prot. Ep. Ch. in Va., p. 121]

We shall see much more of their struggles for liberty to preach the Gospel when we come to consider the period of the Revolutionary War, and for the present must look at their internal affairs and growth. Although they multiplied rapidly in the latter half of the eighteenth century, they were much divided by controversies amongst themselves; first, on the question of Calvinism, and then, strangely enough, on Episcopacy. The Calvinistic controversy had been imported by the General and Particular Baptists, who had come from England. For a time they lived happily with each other, probably held together by the cohesive power of opposition from without. But by and by, as they became stronger, they dropped the names of General and Particular and conducted their doctrinal contest under the name of Separate and Regular Baptists. Samuel Harris, John Waller and Jeremiah Walker were leaders on the Arminian side, while E. Craig, William Murphy and John Williams were leaders on the Calvinistic side; but while they conducted their debates with great freedom of utterance, they also clung to each other with brotherly love. Having suffered so much together in a common cause, the thought of separation was too painful to be endured. They, therefore, treated each other with all the cordiality of Christian gentlemen, or, as Mr. Spurgeon

would say, they agreed to keep two bears in their house, 'bear and forbear;' and the result was, after a long and full discussion in 1787, they agreed to know each other, and to be known to others, as The United Baptist Churches of Christ in Virginia. The manner in which our Virginia fathers were exercised on the question of Episcopacy would be a topic of amusement to the Baptists there in our times, if reverence for their sires did not honor all their sincere convictions. The early General Baptists of England raised the question whether Ephesians 4:11-13, did not continue the Apostolic office in the Church after the death of the Apostles; and thinking that it did, they selected an officer whose prerogatives were above those of an Elder, and for fully a century this officer visited their Churches as a Messenger or Superintendent, as they thought Timothy and Titus might have been. He was commonly elected and set apart to his work by an Association, and his chief duty was to itinerate, preach the Gospel, plant Churches and regulate their affairs. In the Confession of the General Baptists of 1678 his duties are thus laid down: 'The Bishops have the government of those Churches that had suffrage in their election, and no others ordinarily; as also to preach the word in the world.'

Hook says that their work was 'to plant Churches, ordain officers, set in order things that were wanting in all the Churches, to defend the Gospel against gainsayers, and to travel up and down the world for this purpose.' The Virginia Baptist fathers, wanting to observe every thing that they thought was done in the Apostolic Churches, decided by a majority vote, at the General Association of 1775, that his office was to be continued, and appointed Samuel Harris for the district lying south of the James River; shortly after which, Elijah Craig and John Waller were appointed for that on the north side. At the previous meeting of, this body, after two days' debate, they had deferred the further consideration of the subject for a year. That year was spent in warm discussion of the matter. Walker advocated the doctrine in a pamphlet, Ford opposed it in another, and the Association then unanimously elected Harris an Apostle by ballot. They observed a day of fasting before the ordination, at which Elijah Craig, Waller and Williams offered prayer, then each ordained minister present laid hands upon the head of Harris and gave him the hand of fellowship. At the autumn meeting Waller and Craig were ordained, and these three Baptist Bishops were let loose upon the Churches under this rule:

'If our Messenger, or Apostle, shall transgress in any manner, he she'll be liable to dealing in any Church where the transgression is committed; and the said Church is instructed to call helps from two or three neighboring Churches; and if by them found a transgressor, a General Conference of the Churches shall be called to excommunicate or to restore him.' [Semple's Hist. Va. Baptists, pp. 58-59] As might have been expected amongst Baptists, the advocates of the measure were not chosen; the Churches put on their glasses and brought out their New Testaments to see where they could find this crotchet, and not finding it, at the next year's meeting of the Association the 'Apostles' were very chop-fallen, and reporting their cold reception and discouragements, quit their high episcopacy at once. The Association was so much mortified at this play at priests that it had not the patience to pass an act abolishing the apostolate, but let it die a natural death; afterward, however, the body took a solemn farewell of its defunct bishopric by recording on its minutes the following declaration, as a sort of epitaph: 'That the office of apostles, like that of prophets, was the effect of miraculous inspiration; and does not belong to ordinary times.' Nor since that day have Virginia Baptists seen any times extraordinary calling for the resurrection of their 'apostles.' The primitive Baptists of Virginia were often treated with contempt because many of their ministers

were not classical scholars, and yet some of them were the peers of the first men in the pulpits of the colony, no matter of what denomination; not only in all that enstamps with a high and practical manhood, but also in the higher branches of education. They were men of profound knowledge in all that relates to Gospel truth, to the true science of human government, and to that patriotism which has made the Virginia commonwealth so great a power in our land. They wrought a work which even the heroes of Rhode Island did not equal in some respects. Just as it is harder to purify a corrupted system than to originate one that is right and true, so far they excelled our brethren there. Their contest was steady, long and fiery, yet they never wavered, took no rash steps nor violent measures, but, with true loyalty to their holy convictions, pressed on against all odds, until their resistless wisdom and energy, directed by an enduring perseverance that never flagged, gave them their deserved victory. Touching the question of education, it is little less than cruel to accuse them of ignorance, in view of the fact that they were not allowed to found schools, or build places of worship, nor to be at peace in their own homes. But as soon as they had conquered the right to breathe as faithful citizens and to organize Churches, despite their grinding oppressions, they at once betook themselves to the founding of schools and colleges, which have since become an honor to the State and nation. As it was, however, with their slight classical and theological attainments, they did not fail to reach some of the first minds in Virginia. So pure were they, so biblical and so true to high conviction, that many of her first citizens openly identified themselves both with their cause and Churches. Some who stood high as statesmen and as educators felt and confessed their powerful influence.

Amongst these we find Dr. Archibald Alexander, born in 1772, and President of Hampden- Sidney College in 1796, one of the first scholars and divines in our country. In the frankest manner he unbosomed his heart thus:

'I fell into doubts respecting the authority of infant baptism. The origin of these doubts were in too rigid notions as to the purity of the Church, with a belief that receiving infants had a corrupting tendency. I communicated my doubts very freely to my friend, Mr. Lyle, and Mr. Speece, and found that they had both been troubled by the same. We talked much privately on the subject, and often conversed with others in hope of getting some new light. At length Mr. Lyle and I determined to give up the practice of baptizing infants until we should receive more light. This determination we publicly communicated to our people and left them to take such measures as they deemed expedient; but they seemed willing to admit the issue. We also communicated to the Presbytery the state of our minds, and left them to do what seemed good in the case; but as they believed that we were sincerely desirous of aiming at the truth, they took no steps and I believe made no record. Things remained in this position for more than a year.

During this time I read much on both sides, and carried on a lengthened correspondence, particularly with Dr. Hoge. Two considerations kept me back from joining the Baptists. The first was, that the universal prevalence of infant baptism, as early as the fourth and fifth centuries, was unaccountable on the supposition that no such practice existed in the times of the apostles. The other was, that if the Baptists are right they are the only Christian Church on earth, and all other denominations are out of the visible [Catholic] Church.' The soundness of the conclusions reached by this great head of the Alexander family, in the Presbyterian Church, will be differently estimated by different minds; but, at the least, he shows the spreading influence of the Virginia Baptists at the close of the last century. His objections to the Baptists were essentially those of the Roman

Catholic to our principles and practices; and, illfounded as they were, they prevented him from following his convictions on the main point at issue. In another chapter it will be needful to treat of the Virginia Baptists, touching their active participation in the Revolutionary War, together with their prominence in settling the State policy of the Old Dominion, and the character of the Constitution of the, United States. This chapter, therefore, must close with a reference to their alleged molding power upon THOMAS JEFFERSON, in his political career, as one of the founders of our government. Many historical writers have told us that he was in the habit of attending the business and other meetings of a Baptist Church near his residence; that he closely scrutinized its internal democratic policy and its democratic relations to its sister Churches; that he borrowed his conceptions of a free government, State and Federal, from the simplicity of Baptist Church independency and fraternity; and that, frequently, in conversation with his friends, ministers and neighbors, he confessed his indebtedness to their radical principles for his fixed convictions on the true methods of civil and religions liberty. If this popular tradition were entirely unsupported by contemporary testimony, his earnest and public co-operation with the Baptists in Virginia politics, and the close identity between our form of government, which he did so much to frame, and that of the Baptist Churches, must ever contribute to keep it alive; the strength of the coincidence being sufficient in itself to create such a tradition even if it did not already exist. Curtis says:

'There was a small Baptist Church which held its monthly meetings for business at a short distance from Mr. Jefferson's house, eight or ten years before the American Revolution. Mr. Jefferson attended these meetings for several months in succession. The pastor on one occasion asked him how he was pleased with their Church government. Mr. Jefferson replied, that it struck him with great force and had interested him much, that he considered it the only form of true democracy then existing in the world, and had concluded that it would be the best plan of government for the American colonies. This was several years before the Declaration of Independence.' [Progress of Baptist Principles, p. 356] This author also says that he had this statement at second-hand only, from Mrs. Madison, wife of the fourth President of the United States, who herself had freely conversed with Jefferson on the subject, and that her remembrance of these conversations was 'distinct,' he 'always declaring that it was a Baptist Church from which these views were gathered.' Madison and Jefferson stood side by side with the Baptists in their contest for a free government, and they served together in the Committee of Seventeen in the Assembly of Virginia, when it was secured in 1777. 'After desperate contests in that Committee almost daily, from the 11th of October to the 5th of December,' the measure was carried; but Jefferson says of his struggle, in his autobiography, that it was 'the severest in which he was ever engaged.' No person then living had better opportunities for knowing the facts on this matter than had Mrs. Madison. Then the records of the early Baptists in Virginia show that there were Baptist Churches in Albemarle County, where Jefferson lived, which fact presents strong circumstantial evidence to the accuracy of this report. Semple mentions two such bodies, the Albemarle, founded in 1767, and the Toteer, 1775. John Asplund, in his Register for 1790, gives four Churches in that county, namely, 'Garrison's meeting, Pretey's Creek, Toteer Creek and White Sides Creek;' Garrison's having been organized in 1774; the others are given without date. He also says that these Churches had 258 members and 5 ministers, namely: William Woods, Jacob Watts, Bartlett Bonnet, Martin Dawson and Benjamin Burger. This renders it certain that besides Jefferson's intimacy with John Leland and other well-known names of our fathers, he had opportunities enough at home to become acquainted with Baptist principles and practices. Though he was

skeptical on the subject of religion, he always spoke warmly of his co-operation with the Baptists in securing religious liberty. In a letter written to his neighbors, the members of the Buck Mountain Baptist Church, 1809, he says: 'We have acted together from the origin to the end of a memorable revolution, and we have contributed, each in the line allotted us, our endeavors to render its issues a permanent blessing to our country.'

It would be a pleasant task to trace the lives of some of the distinguished servants of God who filled Virginia with Baptist Churches; but their work erects for them an imperishable monument to which it is only needful to refer. We find that while the first Church was planted in the colony in 1714, in 1793 there were in the State 227 churches, 272 ministers, 22,793 communicants, and 14 Associations. Abiel Holmes says, in his American Annals (ii, 488 p.), that in 1793 the Baptists of the United States numbered 73,471, so that at that time Virginia contained nearly one third of the whole. In order to combine their efforts, a General Association was formed in 1771, which was dissolved in 1783 and, in 1784, a General Committee was organized to take its place, consisting of two delegates from each Association; this again was superseded in 1800 by the General Meeting of Correspondence, which was composed of delegates from all the Associations and acted as a State Board of Baptist co-operation on all subjects of general interest. The statistics of our own times, however, far eclipse the ratio of growth in the most prosperous days of the last century. At the present time, 1886, the Virginia Baptists have 42 Associations, 868 ordained ministers, 1,608 churches, into whose fellowship there were baptized last, year 12,182 persons, making a total membership in the State of 238,266; being the largest number of Baptists in any State excepting Georgia. This prosperity is the more remarkable when we take into account that within the present century the largest defection from the regular Baptist ranks that has been known in this country took place in Virginia, under the late Rev. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL. Without a brief sketch of that movement the history of the Baptists there would be very imperfect, hence it is here submitted. Alexander Campbell, a seceding minister from the North of Ireland, came to America in 1807, and became pastor of a Presbyterian Church in West Pennsylvania. Soon his father, Thomas Campbell, came to differ materially in some things with that Church, and set up worship in his own house, avowing this principle: 'When the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent.' A number adopted this doctrine and gathered at the meetings. Andrew Munro, a clearheaded seceder, said at once: 'If we adopt that as a basis, there is an end of infant baptism.' Soon both Thomas and Alexander, his son, with five others of the family rejected infant baptism, and on June 12th, 1812, were immersed on profession of their faith in Christ, in Buffalo Creek, by Elder Luce, and were received into the fellowship of the Bush Run Baptist Church. After this Alexander began to call in question the scripturalness of certain Baptist views and usages, chiefly in relation to the personal agency of the Holy Spirit in regeneration, the consequent relation of a Christian experience before baptism and the effect of baptism itself. As nearly as the writer could express Mr. Campbell's views, after much conversation with him, he held: That no man can be born of God but by the word of truth as found in the Bible; that the Scriptures, being inspired by the Holy Spirit, the only agency of the Spirit which acts on the soul is exerted through the word of Scripture; that the act of regeneration is not completed until the soul obeys Christ in the act of baptism; and that, as baptism is Christ's appointed method of confessing him, the washing away of sin is connected with that act or evinced thereby. The Baptists from whom he retired also held to the full inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and that God addresses himself to the soul of man through that word, but that the Holy Spirit applies that word to the soul in so powerful a manner, by

his direct and personal agency, as to lead it to a perfect trust on Christ for salvation and that then he is born from above, or regenerated. That when the Spirit bears witness with his spirit that he is a child of God, and he can testify of the grace of God in saving him, he has then become a fit subject for baptism; and so the act of baptism publicly attests his love for Christ, his obedience to him and the remission of his sins, as one who is dead indeed unto sin and alive unto God. The point of divergence between him and the Baptists, was so vital and radical, that every step which followed widened the distance. Mr. Campbell came to regard what is known as the relation of Christian experience, not only as savoring of mere impulse at the best, but as often running into superstition and even fanaticism; while the Baptists insisted on satisfactory testimony from the Holy Spirit to the convert's heart, and then from his own lips to the Church, that a moral renovation was wrought in his whole moral nature by the Holy Spirit himself, in which work he had used the inspired word as his divine instrument in effecting salvation. Of course, much warm controversy ensued, the convictions of each party deepened with the progress of the contest, divisions took place in Churches and Associations, the rent ran not only through Virginia but through the entire South and Southwest, and the two bodies appear to be about as far apart as ever, with this difference, that time and circumstances have softened old asperities and cooled the heat of fierce debate. The leaders in the combat were men of might on both sides. Mr. Campbell possessed a powerful intellect, which largely predominated over the emotional in his nature. He was of French descent on his mother's side; of Irish and Highland Scotch on his father's. He was very positive, unyielding, fearless and capable of wonderful endurance. Without being over-polite or ceremonious, his manners were bland and conciliating, while his mind was entirely self-directing, there was no show of vanity about him; and while not an orator in a high sense, his manner of speaking was prepossessing from the utter absence of cant in expression or whine in tone. There was a warm play of benevolence in his face and a frank open-heartedness in his speech, which was clothed in the dress of logic and armed with pointed artful sarcasm which seldom failed to influence his hearers. Probably the nearest counterpart to himself whom he found amongst all his opponents, and who most counteracted his influence as a strong and cool reasoner, was DR. JEREMIAH B. JETER, one of the broadest and best men that Virginia ever produced either in the Baptist ministry or any other. He was a native of that State, born in 1802, and was baptized in 1821, addressing the crowd on the bank of the Otter River as he ascended from the water. He began to preach in Bedford County, and was the first missionary appointed by the General Association of Virginia, in 1823. He filled various pastorates in that State until 1835, when he became pastor of the First Church in Richmond, where he continued for fourteen years. He had baptized more than 1,000 persons before he went to Richmond, and was honored by the baptism of about the same number while in this Church. In 1849 he took charge of the Second Church in St. Louis, but returned to Richmond as the pastor of Grace Street Church in 1852. The last fourteen years of his life were spent as editor of the Religious Herald. As early as 1837 he had shown himself a master of the pen in his Life of Clopton, and this work was soon followed by the memoirs of Mrs. Schuck and of Andrew Broadus. All this had been but a training for his remarkable polemic work, in which he examined and answered the positions of Mr. Campbell. It is in this work chiefly that the fullness and roundness of his character appear. Clear, vigorous, courteous, unassuming and child-like, devoid of boastfulness, forgetful of himself and apparently unconscious of his own ability, he throws a blending of beautiful virtues into a majestic logic that no other writer has approached on that subject. He far excels Mr. Campbell in the graces of style

and in suavity of spirit, while he is fully his equal in self-possession and out-spoken frankness, and more than his match in that manly argumentation which carries conviction to devout men. Dr. Jeter did splendid work in the pulpit and in building up the educational and missionary interests of the South. It is right and meet that a statue of this princely man should adorn the Memorial Hall at Richmond and that his manuscripts should increase its wealth, but his truest likeness is traceable in his writings, and it will be bright and fresh there when the marble has moldered into dust. These two great men of Virginia have gone to give their account to God, and their memory is cherished by thousands of their friends, nor will either of them be soon forgotten as gladiators for the truth as they respectively saw truth. While the name of the one lives, that of the other can never be blotted out. This chapter may properly be closed by a sketch of another nobleman, who, though not a native of Virginia, is perhaps, taking him in all things, its first citizen at this time.

Jabez L. M. Curry, D.D., LL.D., was born in Lincoln County, Ga., June 5th, 1825. He was graduated from the University of Georgia in 1843, and from the Dane Law School, at Harvard University, in 1845. In 1847, ’53 and ’55 he served in Congress from Alabama. He was known there as an active friend of public and higher education and of internal improvements; as chairman of the proper committee he wrote a report and introduced a bill favoring geological survey. In 1856 he was chosen as Presidential Elector for Alabama, and in 1857-59 was again returned to Congress from Alabama. During the Civil War he served in the Confederate Congress and army, at its close was elected President of Howard College, in Alabama, and two years later, first Professor of English in Richmond College, then Professor of Constitutional and International Law, and also of Philosophy, in the same institution. When he resigned his professorships he was chosen President of its Board of Trustees. He was appointed General Agent of the Peabody Education Fund in 1881, and addressed every Southern Legislature, some of them two or three times, in behalf of public and normal schools. He is one of the most ardent and eloquent advocates of the education of the Negro, as the best qualification for the maintenance and exercise of his fullest civil and constitutional rights. No man in our country has written, spoken and planned more earnestly in behalf of national aid for the removal and prevention of illiteracy. In September, 1885, President Cleveland appointed him, without application on his own part, Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain. His reception by that court has been most cordial, and his labors there for the protection of American rights and the promotion of American commerce have been successful. His brethren repose great confidence in his practical wisdom and integrity. For this reason they commonly place him in responsible places when his presence is available. He is an able debater, perfectly conversant with parliamentary law. For several years he was Clerk, then Moderator of the Coosa River Association, President of the Alabama Baptist State Convention, also of the Virginia General Association, and of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Convention. Dr. Curry is a powerful and enthusiastic preacher of the Gospel. He received the degree of D.D. in 1857 from the Mercer University, and has preached much; but, though often invited, he has uniformly declined to become a pastor. The address which he delivered before the Evangelical Alliance, in New York, in 1873, on the union of Church and State, excited universal attention, and the Liberation Society of Great Britain adopted and stereotyped it as one of their effective documents. The Rochester University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1872. He demands of all, and in himself presents, unsullied integrity in public life and the inseparableness of private and public morality.

09 Baptists of Connecticut and New Yourk

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS IX. BAPTISTS OF CONNECTICUT AND NEW YORK In considering the introduction and spread of Baptist principles into the other colonies, it will be proper to take them up in the chronological order in which their first Churches severally were formed. First of all, then, we have Connecticut, which colony lived under the charter of Charles II, as regards religious privileges, until 1818. As early as A.D. 1674 some Baptists of Rhode Island occasionally crossed the borders and immersed converts in Connecticut, who united with their Churches in Rhode Island. These, however, were regarded as unwarrantable innovations; they attracted the attention of the Standing Order (Presbyterial-Congregational), and the secular power was invoked to suppress them. One of these invasions took place at Waterford, but they were not oft-repeated. The ministers of the State Church were supported by levying and collecting their salaries regularly with other taxes. Trumbull informs us that before 1706 the persons of the ministers were free from all taxation, but their families and estates were taxable; in that year the Legislature exempted these from taxation. The law made the State Church the lawful congregation, and subjected all persons who neglected attendance there on 'the Lord's Day' to a fine of twenty shillings. It also forbade 'separate companies in private houses,' and inflicted a fine of ten pounds, with 'corporal punishment by whipping, not exceeding thirty stripes for each offense,' on every 'person, not being a lawful minister,' who 'shall presume to profane the holy sacraments by administering or making a show of administering them to any person or persons whatever, and being thereof convicted.' Connecticut and New Haven were separate governments till the reign of Charles II, when they were united under one charter. But this basis of government did not contain a single clause authorizing the Legislature to enact any religious laws, establish any form of religion or any religious tests, and, properly speaking, the attempt to bind these on the colony was of itself a usurpation. A few scattered Baptists in the south-eastern part of the colony humbly petitioned the General Court in 1704 for liberty to hold meetings and establish a Church in Groton. Their prayer seems not to have been noticed, but, nothing daunted, the same band sent a fraternal request to Valentine Wightman, a gifted young preacher in Rhode Island, to become their leader, and in 1705 he came and organized them into the First Baptist Church of Connecticut. This pioneer body numbered less than a score, but they were firm, united and liberal minded. They presented their brave young pastor at once with twenty acres of land, and Deacon William Stark erected upon it a suitable parsonage. It is still a flourishing Church in the village of Mystic, after a life of one hundred and eighty-one years. Wightman was a descendant of Edward, who was the last martyr under James I, and whose ashes fell amongst the fagots of Lichfield marketplace in 1611. This first Baptist pastor of Connecticut was an extremely serene and quiet character, but his amiable soul flashed the fire of a true witness from his eye upon the bigots who would interfere with him. He possessed sound learning, great zeal and deep piety. A certain calm discretion made him symmetrical and consistent, and adapted him to cautious but intrepid leadership in his new and trying position. He was a close student of the Scriptures and a powerful preacher, caring tenderly for the flock of Christ. Then, he brought from his native commonwealth a mild tolerance of spirit for all men, with a

love for their salvation which disarmed opposition. Yet no Church could legally exist without permission from the secular power; but it was doubly difficult to secure this tolerance for Baptists. Moreover, Wightman sought not the approbation of the neighboring clergy, for he contended that it was the right of every man to worship God as he pleased. His quiet firmness had much to do with that gradual relaxing of the law which at last permitted a man to show that he was a member in a Baptist Church and paid toward its support, and so could be furnished with a certificate of exemption from liability to distraint or imprisonment for refusing to pay the minister's tax of the State establishment.

Mr. Wightman and his flock never were so severely oppressed as were some Baptists in the colony. His sterling worth commanded the respect of the neighboring clergy from the first, and the enlightened tact by which he led his people often silenced the clamor of the Standing Order in that vicinity. But in many other places nothing could prevent seizure of the property of Non- conformists for refusing to pay the clerical tax, enforced as it often was by fiery zealots clothed with brief authority. At one time a number of Baptists, including their minister, were taken in the very act of worshiping God. They were promptly incarcerated in the New London county jail for attending a religious meeting 'contrary to law on the Sabbath day.' One of the prisoners was a babe at its mother's breast; the prison was fireless and the weather bitterly cold, yet the child lived and grew up to be a successful preacher of the Baptist faith, for which he innocently suffered.

Ebenezer Frothingham, of Middletown, wrote a book in 1767, in which he says that as a Separate he was confined in Hartford prison for nearly five months, for nothing but exhorting and warning the people after the public worship was done and the assembly dismissed. And while confined there five others were imprisoned for the same crime. He also says that 'Young Deacon Drake, of Windsor, now in Hartford prison for the ministers' rates and building their meeting-house, altho' he is a Baptist, is accounted a harmless, godly man; and he has plead the privilege of a Baptist through all the courts, and been at great expense, without relief, till at last the Assembly has given him a mark in his hand, and notwithstanding this, they have thrust him to prison for former rates, with several aggravations which I shall omit. But as to what the Constitution does to relieve the poor deacon, he may there die, and the cry of blood, blood, go up into the ears of a just God.' In other cases, venerable ministers of the Gospel were whipped at the town-post, or at the tail of an ox-cart, as they were driven through the town. Sometimes they were placarded and placed on horseback, and otherwise ignominiously treated for preaching Christ. Nathan Jewett, of Lyme; a member of the Baptist Church there, was expelled from the Legislature because he was not of the Standing Order.

Still, one Church slowly grew up after another. In 1710 a Baptist Church was organized at Waterford; in 1735 another in Wallingford; one in Stonington, one in Lyme and one in Colchester the same year, and one at Saybrook in 1744. The first Baptist meetings were not held in Norwich till 1770, and in other large towns it was much later still before Churches were formed. When the minister's tax was to be collected, the dissenting layman's cow or the contents of his corn-crib were seized and taken to the town post to be sold, and the contumacious delinquent considered himself fortunate if he escaped the stocks, always found hard by the signpost or the jail. Here follows one of the old forms under which these outrages were committed: 'LEVY.' To Samuel Perking, of Windham, in Windham County, a Collector of Society Taxes in the first Society in Windham: 'Greeting: By authority of the State of Connecticut, you are hereby commanded

forthwith to levy and collect of the persons named in the foregoing list herewith committed to you, each one his several proportion as therein set down, of the sum total of such list, being a rate agreed upon by the inhabitants of said Society for the purpose of defraying the expenses of said Society, and to deliver and pay-over the sums which you shall collect to the Treasurer of said Society within sixty days next coming; and if any person shall neglect or refuse to pay the sum at which he is assessed; you are hereby commanded to distrain the goods, chattels, or lands of such person so refusing; and the same being disposed of as the law directs, return the overplus, if any, to the respective owners; and for want of such goods, chattels, or lands whereon to make distress, you are to take the body or bodies of the persons so refusing, and them commit to the keeper of the gaol in said County of Windham within the prison, who is hereby commanded to receive and safe keep them until they pay and satisfy the aforesaid sums at which they are respectively assessed, together with your fees, unless said assessment, or any part thereof, be legally abated. Dated at Windham, this 12th day of September, 1794.' The efforts of the Baptists to throw off this yoke are matters of well-attested history. They adopted resolutions in Churches and Associations, they carried up petitions from year to year to the law-making bodies, and sent the ablest counsel, at heavy expense, to seek the redress of grievances and demand complete equality before the law, for many years. Indeed, the 'Baptist Petition,' as it was called, came to be almost a by-word amongst the State officers, and when at last, in 1818, the rights of conscience were secured in the new constitution, it was a matter of surprise, and most of all were the Baptists themselves surprised, to find that the article which changed the fundamental law on that subject was drawn by Rev. Asahel Morse, one of their own ministers from Suffield. As in Massachusetts, so in Connecticut, the New Light or Separate movement under Whitefield and Edwards resulted in the rapid advancement of the Baptist cause. For about twenty years, from 1740 to 1760, perpetual excitement abounded and about forty Separatist Churches were established, taking the very best elements, in many cases, out of the State Churches. In process of time a number of them became Baptist Churches bodily, and in other cases they gradually blended with the Baptists, for their cause was one in essence. They demanded deliverance from the curse of the Half-way Covenant and freedom to worship God as regenerate people. So enraged did the State Churches and the Legislature become, that they repealed a former act under which Baptists and others of 'sober consciences' had enjoyed partial liberty, and then, as Trumbull says, there was 'no relief for any person dissenting from the established mode of worship in Connecticut. The Legislature not only enacted these severe and unprecedented laws, but they proceeded to deprive of their offices such of the justices of the peace and other officers as were New Lights, as they were called, or who favored then-cause.' The two Clevelands, students, and their tutors were expelled from Yale College by President Clapp because they attended a private meeting 'for divine worship, carried on principally by one Soloman Paine, a lay exhorter, on several Sabbaths in September and October last.' These two young men pleaded that this was the meeting where their godly father went, and for this crime of bowing before God they were excluded from that honorable institution. The same spirit prevailed in the Congregational Churches. According to Whittemore, the Church at Middletown had for some years a few members in its fellowship who entertained Baptist views. But at a meeting held August 9th, 1795, it passed the following: 'When members of this Church shall renounce infant baptism and embrace the Baptist principles and practice baptism by immersion, they shall be considered by that act as withdrawing their fellowship from this Church, and we consider our covenant obligations with them as Church members dissolved.' When it is

remembered that their membership was not of choice but of law, we see the injustice of this act. 'Rev. Stephen Parsons, who had been pastor of the Church for seven years, announced one Sabbath morning that he had embraced the opinions of the Baptists and was immediately dismissed. . . . He with a number of his brethren and sisters withdrew, were soon after baptized, and on the 29th of October, 1795, a meeting was held in the house of a Mr. Doolittle for the purpose of recognizing the Church.' The venerable Judge Wm. H. Potter, an alumnus of Yale, thus eloquently sets forth the temper of the times. He says: 'The unfortunate Separates were pursued into every calling, hunted out of every place of trust, hauled before clergy and Church, dragged before magistrates, and suffered without stint and without much complaint countless civil and ecclesiastical penalties, as heretics or felons, but oppression only confirmed their faith and thrust them into a closer union with their Baptist fellow-sufferers who, as in duty bound, joyfully espoused the cause and rights of the Separates. And why should they not fraternize? The Baptists, upon whom persecution had well-nigh exhausted its impotent attempts, either to extirpate or seduce, were, to be sure, regarded by the hierarchy as impracticables, and had been invidiously permitted under the Act of the first year of William and Mary to organize Churches. But they were still laboring under many legal impediments and more prejudices. Their memories, if not their backs, were still smarting under the pungent discipline of the same hierarchy. Their preachers had been familiar with fines, forfeitures and prisons, and their people with distraints, odium and disfranchisement. Herein there must have been a common sympathy.

Then, the soul-stirring doctrines of New Lights were already the cherished doctrines of the Baptists. The same annunciation of the rich, free and sovereign grace of God, and the doctrines of the cross which Whitefield and Wheelock made on a wider field and with such signal success, were identical with those of Wightman and the Callenders. The Separates, therefore, had little to sacrifice in coining to the Baptists.' The law treated the Separates as malefactors and outcasts, and some of them were handled so much worse than many of the Baptists that the latter sympathized with them, succored them and threw open their doors to make them welcome as brethren in like tribulation. At first, when a Baptist and Separate Church became one, or when large numbers of Separates united with a Baptist Church, the chief difference between the two was found in the lax views of the Separates on the subject of communion. The Supper had always been grossly perverted by the Standing Order to ecclesiastical-politico uses, and these notions the so-called New Lights brought with them to the Baptists. They could not easily rid themselves of this relic of State Church life, but in process of time they adopted healthier views and, falling into Baptist line, fully embraced their principles. While the few Baptist ministers of that day were not men of learning, they commonly possessed a fair public school education, which they used with sound sense in laying broad foundations for their free and independent Churches. They had slight salaries or none at all, which, for the general good of Baptist interests, left them free to devote a portion of their time to other fields besides their own pastorates, doing the work of evangelists and planting new Churches in many places. Wightman did much of this work, extending his labors as far as New York city. Three generations of Wightmans succeeded to the pastorate of the First Church, Groton, covering, with short intervals, a century and a quarter. Our few and feeble Churches were thoroughly evangelical and simple in their utterances of divine truth, and their Declarations of Faith were little else than a succession of quotations from the Bible, whose text alone was their creed. Their general practice also was as consistent as their doctrines, but at one time they partook to some extent in their worship of the general excitement which attended the

preaching of Whitefield, Davenport and the elder Edwards. No part of America was more deeply moved than Connecticut under the labors of these men. Whitefield's preaching, especially, agitated the Churches of the Standing Order to their center. They had foolishly closed all their pulpits against him, and multitudes assembled in the open air to listen to his preaching. A fair proportion of their clergy, however, sympathized with him and went with their people, nor were they alarmed at those physical and so-called fanatical manifestations which accompanied his preaching, described by Edwards. Often a subtile but irresistible influence would fall upon his congregations, somewhat resembling a panic on a battlefield.

Multitudes would surge back and forth, would raise a simultaneous cry of agony, many would fall to the earth, remaining long in a state of unconsciousness, and then awoke as from a trancelike state enraptured with an ecstatic joy. The Baptists, with such of the Standing Order as co-operated with Whitefield and his immediate followers, all blended in his support, and wonderful things occurred through this new discipleship. It is stated on good authority that the parsonage at Center Groton was the scene of one of the most remarkable sermons of this great preacher. The upper windows of the house were removed and a platform raised in front, facing a large yard full of forest trees. When Whitefield passed through the window to this stand and cast his eye over the multitude, he saw a number of young men who, imitating Zaccheus in the sycamore, had climbed these trees and were-perched on their limbs. The kind hearted orator asked them to come down, saying: '

Sometimes the powder of God falls on these occasions and takes away the might of strong men. I wish to benefit your souls and not have your bodies fall out of these trees.' He expected to see them come down to the ground as birds that were shot; and choosing the valor of discretion they came down, only to be prostrated under the sermon. Great numbers of his hearers went home to lead new lives, and it is said that more than one of these young men became preachers of the new faith. No Baptist Church in Connecticut fought a nobler battle for life and freedom than that at Norwich. Dr. Lord was the pastor of the State Church there, and appears to have been a very excellent man. He was inclined at first to work with the revivalists, but the breaking up of the ancient order of things amongst what were known as the Old Lights alarmed him, and the bent of circumstances forced him into ultra-conservatism. Then he began to oppress and persecute those of his congregation who took the other side, and the result was that a large secession from his Church formed a new Separatist body. In due time a Baptist Church sprang chiefly out of this and Norwich became a large source of Baptist power. Poor Parson Lord had hard times generally in these contests and, in particular, was compelled to collect his own taxes. Denison tells us that 'he called upon a Mr. Colher, who was a barber, when the following dialogue ensued :

Dr. L. "Mr. Colher, I have a small bill against you."

Mr. C. "A bill against me, Dr. Lord? for what?"

Dr. L. "Why, your rate for my preaching." '

Mr. C. "For your preaching? Why, I have never heard you. I don't recollect that I ever entered your meeting-house."

Dr. L. "That's not my fault, Mr. Colher, the meeting-house was open."

Mr. C. "Very well. But, look here; I have a small bill against you, Dr. Lord."

Dr. L. "A bill against me? for what?"

Mr. C. "Why, for barbering."

Dr. L. "For barbering? I never before entered your shop."

Mr. C. "That's not my fault, Dr. Lord, my shop was open!" The Norwich Church prospered, and our brethren met for worship in their own houses until want of room compelled them first to gather in a rope-walk, and then to erect a meeting-house of their own. But they, as well as the Separates, were slow of heart to learn all that the Baptists taught them, and it is quite delicious to know that they burnt their own fingers in consequence. In those days, when the State Churches wanted to build a meeting-house, they commonly asked the Legislature for a Lottery Grant on which to raise money. The Norwich Baptists, thinking it no harm for them to be as ridiculous as other respectable folk, applied to the General Assembly for such a Grant. Whereupon, that august body refused: first, because the Baptists did not indorse the Ecclesiastical Laws; secondly, because they were not known in law as a denomination; thirdly, because Rev. Mr. Sterry, the Baptist pastor at Norwich, was the co-editor of a Republican paper. For these reasons, our brethren were informed that they could not be allowed to gamble like good, legal and orthodox saints. This word to the wise had a wholesome effect upon them, for although they have now built a number of excellent church edifices, and have liberally helped others to do the same, they have never once since asked for a State Lottery to help them in building houses for God. Few States in our Union can show a nobler list of pioneer Baptist pastors or a more illustrious line of successors than Connecticut. Amongst the first we have the three Wightmans, Valentine, Timothy and Gano; then follow the four Burrowses, Silas, Amos, Peleg and Roswell. The three Allens follow: Ichabod, Rufus and Stephen; and the two Bolles, David and Matthew, the Palmers and the Rathbuns: together with Backus and Baldwin and a list that cannot now be named. In later times we have had Knapp and Cushman, Swan and Hodge, Ives and Miller, Turnbull and Phelps, Palmer and Lathrop, their illustrious peers. Many of these have long since entered into their Master's joy, and over a few others the sheen of their holy Home begins to glow, falling softly on their scant locks. To these their departed brethren begin to look like shining ones sent back with lamps of Christ's trimming to escort them to the celestial gate. Heaven bless the waiting band, and when their work is done give them a triumphant entrance into the city of the great King. The Baptists of Connecticut now number 6 Associations, 122 ordained ministers; 124 churches. and 21,666 members.

NEW YORK. The Documentary History of New York first mentions Baptists in 1644, and calls them 'Mnists,' Mennonists or Mennonites, but does not tell us in what part of the colony they were found. The Director and Council of New Netherland treated them harshly enough. On the 6th of June, 1641, they gave the 'free exercise of religion' to the Church of England, and October 10th, 1645, granted a special charter to the town of Flushing with the same right. They soon found, however; that sundry heretics, Independents, of Middleburg (Newtown), and Lutherans, of New Amsterdam, were using the same liberty, and they took the alarm. On February 1st, 1686, the authorities decreed that all 'conventicles and meetings' held in the province, whether public or private, should be 'absolutely and expressly forbidden;' that only the 'Reformed Divine service, as this is observed and enforced according to the Synod of Dootrecht,' should be held, 'Under the penalty of one hundred pounds Flemish, to be forfeited by all those who, being unqualified, take

upon themselves, either on Sundays or other days, any office, whether of preacher, reader or singer, in such meetings differing from the customary and legal assemblies, and twenty-five like pounds to be forfeited by every one, whether man or woman, married or unmarried, who is found in such meetings.'

They disclaimed all intention to put any constraint of conscience in violation of 'previously granted patents,' and imprisoned some Lutherans, which act excited such indignation that they were compelled, June 14th, 1656, to permit the Lutherans to worship in their own houses. Not content with this, they threw themselves into direct collision with the town of Flushing, in violation of their patent granting religious freedom to that town. Under its charter Flushing, by resolution, claimed the right of Quakers and other sects to worship God within their jurisdiction without restraint. On the 26th of March, 1658, therefore, the New Netherland authorities passed an ordinance annulling the right of Flushing to hold town meetings, forbidding heresy in the town and requiring its magistrates to select 'a good, honest, pious and orthodox minister,' subject to the approval of the provincial authorities, and requiring each land-owner of that town to pay twelve stivers annually for his support, together with tenths if necessary, and that all who would not comply with these demands within six weeks should lose their goods, which than be sold, and they must take themselves 'out of this government.'

We have seen in a previous chapter that many of the New England colonists fled to the Dutch for liberty to worship God and keep a good conscience. Amongst these were some of the friends of Hanserd Knollys in 1641, and a little later Lady Deborah Moody, widow of Sir Henry of Garsden, in Wiltshire. She, together with Mrs. King, of Swampscott, and the wife of John Tillton, was tried at the Quarterly Court, December, 1642, 'for houldinge that the baptizing of infants is noe ordinance of God.' It does not appear that she was actually banished from Massachusetts, but having first fled from England on account of persecution, and finding herself an object of arraignment and reproach in her new home, for the free expression of her religions views, her sensitive and high spirit revolted, and she determined to abandon Massachusetts and seek peace amongst strangers. In 1643 she went to New Amsterdam, thirteen years before the New Netherland authorities issued their tyrannical decree. Governor Winthrop tells us that she did this 'against the advice of all her friends.' Many others affected with Anabaptism removed thither also. She was after excommunicated from the Salem Church. In a letter written by Endicott to Winthrop, dated Salem, the 22d of the second month, 1644, he says that Mr. Norrice had informed him that she intended to return, and he advises against her return, 'unless shee will acknowledge her ewill in opposing the Churches & leave her opinions behinde her, ffor she is a dangerous woeman. My brother Ludlow writt to mee that, by meancs of a booke she sent to Mrs. Eaton, shee questions her owns baptisme, it is verie doubtefull whether shee will be re-claymed, shee is so far ingaged.' On her way from Massachusetts she stopped for a time at New Haven, where she made several converts to her new views and fell into fresh difficulties in consequence. As Winthrop tells us, Mrs. Eaton, wife of the first Governor of New Haven Colony, was one of these converts. She also was a lady of high birth and culture, the daughter of an English Bishop. Davenport, her pastor, was at unwearied pains to reclaim her from the 'error' of 'imagining that pedobaptism is unlawful.' It was alleged against her, that she importuned Lady Moody 'to lend her a book made by A.R." The records of the Congregational Church at New Haven show that she was severely handled for stoutly denying that 'Baptism has come in the place of circumcision, and is to be administered unto

infants.' By some Lady Moody has been called a follower of George Fox, but this was three years before he began to preach in England. On the southwest coast of Long Island, near New Amsterdam, a settlement had been formed in 1643, which Governor Kieft had named Gravesend, after a Dutch town on the Maas. Lady Moody took a patent of laud there of him, December 19th, 1645, which, among other things, guaranteed 'the free libertie of conscience according to the costome of Holland, without molestation or disturbance from any madgistrate or madgistrates, or any other ecclesiastical minister that may pretend jurisdiction over them.' For a time, her religious sentiments disturbed her amicable relations with the Dutch authorities, without regard to her patent. Here she died, it is supposed, about 1659. Many others of like sentiments gathered about her, 'with liberty to constitute themselves a body politic as freemen of the Province and town of Gravesende,' according to the patent. The learned James W. Gerard says: 'The settlers at Gravesend seem to have been generally affected with Anabaptist views, and to have had no settled Church.'

Clearly, there were two Baptist ministers at Flushing in those days, the first in order of time being Rev. Francis Doughty. Mandeville, in his 'Flushing Past and Present,' says that he fled from 'the troubles in England, and found that he had got out of the frying-pan into the fire.' He preached at Lynn and Taunton, Mass., 'and denied baptism to infants.' At Taunton he was dragged out of the public assembly and brought before the magistrates, charged with saying that 'Abraham ought to have been baptized.' He then fled to Long Island and became the first pastor at Flushing, but in 1656 went to Virginia. 'He was unquestionably the first religious teacher in Flushing, and had adopted Baptist views of the ordinance of baptism.'

Aside from Lady Moody and Mr. Doughty, the first full account that we have from the records of New Motherland that there were Baptists in the colony, is found in an official paper on 'The State of Religion,' drawn up 'and signed by two clergymen of the Reformed Church, Megapolensis and Drissius. It is dated at 'Amsterdam, in N. Netherland,' the 5th of August, 1657, and is addressed to the 'Classis of Amsterdam.' They report Long Island religion as in a sad condition. At ' Gravesend are reported Mennonites; yea, they, for the most part, reject infant baptism, the Sabbath, the office of preacher and the teachers of God's word, saying that through these have come all sorts of contention into the world. Whenever they come together the one or the other reads something for them. At Flushing they hitherto had a Presbyterian preacher who conformed to our Church, but many of them became endowed with divers opinions. . . . They absented themselves from preaching, nor would they pay the preacher his promised stipend. The said preacher was obliged to leave the place and repair to the English Virginias. . . . Last year a fomenter of evil came there. He was a cobbler from Rhode Island, in New England, and stated that he was commissioned by Christ. He began to preach at Flushing and then went with the people into the river and dipped them. This becoming known here, the fiscaal proceeded thither and brought him along. He was banished the province.' The same paper states that at Middleburg (now Newtown) and at 'Heemstede' there were a number of people who were willing to listen to the preaching of Richard Denton at the Dutch Church: 'When he began to baptize the children of such parents as were not members of the Church they sometimes burst out of the church.'

'The cobbler,' a mere term of contempt, who 'dipped' his converts at Flushing 'last year,' that is, in 1656, was Rev. William Wickenden, of Providence. He was one of the first settlers of that city, resided there in 1636, signed the first compact in 1637, was a member of the Legislature in 1648,

and from 1651 to 1655, again 1664, and died in 1669. In 1656 he visited Flushing, preached, immersed his converts in the river, and administered the Lord's Supper. Both Broadhead and O'Callagan give a full account of his treatment in consequence. Under date of November 8th, 1656, O'Callagan says: 'The Baptists at Flushing were the next to feel the wrath of the law. William Hallett, sheriff of that place, "had dared to collect conventicles in Ills house, and to permit one William Wickendam [properly Wickenden] to explain and comment on God's Holy Word, and to administer sacraments, though not called thereto by any civil or clerical authority." He had, moreover, assisted at such meeting and afterward "accepted from the said Wickendain's hands the bread in the form and manner the Lord's Supper is usually celebrated." For this violation of the statute Hallett was removed from office and fined fifty pounds, failing to pay which he was to be banished.' On the 8th of November, 1656, the General Assembly of New Netherland 'ordained' that Wickenden should be condemned to pay a fine of one hundred pounds Flemish and be banished out of the province of New Netherland, 'the aforesaid Wickendam to remain a prisoner till the fine and cost of the process shall be paid.' The Council being informed, however, by reliable parties, that he was a very poor man, 'with a wife and many children, by profession a cobbler, which trade he neglects, so that it will be impossible to collect anything from him,' the fine and costs were remitted, and he was condemned on the 11th of November 'to immediate banishment, under condition that if ever he be seen again in the province of New Netherland he shall be arrested and kept in confinement till the fine and costs are paid in full.' Like other religious tyrants, the more the Dutch authorities persecuted the heretics the worse off they found themselves, and the more indignant they became. Hence, on September 21st, 1662, they say that because they 'Find by experience that their hitherto issued publications and edicts against conventicles and prohibited assemblies are not observed and obeyed as they ought, therefore, by these presents, they are not only renewed but enlarged in manner following. Like as they have done heretofore, so they prohibit and interdict as yet that besides the Reformed worship and service no conventicles or meetings shall be kept in this province, whether it be in houses, barns, ships, barks; nor in the woods nor fields, upon forfeiture of fifty guldens for the first time, for every person, whether man or woman or child that shall have been present at such prohibited meetings, and twice as much for every person, whether it be man or woman or child, that has exhorted or taught in such prohibited meetings, or shall have lent his house, barn, or any place to that purpose; for ye second time twice as much, for the third time four times as much, and arbitrary punishment besides.' A further provision prohibited the importation, circulation or reception of any books, writings or letters, deemed 'erroneous,' fining the importers and circulators a hundred gulden, and the receivers fifty gulden. From this time onward there are numerous indications that many individual Baptists were found around Gravesend, Newtown and Flushing, and some signs that now and then one of the Mennonites from Long Island had crossed the river into what are now New York and Westchester Counties, but it is not likely that they had any visible Church existence. The next trace of Baptist life that we find in New York came also from the East. Nicholas Eyers, supposed to have been a native-born citizen, a brewer, residing 'in the broad street of this city, between the house of John Michel Eyers and Mr. John Spratt,' invited Valentine Wightman, of Groton, Conn., to come and preach in his house. Eyers shows in his petition to the Governor that in February, 1715, his house had been registered by the Quarter Sessions 'for an Anabaptist meetinghouse,' and 'that he had been a public preacher to a Baptist congregation within this city for four years.' There is a perplexity of dates here, as between 1711, when he is said to have been a Baptist preacher, and

1714, when his name appears in the list of the baptized, which the writer sees no way of reconciling without further data. In 1711 or 1712 Wightman began a series of preaching visits, continuing them for about two years, and in 1714 he baptized Nicholas Eyers and eleven others. At first it was resolved that for fear of the rabble these twelve converts than be baptized in the night and the company went to the river, where the five females received the ordinance. At that point Mr. Eyers was seized with the conviction that they were doing wrong in shunning publicity, he remembered the words of the Lord Jesus: 'No man doeth any thing in secret, when he himself seeketh to be known openly.' He, therefore, consulted with the other six brethren and they agreed to postpone their baptism till morning. The next day they waited on Burnet, the Governor, with a request for protection; this he not only gave them but went to the river side with many of the most respectable citizens to witness the ordinance. All stood reverently, and at its close the Governor remarked: 'This was the ancient manner of baptizing, and is, in my opinion, much preferable to the practice of modern times.' In 1715 the Quarter Sessions licensed Eyers' house for a Baptist meeting place. On January 1, 1720, he seems to have hired another place of meeting, and he asked the Governor to permit him to exercise the functions 'of a minister within this city to a Baptist congregation and to give him protection therein,' under the Act of Toleration. Rip Van Dam, 'one of His Majesty's Council for the Province of New York,' had rented this place to Eyers, 'only to be a publick meeting place of the Baptists wherein to worship Almighty God.' On the 13th of the same month the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen certified 'that to the best of our knowledge and understanding he is blameless and free from any notorious and public slander and vice, has given himself the good name and reputation of his neighbors of being a sober, just and honest man, and is said to be an Anabaptist as to his profession in religion.' January 23d, 1721, Governor Burnet gave him a permit to preach under the laws of William and Mary. This curious document begins thus:

'Whereas, Mr. Nich. Eyers, brewer, a freeman and inhabitant of ye City of New York, pretending to be at present a teacher or preacher of a congregation of Anabaptists, which has had its beginning about five years ago within this city and has so continued hitherto.' " This date implies that the congregation had taken a somewhat settled form in 1715, but Parkinson states that the Church was not constituted nor Eyers ordained till September, 1724, when Elders Valentine Wightman, of Groton, and Daniel Wightman, of Newport, conducted the services. This Church was so prospered that they bought a piece of ground on 'Golden Hill' and built a meeting-house in 1728. A map made from a survey by Wm. Bradford, dated 1728, shows that 'Golden Hill' took its rise at Queen Street (now Pearl) and continued up John Street to William, and also shows this meeting-house to have been located on the west side of Cliff, a little north of the northwest corner of Cliff, apparently on the property now occupied by Messrs. Phelps, Dodge, & Co. Benedict says that he found a letter amongst the papers of Backus, addressed by Elder James Brown to his Church in Providence, asking aid toward paying the debt on this church edifice, which had cost a considerable sum. He stated that the Rhode Island brethren had helped them the year before, but that the wealthiest member of the New York Church having left them, and the rest being poor, they were unable to discharge their debt. Mr. Brown thought that ?25 or ?30 would be the just proportion of the Church in Providence, and he subscribed ,1 thereof. A number of others gave 'thirteen barrels of cider' Between the brewer of New York and the cider-mills of Providence they were bound to float that church building on Golden Hill; yet the plan would not work. Eyers removed to Newport in 1731, where he died, and John Stephens took his place in New York. But

he soon removed to South Carolina. Then one of the trustees claimed the church building and sold it as private property, when the Church, which had existed about eight years and consisted of twenty-four members, disbanded. This closed the history of the first General Baptist Church in New York city. That which is now the First Baptist Church in that city was organized on June 10th, 1762, and under most interesting circumstances, especially interesting because its history is indirectly connected with Roger Williams through Long Island and Block Island. In 1661 a company of sixteen Baptist emigrants from England, who found that they could not enjoy religions liberty in Massachusetts, united in purchasing Block Island and settled there. They soon applied to Roger Williams and John Clarke for aid and counsel, and through their influence, in 1663, Block Island was admitted to share the privileges of the charter which Rhode Island had secured from Charles II. In 1664 a deputation was sent from Block Island to the General Assembly of Rhode Island to ask for civil protection. Their request was referred to a committee, of which Roger Williams was chairman, who reported, that as his majesty had granted in the charter 'that no person within the said colony at any time hereafter shall be in any way molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference in opinion in matters of religion, and do not actually disturb the civil peace of the said colony,' the people of Block Island were entitled to the same rights. The islanders, therefore, organized a miniature democracy for local civil government, and, in 1665, sent their first representatives to the Rhode Island General Court. In civil polity it adopted the principles of Roger Williams, and in the exercise of its religious freedom it introduced worship after the order observed by Baptists. The sixteen original proprietors set apart a portion of land to be known as the Ministers' Lot, for the maintenance of that worship.

James Sands, one of the first settlers and the first representative from Block Island in the Rhode Island Assembly, was an 'Anabaptist,' and Niles, his grandson, the historian of the Island, says that 'he did not differ in religious belief from the other settlers.' For about ninety years lay preachers, taken from amongst themselves, continued regular worship after the Baptist order, and without the formal organization of a Church. Until that time they met in each other's houses, but then they built a meeting-house, and from that period to this they have built seven in succession. In 1759 they engaged Rev. David Sprague to preach for them: 'So long as said Sprague shall serve the inhabitants of the town by preaching to them the Gospel of Christ according to the Scriptures of truth, making them and them only the rule of his faith, doctrine and practice.' A Baptist Church was organized on Block Island October 3d, 1772, with Elder Sprague as pastor and Thomas Dodge as deacon. They adopted the ordinary articles of faith used at that time, that on the ordinances being the ninth and reading thus: 'We believe that baptism and the Lord's Supper are ordinances of Christ to be continued in his Church and practiced by believers, after his own example and in obedience to his commandments, until his second coming, and that the former is requisite to the latter.' From that day there has been a Baptist Church on the island, and none other; and now, out of a resident population of about 1,500 the Baptists number fully 500 members in communion. Livermore, a late historian, says that,

'In no part of the world, perhaps, has religious freedom been maintained so purely for two hundred years as on Block Island. Here it has never been disturbed by any civil enactments. Here no ecclesiastical authority has ever infringed upon private opinions of religious faith and practice. Here the Church has never felt the overruling power of bishops or synod. Here no religious duties have been enforced upon helpless infants. Here the ordinances have ever been administered in

their primitive simplicity. Here the acts of sprinkling, pouring and signing with the cross have never been witnessed. Here the minister has no more ruling authority in the Church than the youngest member. No authority is recognized in it except that which comes from the Scriptures.'

Twelve years after the organization of this Church Thomas Dodge became its pastor, and some of the best families in New England have sprung from this settlement, especially the descendants of the Sands, Ray, Terry, Rathbone, Dodge and Niles. Roger Williams was deeply concerned in the welfare of this little republic, was intimate with its early settlers, and Simon Ray, Jr. married his granddaughter. Thomas Dodge, grandson of Tristram Dodge, one of the original settlers of Block Island, settled at Cow Neck, Long Island, about 1705-10, and was soon followed by Samuel, another grandson. Thomas, it is supposed, built the old homestead still found on Dodge Pond, and from there the family spread to Cow Bay, where we find Dodge Island, near to Sands Point, named after John Sands, who was one of Elder Sands' family from Block Island. Jeremiah Dodge, a great-grandson of the original Tristram, was born at Cow Neck, May, 1716; he was a shipbuilder, having learned his trade from his brother, Wilkie. He removed to New York to follow his business not far from the years 1737-40, and died there in 1800. He brought the old Baptist principles of the family with him, and in 1745 we find the few scattered Baptists of New York meeting in his house and that of Joseph Meeks for prayer-meetings, Dodge and Dr. Robert North, a former member of the disbanded Church, being the leaders of the little congregation. Joseph Meeks was converted in 1745, and Elder Benjamin Miller, of Scotch Plains, N. J., came to New York to baptize him. Soon John Pyne, a licentiate living at Fishkill, was invited to come to their help. In 1750 Mr. Pyne died, and Elder James Carman, of Cranberry, near Hightstown, N. J., visited them and baptized several. They numbered thirteen members in 1753, and became a branch of the Scotch Plains Church. Mr. Miller came to break bread to them once in three mouths. Their numbers increased so rapidly that they were obliged to hire a room to contain the congregation. In what is now called William Street (between Fulton and John) there was a rigging-loft, on which hung a large sign of a horse and cart, from which the street was known as Cart-and-Horse Lane. Here they met from three to four years, when its owner sold it and they returned to Mr. Meeks' house, where they met about a year longer. They then purchased ground and built the second Baptist meeting-house on Golden Hill, and entered it in March, 1760. A map in Valentine's Manuals shows the location of this building to have been in Gold Street, on the west side, just south of the south-west corner of what is now Fulton. Their membership having increased to twenty-seven, they took their letters from Scotch Plains and, with the assistance of Benjamin Miller and John Gano, were constituted a Church in 1762, adopting the London Confession of 1688. On the same day they elected Mr. Gano their pastor. As he was one of the first men of his times a brief sketch of his life may be necessary here.

John Gano was a direct descendant of the Huguenots of France, his grandfather, Francis, being obliged to fly from persecution in the Isle of Guernsey in consequence of the bloody edict revoking the Edict of Nantz. He settled in New Rochelle, in the State of New York. His son, Daniel, lived at Hopewell, N. J., and was the father of John, who was born at Hopewell, July 22d, 1727. While quite young John united with the Baptist Church there, and was ordained by that body May 29th, 1754, Isaac Eaton preaching the sermon. Before his ordination he had gone with Mr. Miller and Mr. Thomas on a tour into Virginia, and while there had followed what he believed to be a divine impulse to preach. On returning, his Church called him to account for such disorder, but before

proceeding to condemn him, asked him to preach before them, hence his ordination; and at the next meeting of the Philadelphia Association he was sent on a mission to the South. There he traveled extensively as far as South Carolina. While in the back settlements of Virginia he lodged with a family and overheard one of them say: 'Thls man talks like one of the Joneses.' On inquiry he was told that they were a family living over twenty miles thence who did nothing but pray and talk about Jesus Christ. He said: 'I determined to make it my next day's ride and see my own likeness.' He found a large family, many of whom had been lately converted, engaged in worship. The sick father was lying before the fire groaning with pain, and Gano asked him how he did? He replied: 'Oh! I am in great pain.' 'I am glad of it,' said the young preacher. The old man demanded with spirit what he meant. He answered: 'Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,' and the sick man fell in love with him. On reaching North Carolina, in company with another young man, they arrived at a plantation where they were invited to stay all night. The planter asked him 'if he was a trader,' to which he answered 'yes.' He then asked him how he succeeded. Gano replied, not so well as he wished. Probably the goods did not suit. The preacher said that no one had complained of that. The planter suggested that he might be holding his goods too high, to which his friend replied that any one might have them below their own price. The man said that he would trade on these terms. Gano then asked him: 'If gold tried in the fire, yea, that which was better than the fine gold, wine and milk, durable riches and righteousness, without money and without price, would suit him? ' 'O' said the planter, 'I believe you are a minister,' and then he declared to him the freeness and fullness of grace. On arriving at Charleston, he preached there for Mr. Hart; and in his account of the services Mr. Gano writes: 'When I arose to speak, the sight of so brilliant an audience, among whom were twelve ministers and one of whom was Mr. Whitefield, for a moment brought the fear of man upon me; but, blessed be the Lord! I was soon relieved from this embarrassment. The thought passed my mind, I had none to fear and obey but the lord.' On his return to North Carolina, during the French War, he was informed that he was to be seized as a spy; but when he reached the place, instead of passing through secretly, he stopped at the public house and asked the landlord whether the people would come to hear a sermon on a week-day. The man replied that shortly there was to be a general muster there for the county, and Gano sent to the colonel who was to arrest him, to know if it would be pleasant to him to have a short sermon addressed to the regiment before military duty. They all paid profound attention but one man, to whom Gano said that he was ashamed of him and wondered that his officers would bear with him. The colonel thanked the preacher, rebuked the man, and the evangelist pushed on his way. On reaching the Blue Ridge he entered a house in a storm, the owner of which was alarmed and asked him if he was 'a press-master.' He replied that he was. In great alarm the man wished to know whether he 'took married men.' Gano told him that he surely did, that his Master's service was good, with high wages, and he wanted his wife and children to enlist also. The man was very uneasy, however, while he was exhorted to volunteer for Christ. On reaching New Jersey he first settled at Morristown for two years, and then at Yadkin, N. C., whence he was obliged to flee before the Cherokee Indians in the ravages of war. Shortly after this he took the New York pastorate, in which he remained five and twenty years with the most marked success, when he removed to Kentucky; where he died at Frankfort in 1804. We shall meet him again in the Revolutionary War. It is but needful to add here that he was one of the most remarkable men in America in all the resources which native strength, sound judgment, wit, ingenuity, retentive memory, zeal and godliness furnish in times which try men's souls. The First Church prospered so largely under Mr. Gano's

ministry that the meeting-house was enlarged in 1763; crowds flocked to hear him. The late Dr. Bowen, of the Episcopal Church in New York, says that his father, who was a clergyman in the city in those days, told him that 'Mr. Gano possessed the best pulpit talents of any man that he ever heard.' Till 1763 this Church numbered only forty-one members, and two years before that it was scarcely known at all, although the little meeting-house had been built. Morgan Edwards came from Wales in 1761, and tells this pleasant anecdote:

'When I came to New York I landed in the morning and thought I would try if I could find any Baptists. I wandered up and down, looking at the place and the people, and wondering who of all the people I met might be Baptists. At length I saw an old man, with a red cap on his head, sitting in the porch of a respectable looking house. Ah, thought I, now this is one of the old inhabitants who knows all about the city; this is the man to inquire of. I approached him and said: "Goodmorning, sir! Can you tell me where any Baptists live in this city?" "Baptists! Baptists!" said the old man, musing as if ransacking all the corners of his memory; "Baptists! I really don't know as I ever heard of any body of that occupation in these parts."'

During the Revolutionary War the First Church was dispersed and its records suspended. No baptisms are recorded between that of Hannah Stillwell, April 28th, 1776, and that of Samuel Jones, afterward a deacon, on September 4th, 1784. The British forces occupied New York above seven years, during which time it was nearly ruined. No city in America was so long in the hands of the enemy and suffered so much. Its best inhabitants found shelter in other colonies, and the Tories made it their place of refuge. Pestilence and two great fires swept it, and the soldiery inflicted all the damage that they could. At the opening of the war there were nineteen churches in the city, but when it closed only nine of them could be used for worship. The Baptist meeting-house, having been used for a horse-stable, was almost in ruins. On his return to the city Gano found emptiness, desolation and ashes. The angels of God had not looked upon a more touching procession since that which united Calvary with Joseph's tomb, than that which solemnly moved into the wasted city from Harlem Heights. Washington and Clinton led it on horseback, followed by Knox with the remnant of the patriot army, some mounted and some on foot, with gaunt cheeks, weather-beaten, footsore and ragged, scarred and limping. Men who had left their bloody foot-prints upon the sharp frozen snows of Valley Forge were there, with the man at their head who had shivered with them through the dreariest winter of the war; the man who had carried them to God in prayer, night and morning, when anguish sat heavily on his camp and his own soul was struggling through the darkest days of life. John Gano soon followed and says: 'We collected of our Church about thirty-seven members out of upward of two hundred, some being dead, and others scattered into almost every part of the Union.' But as soon as the sanctuary could be decently cleansed, he rallied his people and preached to them from Hag. 2:3: 'Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do ye see it now?' Under his ministry the days of prosperity soon returned until he baptized his last convert April 5th, 1788, and left for Kentucky. During his pastorate he had baptized into the Church 297, and received 23 by letter. Amongst the first Regents of the University of New York we find the name of this heroic man, with this notice: 'Rev. John Gano, a clerical scholar of rare culture, pastor of the infant Baptist Church for sixteen years prior to the war; had been a chaplain in the army, and upon returning to the city with the establishment of peace, could find but thirty-seven out of his two hundred Church members.' His family raised a beautiful monument to his memory in Cincinnati. An altar-like pedestal bears an

obelisk of much grace, with deep niches on each side. In every one of these there is an allegorical figure, while angels and rich wreaths of flowers adorn the various parts, the whole being crowned by an elaborate capital and a lambent urn. In the basso-relievo a shattered sepulcher is seen, from which a family has risen from the dead. Six years were spent in executing this delicate piece of workmanship.

Time fails to trace the remarkable history of this venerable Church through the striking ministry of Dr. Foster and William Colher to the close of the century. Shortly after Gano left, the question of singing disturbed them. The usage had prevailed of lining the verses of hymns sung, and now many wanted to sing from the books, whereupon fourteen persons, who wanted the hymns 'deaconed,' left and started the Second Baptist Church. 1790 this new Church got into a contention and divided, both parties claiming this name, but after a time they both dropped it, one taking the name of Bethel and the other of Fayette Street. The Bethel ceased to exist many years ago, but the Fayette Street had an illustrious history, first as the Oliver Street, and is now a noble body, known as the Baptist Church of the Epiphany, with Dr. Elder as pastor. Dr. Foster became pastor of the First Church in 1788, and before long some of the members, who could scent heresy from afar, discovered heterodoxy in his sermons. A serious disturbance followed, which resulted in the exclusion of thirteen persons in 1789. In 1790 twenty others took letters of dismission and the Second Church received the excluded, which fact probably fermented their own contentions and led to their division. The New York Baptist Association was formed in 1791, comprising the Scotch Plains, Oyster Bay, Morris-town, Connoe-Brook [Northfield], Staten Island, with the First and Second New York Churches. So rapidly and noiselessly did the leaven of our principles and practices spread that, by the close of the century, Churches were planted in seventeen counties of New York, extending from Sag Harbor to the New Jersey line, and from Staten Island to the Canada line. In 1794, according to Asplund, the churches numbered 84, the ministers 109, and the members 5,263.

Chapter 11

10 Baptists of Connecticut and New Yourk

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS X. THE BAPTISTS OF NORTH CAROLINA, MARYLAND, NEW HAMPSHIRE, VERMONT AND GEORGIA

Still following the chronological order, we note the rise of Baptists in these several colonies. We have seen that individual Baptists from Virginia were found, in NORTH CAROLINA in the middle of the seventeenth century; but the Shiloh Church, formed by Paul Palmer in Camden County, on the Chowan River, in 1727, was the first Church founded in that colony. Palmer was from the Welsh Tract, in Delaware, and was a correspondent of John Comer, according to whose Journal this Church numbered thirty-two members in 1729. Joseph Parker, probably one of Palmer's converts, formed the second Church, at Meherrin, in 1729; but it was not until 1740 that the third was formed, at Sandy Run, by members dismissed from the Meherrin Church. Emigrants from Virginia, in company with William Sojourner, formed the fourth Church, in Halifax County, in 1742; and in 1752 these had increased to sixteen Churches, all being General Baptists.

They were not thoroughly spiritual Churches. They held to the scriptural authority of the ordinances of Baptism and the Supper, but some of them did not demand faith and conversion before receiving these, and they added to them, as of about equal authority, the rites of lovefeasts, laying on of hands after baptism, washing of feet, anointing the sick, the right hand of fellowship, the kiss of charity, and the public devoting of children without christening, or what John Leland called 'dry christening.' This state of things existed when that region of country was visited by Robert Williams, of South Carolina; Benjamin Miller, Peter P. Vanhorn, and John Gano, of New Jersey; with Shubael Stearnes, of Virginia. Then God raised up a spiritual people who accepted the whole truth.

It is remarkable to see what a missionary spirit pervaded our American Churches from the very first, especially put forth in practical efforts to take the Gospel into the new settlements. This subject is too interesting and vital to pass in silence, for the journey of a Baptist missionary meant the personal visitation of the scattered pioneers, who had gone to make homes for themselves in the wilderness. These men of God gathered the families in the region round about, preached to them, and frequently found members from the older settlements who, far away from the helps and restraints of Christian fellowship, had become careless about their religious life. The godless were led to Christ, the careless were reanimated by the missionary's earnest appeals, those who believed were baptized, frequently the whole community was moved religiously, and often a Baptist Church was organized. A second visit commonly resulted in the settlement of a pastor and the establishment of a branch Church in some adjacent neighborhood. The South was particularly favored by such labors. Such men as William Tristoe, Abraham Marshall, Oliver Hort and Richard Furman caught much of the primitive, apostolic zeal and entered with all their powers into this work. An unknown correspondent of 'Rippon's Register' gives us a glimpse of such toils, in a letter of August 24th, 1790. He writes:

’In several counties of North Carolina I have preached to very numerous assemblies. At a "big meeting," as they call a convention, or when a stranger of any note visits them, it is seldom that the place of worship will contain half the congregation. If they have timely notice, hundreds think nothing of a distance of ten or twenty miles to meeting. Everyone has a horse, yes, even our poorest people have a horse to ride, and hence, when you arrive at the place appointed, you will see more horses tied all about the roads than can be seen at a fair in England, my native country. A stage, also, is erected, which you stand on to preach, and sometimes to two or three thousand hearers. I have preached, as was supposed, to three or four thousand. The meeting continues two or three days. There are frequently ten or a dozen ministers present, most of whom pray, preach, or exhort, as they find freedom. After the public service, those who live near the place of meeting, whether members or not, ask every person who comes from a distance to go home with them; and generally the greater the number who accept the invitation the better are they pleased, especially if a minister can be prevailed upon to be one of the guests. When you come to the house, they entertain you with the very best they have, both horses and men, and as soon as you have all dined, to preaching, praying, exhortation, etc. Near midnight you retire to rest; by sunrise in the morning, to prayers; then breakfast, and to public worship again, but not before your company is requested for the next night, if the meeting continues. This is the common practice in Georgia, South and North Carolina, in what we call the back part of the country. To a great many of these meetings I have been, and sometimes have seen a great deal of religion, and enjoyed the most solemn pleasures and comfortable opportunities I have ever had.’ The West and Northwest in those days meant Central and Western New York, but there, many of these inspiring features of large and enthusiastic meetings were lacking. The journeys were often long and perilous, attended with much hardship. Then, sometimes, these godly men were not welcomed, and they found it necessary to shake off the dust of their feet against American settlements as Christ’s Apostles did against the towns of Palestine. The missionaries were generally volunteers, but sometimes the Associations commissioned them. Messengers from the South appealed to the Philadelphia Association, in 1754, for the labors of a missionary, and they sent John Gano, who traveled as far as Charleston, lion. C. S. Todd, formerly the American Representative to Russia, draws this picture of Gano:

’He was, in person, below the middle stature, and when young, of a slender form, but of a firm, vigorous constitution, well fitted for performing active services with ease, and for suffering labors and privations with constancy. . . . His presence was manly, open, and engaging. His voice strong and commanding, yet agreeable and capable of all those inflections which are suitable to express either the strong or tender emotions of an intelligent, feeling mind. In mental endowments and acquired abilities he appeared highly respectable; with clear conception and ready discernment, he formed readily a correct judgment of men and things. His acquaintance with the learned languages and sciences did not commence till he arrived at manhood, and was obtained chiefly by private instruction. To the refinement of learning he did not aspire; his chief object was such a competent acquaintance with its principles as would enable him to apply them with advantage to purposes of general usefulness in religion, and to the most important interests of society; and to this he attained.’

Thus endowed and armed, this holy man and his brethren of like spirit went to the Sandy Creek region in North Carolina. An Association was formed there in 1758. a monument to their fruitful

labor, and by 1766 the Sandy Creek Church had aided in forming forty-two Churches. The Little River Church was another remarkable body. Formed in 1760, it increased to five hundred persons in three years and built five meeting-houses. These Churches had many contentions and alienations as Regulars and Separates for years; but these passed away when they became a thoroughly working people; they were too busy to quarrel, and now there is not a more efficient body of Baptists in the United States than those of South Carolina. Some of the mightiest names in our history have arisen in that State. Silas and Jesse Mercer, William T. Brantly, Basil Manly and a long line following, as Kerr and Howell, Poindexter and Mims, Brooks and Saunders, Emerson and Solomon, with a host of living men who would honor any Christian community. As far back as 1793, Asplund reports that they had 112 churches, 172 ministers, and 8,017 communicants. But in 1886, they have 2,177 churches, 915 ministers, and 211,984 communicants.

MARYLAND. The question of religious liberty in this colony will be noticed in another place. For the present it is only needful to note that in 1649 the Assembly enacted:

'That no persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be molested in respect of their religion, or the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the belief or practice of any other religion, against their consent, so that they be not unfaithful to the proprietary, or conspire against the civil government. That persons molesting any other in respect of his religious tenets shall pay treble damages to the party aggrieved and twenty shillings to the proprietary. That the reproaching any with opprobrious epithets of religious distinctions shall forfeit ten shillings to the person aggrieved. That any one speaking reproachfully against the Blessed Virgin or the Apostles shall forfeit five pounds, but blasphemy against God shall be punished with death.' When the first Baptist Church was founded in Maryland, it was a Roman Catholic colony, but our brethren were not persecuted in the proper sense of the term, although their protest against Rome was very strong. Henry Sator, an English General Baptist, appears to have formed the first Baptist Church in the colony, at Chestnut Ridge, near Baltimore, in 1742. Four years afterward it numbered 181 members, and, though feeble, it continues until this time. In 1754 it supplied members to form the Winter Run Church, in Harford County, and this, in turn, dismissed eleven members in 1785 to form the First Church in Baltimore. This last body has been greatly blessed, is now surrounded by many strong Churches, and has enjoyed the pastoral care of Dr. Williams for thirty-six years. The Waverly, Seventh and Leo Street Churches are all offshoots from the First. The Seventh is the Church served so long and successfully by the late Dr. Richard Fuller before he formed the Eutaw Place Church. His successor in the Seventh Church was that lovely spirit, Dr. W. T. Brantly. From the first, Baptist growth has been very slow in Maryland. It contained only 17 churches, 13 ministers and 920 members in 1793; to-day it has 56 churches, 40 ministers, and 12,162 members. The Accomack Association of Virginia, however, was set off from the Salisbury in 1808.

There is no name which the Maryland Baptists more delight to honor than that of REV. RICHARD FULLER, D.D. He was born at Beaufort, S. G., April 22d, 1804, and was prepared to enter Harvard College by Rev. Dr. Brantly, but broken health compelled him to leave that institution when in his junior year. Able to return after an absence of five years, he was graduated in 1824 at the head of his class. He then studied law and rose to eminence in his profession. In 1831 he was converted at Beaufort, and says: 'My soul ran over with love and joy and praise; for days I could neither eat nor sleep.' He was baptized by Rev. H. O. Wyer, of Savannah, and united with the Baptist Church in his native place. He was soon chosen its pastor, was ordained in 1832 and labored in this field

for fifteen years. When he left his lucrative law business to enter the ministry the Church was feeble, but under his faithful care it increased to about 200 white persons and 2,400 colored. His zeal was so great that he preached for weeks together in various parts of the South, and great numbers were brought to Christ. But in 1836 he was obliged to travel in Europe for his health. In 1847 he became pastor of the Seventh Baptist Church in Baltimore, a Church which numbered but 87 members at that time. Under his faithful toils it grew to the number of 1,200, and a body of its members retired with him to establish the new congregation, in which he remained five years, and from which, after much suffering, he was called to his reward on high, on the 20th of October, 1876. As a preacher Dr. Fuller was appreciated throughout the nation, for he found but one answer to the question, How can a man preach with power? He believed the word of God with all his soul and walked with its Author continually. His might lay where his heart was, in his holy breathings after the Holy Spirit. Richard Fuller would have retired from the pulpit in a moment, if the balancing query of skepticism had arisen in his mind as to whether the line of Divine Inspiration ran here or there through the Book of God. He rested with all his weight on the Bible as God's book, and came to his congregations not with every kind of light and idle speculation, but fresh with holy ardor from the footstool of that throne from which that word had been spoken. To this he added the most painstaking study to ascertain by every form of help what the Scriptures required him to preach. Aside from the dutiful visitation of the sick and sorrowful, and other indispensable duties, his mind was bent upon the divine results of the coming Sabbath. Superficial men, who are total strangers to the throbbings of soul-agony and the toilsome exertions of soul-thought, flippantly attributed his great power to the absence of half a quire of paper from his pulpit, and prated about his being an extempore preacher. But neither paper nor its absence ever made preachers of them, simply because they were flippant. Dr. Fuller's printed sermons bear the attestation of noon-tide and midnight to the industry of his pen. Each sermon witnesses that it had been curiously inwrought in the depth of his soul from Monday morning till Saturday night, and when it went with him into the pulpit it was a part of himself, whether the paper which contained its words went with him or stayed at home. Hence, no offensive froth, fustian, rant, or dilletanteism, found a home in his pulpit. There he found nothing unworthy of his crucified Lord and the solicitude of perishing men, because he took nothing with him but the worthy.

He preached like a man of God, who had received from him a majestic personal presence, bordering on the imperial. He feared God enough to cultivate his voice and manner, framing their management on the best of rules and using them with consummate skill. Having a message from the Man of Calvary, he wished to deliver it as an accomplished pleader with men, for Jesus' sake. Believing that his body belonged to the crucified One, he gave himself no liberty to abuse it by injurious food, the use of degrading stimulants, or any other indulgence which showed that ho despised the gift of God. He placed his great power of fancy, his vividness of perception, his methods of clear statement and his heart-pathos upon the altar of God's Lamb, and altogether the zeal of God's house consumed him. The writer once heard him when he showed himself to be a perfect master in the art of oratory, by denouncing the tricks of the orator in preaching. He wove one of the most fresh, vivid, and finished pieces of oratorical denunciation against dependence on pulpit oratorical effect, that man could put together. Under this spell he held his audience in breathlessness, and when they found a free breathing place men grew pale and nodded to their neighbors with a look which plainly said: 'What a horrible thing it is to be eloquent in the pulpit!' The Dr. did not intend to soar to the third heavens on the winds of inspired invective against pulpit

eloquence, but he did, whether he intended it or not, and when we all returned to the earth with him, every man of us was ready to subscribe to the new litany: 'From false doctrine, heresy, and eloquence, good Lord deliver us!' The Sator Church started with a keen zest against the Roman Catholic Communion. In what she called her 'solemn league and covenant,' her members bound themselves to 'abhor and oppose' 'Rome, Pope and popery, with all her antichristian ways,' which was all well enough, but it had been much better to have set up a strong defense against the grinding Antinomian and Anti-mission Pope, which divided and crippled the early Baptists of Maryland so sorely. A prairie fire does not desolate the plain worse than this blight crippled our people there at one time. In 1836 the Baltimore Association was rent asunder by this double curse. That year the Association met at Black Rock, and those who arrayed themselves against missionary movements, Sunday-schools, Bible and other benevolent societies, under the abominable pretense that they conflicted with the sovereignty of God in the kingdom of Christ, found themselves in a majority. They denounced these institutions as 'corruptions which were pouring in like a flood upon the Baptist Church,' and as 'cunningly devised fables.' Then they resolved that the Association could not hold fellowship with such Churches as united with such societies and encouraged others to do so, and dropped all these Churches from their minutes. Of course, the efforts of a few aggressive brethren were neutralized, and for a time all missionary work was suspended, lest the Churches should be doing the Lord's work instead of their own. Instead of being left free to spread the Gospel, the faithful minority found their hands full to resist this mad tide of ultra-Calvinism, and in a small degree its influence is felt there to this day. Yet, as if to illustrate the truth that extremes meet and embrace, it is true that some of the most wise and zealous advocates of missionary work amongst Baptists have sprung from the bosom of our Maryland Churches. Amongst them we find Noah Davis, the real founder of the Publication Society, and Benjamin Griffith, its great Secretary; William Crane, William Gary Crane, Bartholomew T. Welsh, Franklin Wilson, and the present Baptist leaders there generally, who love missionary work as they love their lives. The very repression which they were obliged to oppose with all their might has only increased the intensity of these missionary advocates and supporters, and so the valiant little band of Baptists in Maryland are not a whit behind their sister Churches elsewhere in their sacrifices for Christ.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. Massachusetts claimed jurisdiction over New Hampshire in 1652, and it remained under that jurisdiction until 1679; but when the separation took place, New Hampshire retained the law which compelled all to support the Congregational Churches by public tax. The first unquestionable Baptist of that colony is found in the person of Rachel Scammon. Before her marriage she was a Miss Thurber, and lived at Rehoboth, Mass., but removed with her husband to Statham, N. II., in 1720. After entering her new home, she held to her Baptist convictions and frequently talked of them to her neighbors, but for forty years only one woman embraced her sentiments. This friend went to Boston and was immersed by Elder Bound, of the Second Church. Late in life Mrs. Scammon found Norcott's work on baptism, and went to Boston to get it printed for circulation, when the printer told her that he had one hundred copies on hand, which she bought and distributed in and around Stratham. She believed that a Baptist Church would arise in that place and her faith was honored, but not until after her death. Some years before this result of her faithfulness, independent influences were at work in the small town of Newtown, near Haverhill, Mass., which resulted in the establishment of a Baptist Church in that place, as the first in the colony. As in some other provinces, the preaching of George Whitefield had much to do with the

origin of this inception of Baptist life. He had visited Ipswich, Newbury and Hampton in the autumn of 1740, and the Congregational Churches in that region were all astir, for the Half-way Covenant was in danger. In Boston, this Covenant had been a fire-brand from the first, and twenty-eight members having seceded in consequence of its adoption formed the Old South Church. Many of the Churches of the Standing Order went to such an extreme as to vote that: 'Those who wish to offer their children in baptism, join with the Church and have a right to all the ordinances and privileges of the Church.' Dr. Dexter puts the point clearly in these words: 'Starting with the theory that some germ of true faith, in the absence of proof to the contrary, must be assumed in a child of the covenant, sufficient to transmit a right of baptism to his children, but not sufficient to entitle him to partake of the Lord's Supper; not many years passed before the inference was reached that an amount of saving faith, even in the germ, which would justify the baptism of a man's children, ought to justify his own admission to the table of the Lord.' In keeping with this idea, Stoddard, of Northampton, wrote to prove that 'the Lord's Supper is instituted to be a means of regeneration,' and that men may and ought to receive it, 'though they knew themselves to be in a natural condition.' Of course, this state of things in the membership of the Churches was succeeded by an unconverted ministry. Right here Whitefield struck his first blow. In 1741 he describes his preaching in his New England Journal: 'I insisted much on the necessity of a new birth, as also on the necessity of a minister's being converted before he could preach aright. Unconverted ministers are the bane of the Christian Church. I think that great and good man, Mr. Stoddard, is much to be blamed for endeavoring to prove that unconverted men might be admitted to the ministry. A sermon lately published by Gilbert Tennent, entitled "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry" I think unanswerable.' In this condition of things Whitefield's preaching startled the community about Newtown, where Francis and Abner Chase were converted under his ministry. They desired to hold prayermeetings in connection with the Congregational Church at West Amesbury, of which they were members. Their minister, Paino Wingate, opposed them in this, for he and the neighboring ministers had signed a remonstrance, dated December 26th, 1744, against the admission of Whitefield into their pulpits. As the Chases could not enjoy the ministry of one whom they thought unconverted, they left his ministry and held prayer-meetings in their own houses. The records of the Amesbury Church [West Parish] show, that from 1747 to 1749 Francis Chase was under discipline in that Church 'for greatly neglecting the public worship of God.' A committee of the same body also visited Mr. Abner Chase in 1749 for 'absenting himself from public worship.' The reason that he gave for doing so was: 'A discord or contention that then was between the Church or parish and Mr. Wingate, as also the Church meeting [treated] Francis Chase, as he thought, unhandsomely.' Worth says that Mary Morse, of West Newbury, 'after Mrs. Abner Chase, experienced religion when about seven years of age, and was baptized when about sixteen, Mr. Francis Chase, of Newton, a member of the Congregational Church in Amesbury, was baptized two or three weeks previous. These are supposed to have been the first persons ever baptized in the Merrimack, which was probably in 1750. It is believed that the administrator was Rev. Mr. Hovey, who was afterward settled at Newton.' These and some of the following facts are taken from the discourse preached before the New Hampshire Baptist Convention, October, 1876, by Rev. W. H. Eaton, D.D., of Keene, who says in a private note: 'In the fall and winter of 1871-2 I spent six months in Newton, N. H., preaching to the little Church there and spending much time in searching old papers in families that descended from the earliest settlers, also the records of neighboring Churches.'

There is no doubt that the Newtown [now Newton] Church was the first of the Baptist order founded in New Hampshire, but there is a dispute as to whether it was organized in 1750 or 1755. Backus and others have fixed upon the last of these dates. But there is an old manuscript preserved amongst his unpublished papers, which appears to throw light upon this point, written by Francis Chase, who was one of the constituent members of the Church, for some years its clerk, and toward the close of life a deacon in the First Church at Haverhill. Chase writes: 'A brief account of the first incorporation of the First Baptist Church and Society in Newtown, N. H., in the year 1750, January 10th. We increased in number till the year 1755. In June 28th Elder Powers was ordained our pastor.' Dr. Eaton says that he submitted this document to Dr. Weston, the late editor of Backus's History, who gave the opinion as most probable: That the history of the Church in Newton is analogous to that of the Church in Bellingham; that it was formed January 10th, 1750, was weak and had no stated preaching till 1755, when it had become strong enough to settle a pastor and let its existence be known; that Backus, as in the case of the Bellingham Church, gives the date of its revival as that of its constitution, but that its seal as given by the first clerk in his sketch is 1750.' Chase's direct statement, with all the collateral evidence, renders this the most likely. No records of this Church are found earlier than October 7th, 1767, when the minutes of a meeting occur, but they reveal its severe struggle for existence. Two of its members were in the firm grip of the law, and the Church resolved that if one member suffered all would suffer with him. It was therefore 'voted' thus:

'1. To carry on Mr. Steward's and Mr. Carter's law-suits, which are now in the law on account of rates imposed on them by the Standing Order.

2. To give Mr. Hovey for the year ensuing for his labors with us fifty pounds lawful money in such things as he wants to live on.

3. That Andrew Whittier, John Wadleigh, and Joseph Welsh be chosen to say what each man's part shall be of what we promised to give Mr. Hovey.

4. That these men shall take the province rate for their rate, and do it as light as they can.

5. That these men are to abate such men as they think are not able to pay their parts with the rest.

6. That those who will not pay their equal proportion according as these men shall tax them, their punishment is this, that they shall have no help from us to clear them from paying rates other where.'

It is as refreshing as a breeze from their own mountains to find so much human 'granite' in this little band of New Hampshire Baptists. They refuse to support a State Church by force, and they resolve to support their own chosen pastor cheerfully. This suit continued for three years, and must have been very vexatious, for at a 'meeting legally named, holden at the Antipedo-Baptist meeting-house,' they resolved to 'proportion the whole costs of these suits; to examine the account and settle what is honest and right.' Such a Church deserved to live, and it exists today. At Stratham a young physician, Dr. Shepard, a member of the Congregational Church, chanced to be visiting a patient, and taking up Norcott's book he carefully read it, became a Baptist and one of the fathers of the denomination. Soon a Church was established in that place, and, becoming a minister, he was a burning and shining light to the whole colony. The Churches at Madbury and Weare appear to have been formed in 1768, but it was not till 1770-71 that our churches began to

multiply rapidly, when we have Brentwood in 1771, Gilmanton in 1772, and a number of others by 1780. The itineracy of Whitefield and others had stimulated several men of God to visit many destitute places. Amongst the most prominent of these was Dr. Hezekiah Smith, of Massachusetts, an able preacher, full of zeal. He visited Concord in 1771 and preached there with great power. But the Standing Order resented his presence as a daring impertinence which threatened the peace of the town, and, in the absence of newspapers; Parson Walker advertised him extensively by thundering at him from the pulpit, as much exasperated as a farmer could well be to find strange cattle in his cornfield. In the same year Dr. Smith preached at Nottingham, Brentwood and Stratham, and baptized thirty-eight persons, amongst whom were Dr. Shepard and Rev. Eliphalet Smith, the pastor of a Congregational Church. In Deerfield many were baptized, amongst them Joshua Smith, who afterwards became an evangelist of great power. Thirteen others were baptized with Pastor E. Smith, and on the same day were organized into a Baptist Church at Deerfield. The Brentwood Church was formed in 1771, and soon spread out into twelve branch Churches, which in 1793 numbered 443 members, with Dr. Samuel Shepard for their pastor.

Eight persons from Killingworth, Conn., in 1766, and another band from Worcester County, Mass., in 1780, settled at Newport, near Croydon. Most of them were Baptists, and their settlement was soon known as ’Baptist Hill.’ The religious destitution of that region of New Hampshire was soon made known to the Warren Association, which sent Messrs. Jacobs, Ledoyt, Seamans and Ransom as missionaries. Ledoyt and Seamans followed the Connecticut Eiver as far as Woodstock, preaching mainly on the New Hampshire side, but also on the Vermont side of that stream. A Church of eight members was organized at Baptist Hill in May, 1778, called the First Church of Newport and Croydon, but was soon after known as the Newport Baptist Church. Biel Ledoyt became pastor of this body in 1791, and in 1795 it numbered eightynine members. Seamans established a Church in New London, of which he was pastor, which numbered about one hundred members at the close of the century. For years the Newport Church worshiped in a barn by the side of the river, which became noted chiefly because Thomas Baldwin the Good, afterwards of Boston, preached a most memorable sermon there. At that time he was the pastor at Canaan, in New Hampshire. On this great occasion the Assembly was so charmed that it was reluctant to leave, and the meeting continued to a late hour in the night, but Mr. Baldwin was obliged to return to meet an engagement at home in the morning. He mounted his horse, picked his way through the almost trackless forest as best he could by the light of the stars, and as he mused over the precious meeting in the barn his heart burned, and he began to sing. The words which sprang to his lips were those of his union hymn, which have since been sung all over the continent:

’From whence doth this union arise, That hatred is conquered by love.’

Those who love that hymn may be glad to know that it was born at midnight in the New Hampshire wilderness, while its author was alone with God, after preaching to his despised Baptist brethren in a barn. This Church built their first meeting-house in 1798, a building forty feet square, which Dr. Baron Stow describes in 1810. He says:

’I am in that plain edifice, with a superabundance of windows, and a porch at each end; with its elevated pulpit, sky-blue in color, overhung by a sounding-board; with the deacon’s seat half- way

up the pulpit; with the square pews occupied by families; with a gallery containing one row of pews fronted by the singers' seats. There is the horse-shed, there is the horse-block; there are the horses with men's saddles and pillions, and a few women's saddles, but not a carriage of any description. On occasions of baptism the whole congregation would go down the hill, and, standing in a deep glen on the banks of Sugar River, would witness the ceremonies. Ehas McGregor played the bass-viol, Asa, a brother, led the choir, and his sisters, Lucy and Lois, sang soprano and alto. In the choir were Asaph Stowe, Moses Paine Durkee, Philip W. Kibbey, and more than one of the Wakefields.'

It was in this church that Baron Stow was converted and baptized, and from it he went to the Academy at Newport and the Columbian College, Washington, whence he graduated and was ordained pastor of the Church at Portsmouth, N. H. where he served five years before he removed to spend his wonderful life in Boston. He was succeeded at Portsmouth by the late Duncan Danbar, of New York. In 1820 the Newport Church introduced the system of supporting itself by assessing a tax upon its members, ' in proportion to the invoice of each member of the society, as taken by the selectmen.' For years this self-imposed tax wrought only contention and it was abandoned. This body was in the Woodstock Association till 1828, when the Newport Association was formed, which has frequently enjoyed the hospitality of the old Church. When the Woodstock Association met with it in 1826, a committee of four was appointed 'to distribute cake, cheese and cider to the members of the Association during the session.'

These were the beginnings of Baptist history in New Hampshire, from which powerful Churches and able ministers of the New Testament sprang in every direction. Our people have now increased to six Associations, eighty Churches, and 8,851 communicants. In consequence of the severity of the New Hampshire climate and the limited area of its territory, this State has sent forth a large and valuable population to all the new States and Territories, especially to California, which immigration accounts in part for its small Baptist statistics. And a second reason for this is found in the fact that in 1780 Rev. Benjamin Randall, a Baptist preacher of ability and influence, established the Free-Will Baptist denomination, which absorbed a number of our Churches and became a strong body in the State. The Free Baptists differ from the old body chiefly in rejecting Calvinistic doctrine and the practice of strict communion. The list of noble ministers which New Hampshire has given to our Churches in addition to those already named is very marked. It includes Alonzo King, the biographer of George Dana Boardman, Enoch and Elijah Hutchinson, and John Learned. Thomas Baldwin served the Church at Caanan for seven years, during which time he planted other Churches at Grafton, Hebron and Groton. In later years, one of the most noted men of the State was found in Dr. E. E. Cummings. He was one of the most faithful of men to his trusts. Born in Claremont, N. H. November 9th, 1800, he joined the Baptist Church there in 1821, graduated at Waterville College in 1828, and was that year ordained pastor of the Church in Salisbury. He became pastor of the First Church, Concord, in 1832, and remained there till 1854, when he took the pastorate of the Pleasant Street Church. After serving these two Churches for thirty-three years, he spoilt the last years of his life as a missionary in the State at large, dying February 22d, 1886. It is said that he left a manuscript on the history of our ministry for the first hundred years of its existence in New Hampshire, which certainly than be given to the world.

VERMONT. The Great Awakening, or New Light revival, had swept over Vermont quite as powerfully as it had over New Hampshire, or even more so, possibly because it was nearer the

scene of the sternest conflict. JONATHAN EDWARDS had succeeded his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, as pastor at Northampton, and had attempted to close the door of Church membership against the unconverted, when that Church, wedded to the Half-way Covenant, dismissed him, and he was obliged to go into the wilderness to preach the Gospel to the Housatonic Indians. There, though broken in health, the great metaphysician and theologian spent six years in coming nearer and nearer to the truth on all that related to the anti-sacramentarian doctrine and a regenerated Church, until on these points he stood side by side with the Baptists. His doctrine spread rapidly through Vermont; but nowhere did it take firmer hold than in the town of Shaftsbury. In 1768, the first Baptist Church of Vermont sprang from the movement in that town, chiefly under the leadership of Bliss Willoughby, the pastor of a Separatist Church, who went a step further than Edwards in the proper observance of Gospel ordinances, and became a Baptist in 1764. Three other Churches went out from this Church, in the same town, within the ensuing ten years; after which came a number of other Churches in quick succession; amongst them that at Pownal in 1773, at Woodstock in 1779, those at Guilford, Dummerston and many others, numbering 41 Churches in 1793, with 40 ministers and 2,221 members. As these interests increased Baptist ministers were sent for from other parts of New England, and some removed to Vermont for permanent residence. More than a score are mentioned by name, amongst them Ransom and Ledoyt, Elisha Ransom becoming pastor at Woodstock in 1780. As in the rest of New England, the Vermont Baptists paid a great price for their liberty; everywhere having to fight the old battle with the Standing Order. Ransom, under date of March 23d, 1795, writes of a member of Elder Drew's Church at Hartford, Vt., who was sent to jail for refusing to pay the State Church rates, yet was obliged to pay them. He contested the case with the authorities at a cost of more than ,50, but in each trial the decision was against him. Ransom says that five petitions with more than two hundred signatures were sent up to the Assembly asking for redress; then he adds:

'I went to speak for them; and after my averment that the certificate law was contrary to the rights of man, of conscience, the first, third, fourth and seventh articles of our Constitution, and to itself, for it took away our rights and then offered to sell them back to us for a certificate, some stretched their mouths, and though no man contradicted me in one argument, yet they would shut their eyes, and say that they could not see it so. I had many great friends in the house, but not a majority.' The Baptists of Vermont have been characterized by both ministers and laymen of signal ability. Some of our first educators have sprung from their ranks, for they have always been distinguished for their love of learning. Amongst these we have the late Irah Chase and Daniel Hascall, 'Rev. Drs. A. C. Kendrick and T. J. Conant. Laymen of note are found in Hon. Jonas Galusha, at one time Governor of Vermont; Hon. Ezra Butler, also Governor of the State, and Hon. Aaron Leland, Lieutenant-Governor; yet each of these preached the Gospel. Ephraim Sawyer and John Conant (though born in Massachusetts) were men of renown, the former as a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and the latter as a justice of the peace and a member of the Vermont Legislature for many years. But our denomination has never been strong in that State. Like New Hampshire, its people have removed West with the great tide of emigration, especially to western New York, in earlier times, and then markedly to Ohio and the still newer States. At present we have 7 Associations in Vermont, 116 churches, 104 ministers and 8,880 members. It may be well here to note the excitement which existed in many of the Vermont Baptist Churches in the year 1843, on the question of our Lord's second advent. Deacon WILLIAM MILLER lived near Pouitney, a man of strong but uncultivated mind, who devoted most of his time to the study of the prophecies and

Rollin's 'Ancient History,' making this and other such works an index to the interpretation of prophecy. Having created for himself a system of interpretations, by a method peculiarly his own, he believed that he had demonstrated that Christ would come on or about February 15th 1843. He exerted large influence on all who knew him, from his many excellencies and spotless character. He had been a captain in the War of 1812 and fought valiantly at the battle of Plattsburg; he was also a civil magistrate in his own town. In person he was large and heavily built, his head broad and his brow high, with a soft and expressive eye, and all the inflections of his voice indicated the sincerest devotion. His imagination was quite fervid, and having drawn his conclusion from a defective premise it became to him a real fact. In this state of mind he went about lecturing, using large charts illustrative of the visions of Daniel and John. Immense throngs came to hear him, a number of ministers and laymen of large mind embraced his views, and the greatest excitement prevailed over the eastern and northern parts of our country. Many Churches, especially amongst Baptists, Methodists and Congregationalists, were seriously disturbed by the controversy and some were rent to pieces. The press teemed with discourses and pamphlets on the subject, many of them absurd enough on both sides. Much ill-feeling also sprang up as is usual in such cases, and both sides arrogated to themselves a tone of plenary infallibility in the interpretation of disputed passages. The controversy surged for months around the passage, 'Of that, day and hour knoweth no man,' the anti-Adventists taking the sage ground that as they did not know that he would come, therefore he would not; and the Adventists replying, that because they did not know that he would not come, therefore he surely would. What made the excitement the more furious was the sudden rush of an enormous comet upon the heavens, unannounced, early in January, which blazed for weeks, until its sword-like train divided into two blades. Then came a heavy fall of red snow, such as is often found in the Arctic regions and the Alps; and although Professor Agassiz had demonstrated, three years before, that this tinge was occasioned by the presence of animalcules in the flakes, it made no difference in the interpretation of the phenomenon, which was to the effect, that they were supernaturally impregnated with some gelatinous and chemical element, which was simply fuel for burning up the earth. The craze went so far that many made white ascension robes and stood shivering in the snow on the nights of February 14th and 15th, expecting to be caught up into the air, and meetings were held in hundreds of places of worship during those nights, while many sold all that they had and proved their sincerity by giving the money to the sick and suffering. The writer had much conversation with Mr. Miller, and has in his possession a number of books bought from the library of the late Rev. George Storrs, one of the leading advocates of Mr. Miller's doctrine, who so used his money. The same order of delusion has appeared in the earth several times during the ages, and is sure to occur again, judging from present appearances.

GEORGIA. Governor Oglethorp settled this colony in 1733, and at least two Baptists, Messrs. Campbell and Dunham, came over in the ship with him; others soon followed, amongst them Mr. Polhill. When Whitefield came, in 1751, Nicholas Bedgewood accompanied him to take charge of the Orphan House, which was soon erected near Savannah. This young man had a classical education and was a fine speaker. Five years after his arrival he was baptized by Rev. Oliver Hart, pastor of the Baptist Church at Charleston, and two years later, he was ordained, and baptized Benjamin Stirk and several other converts at the Orphan House, where many suppose that a branch Church to that at Charleston was formed; in his turn, he became a minister in 1767, preaching in his own house at Kewington above Savannah, and formed a branch Church to that at

Eutaw, S. C. Edmund Botsford came from England in 1771, was converted in the Charleston Church, and went as a missionary into Georgia. Daniel Marshal also removed from South Carolina into Georgia in 1771; and Botsford falling in with Colonel Barnard, at Augusta, introduced him to Marshall at Kiokee, where he had formed the first Baptist Church proper in the colony, in 1772. Botsford was then but a licentiate, and his meeting with this veteran was very interesting. Marshall said: 'Well, sir, you are to preach for us.' 'Yes, sir, by your leave,' Botsford replied, 'but I am at a loss for a text.' 'Look to the Lord for one,' was Marshall's answer.

He preached from the words, 'Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he has done for my soul.' Marshall was greatly blessed under the sermon, and at its close said: 'I can take thee by the hand and call thee brother, for somehow I never heard conversion better explained in my life; but I would not have thee think thou preachest as well as Joe Reese and Philip Mulkey; however, I hope thee will go home with me.' He did, and they were like David and Jonathan to each other to the close of life.

Botsford's ministry was greatly honored of God, and he organized several Churches, amongst them the second in Georgia, called the Botsford Church, near Augusta, in 1773. Other Churches were soon formed, for in 1784 the Georgia Association was organized by five Churches, which number increased so rapidly that in 1793 there were in Georgia sixty-one Churches, with 3,227 communicants.

Baptist interests were established too late in this colony to subject our brethren there to the persecutions which they endured in many of the older colonies. Yet, on January 11th, 1758, the General Assembly, meeting at Savannah, passed a law making the Church of England the Church of the province. It established two parishes, 'Christ's Church,' at Savannah, and 'St. Paul's,' at Augusta, and provided for their support by public tax, also for the establishment of other parishes in due time. Under this law Daniel Marshall was arrested one Sabbath 'for preaching in the parish of St. Paul' contrary to the 'rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.' His congregation was assembled in a beautiful grove, under the blue sky, and he was on his knees making the opening prayer, when a hand was laid on his shoulder and a voice interrupted him saying: 'You are my prisoner!' He was then sixty-five years of age and his hair was white as snow. The man of God arose and gave security to appear for trial the next day at Augusta, and the constable, Samuel Cartledge, released him, without a word of remonstrance or rebuke from the venerable preacher. But Mrs. Martha Marshall, a woman of a most powerful mind, and, as she demonstrated on several occasions, of remarkable eloquence, not only remonstrated stoutly, but with all the solemnity of a prophetess exhorted Cartledge to flee from the wrath to come and be saved from his sins. Dr. J. H. Campbell says that the man was so moved that he did repent and seek his salvation, that Marshall baptized him in 1777, when he first became a deacon in the Church at Kiokee, and in 1789 he was ordained a minister. He was little more than twenty-one when he was converted. and preached the Gospel for half a century, dying in 1843 at the ago of ninetythree years. The early history of the Georgia Baptists was marked by many EXTENSIVE REVIVALS of religion, sometimes adding many thousands to their Churches in a year, as in 1812-13, 1820 and in 1827, when between 15,000 and 20,000 persons were added to them. This great revival was largely promoted by the labors of Adiel Sherwood, D.D., who seemed to be endued with power from heaven. He was pastor at that time of the Churches at Milledgeville, Greeneborough, and Eatonton, at the last of which places he taught in an academy. One Sabbath in September he was

preaching in the open air, before the Ocmulgee Association, at Antioch Church, in Morgan County, when the power of God fell upon the people in the most wonderful manner. At the close of his sermon he asked all who wished for the prayers of the assembly to present themselves. The first one to accept the invitation was one of the most accomplished young gentlemen in Georgia, in all that relates to grace of person, courteous manners, breadth of mind and natural eloquence. This was Dr. John E. Dawson, who afterwards became one of the most brilliant and pathetic preachers in the South. It is estimated that 4,000 persons followed him that day in asking the prayers of the congregation, and within two years about 16,000 people, according to Dr. Sherwood's private memoranda, were added to the Churches, as the fruit of that meeting more or less directly.

Dr. Sherwood was one of the most godly men in America. He was born at Fort Edward, N. Y., in 1791, and was the son of a Revolutionary soldier, a firm personal friend of General Washington. In 1817 Adiel graduated at Union College, and then passed a year at the Andover Theological Seminary, when, his health becoming somewhat impaired, he went to Georgia. He was ordained to the work of the ministry in that State, and in 1828 he preached 333 sermons in forty counties, with astonishing success. After filling many places of trust, he became the Professor of Sacred Literature in Marshall College and finally its President. In person he was large and dignified, very vehement in manner, though tender in spirit, possessing a prudent and executive mind; thoughtful and learned, he stood in the front ranks as a speaker and writer. Georgia owes much to him for its pre-eminence as a Baptist State, especially in that zeal and intelligence which have made our Churches and ministry so strong within its bounds. No one else has exerted so wide and healthy an influence in advancing our cause there excepting his true yoke-fellow, Rev. Jesse Mercer, whose apostolic wisdom, zeal and spirituality have rendered him immortal. And yet, a noble army of godly men have filled their places and each done an order of work which none other could have done. This is equally true of the living and the dead. Amongst the laymen we have had Governors Rabun and Lumpkin, with the Reeveses, Wellborns and Stocks, statesmen and jurists of the first class; and the names of her ministers are held in universal reverence, as, the two Marshalls, the two Mercers, with Holcomb, Saunders, Clay, Johnson, Binney, Crawford and Dagg. From the first our brethren there have been Calvinistic in their doctrines, strict in their communion, as well as the firm friends of educational and missionary work. Taking all things into the account, the Georgia Baptists have been characterized, and still are, for their mental vigor, their extraordinary knowledge of human nature, their deep convictions of Gospel truth, and an overpowering native eloquence in winning men to Christ. Hon. Joseph E. Brown, United States Senator from Georgia, has long been one of the leading Baptists of that State. He was born in South Carolina April 5th, 1821, but while young his father removed to Georgia. He enjoyed no educational advantages until he was nineteen years of age, when he determined to leave his father's farm to procure a collegiate education. His mother made him a suit of homespun clothes, his father gave him a pair of young oxen for his patrimony, and he started on a nine days' journey to the Calhoun Academy in South Carolina. A farmer agreed to give him eight months' board in payment for his oxen, Wesley Leverett, the principal of the school, promised his tuition on credit, and so the young hero began life. He made rapid progress with his studies, and at the end of the eight months he taught school. Having earned money enough to pay his instructor, he returned to the academy and began a new credit both for tuition and board. In two years he was ready to enter an advanced class in college, but was obliged to forego that high privilege, to teach school in Canton, Ga. While again earning money to pay his debts he became a private tutor in the family of Dr. Lewis, at Canton,

and gave his spare time to the study of law. In 1845 he was admitted to the bar, after a searching examination; but not satisfied with this, by the aid of the doctor he entered the law school at Yale College, where, in 1846, he was awarded the degree of Bachelor of Laws, when he returned to Georgia and rapidly rose in his profession. He was elected to the Senate of Georgia in 1849, Judge of the Superior Court in 1855, and Governor of the State in 1857. He served in this high office for four terms, being re-elected the last time in 1863. In 1869 he was appointed Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia for the term of twelve years, but resigned his office after filling it with much ability for two years, when he accepted the presidency of the Western and Atlantic Railroad Company. He was appointed by Governor Colquitt, in 1880, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of General Gordon in the United States Senate. Since, he has been elected to the Senate, the last time with but one vote against him.

While at Calhoun Academy, and when but twenty-two years of age, he was baptized, on the profession of his faith, by Elder C. P. Dean, and has been marked for his devotion to the cause of Christ ever since, he is a man of well balanced and strong mind, but of few words. His understanding is clear, his temper calm, his will firm, and he possesses that sagacious, matter-offact common sense which never fails him in time of trial. Withal, being blessed with large wealth and a benevolent heart, his liberality is widely felt in supporting charitable, educational and religions plans. When the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was passing through its most trying days, he quietly gave it $50,000 and infused new life into its endowment. This act could not fail to reach the public ear, though he was unostentatious in his gift. Senator Brown is a, trustee of the University of Georgia; and foremost in all the important movements of the Baptist denomination in that State. The Georgia Baptists of early times firmly withstood all the aggressions of the State upon the Church until they secured their religious liberties. On the one hand they could not be forced to pay a tax for the State Church, and on the other, they could not be cajoled into the acceptance of State money for the support of their own Churches. On the 21st of February, 1785, an Act was passed by the Legislature for the support of religion, which provided that 'thirty heads of families' in any community might choose a minister 'to explain and inculcate the duties of religion,' and 'four pence on every hundred pounds valuation of property' should be taken out of the public tax for the support of such minister. The Baptists formed a large majority in many parts of the State, and could have chosen many ministers under this Act, but instead of doing so, they united in a remonstrance to the Legislature in the following May, and sent it by the hands of Silas Mercer and Peter Smith, insisting that the obnoxious law should be repealed, on the ground that the State had nothing to do with the support of religion by public tax, and it was repealed. (Pub. Bees. of Ga. MS. vol. B., p. 284, Marshall Papers.)

Yet as late as 1863 they found it necessary to fight another battle on that subject. The New Code of Georgia provided, in Section 1376, that 'it shall be unlawful for any Church, society or other body, or any persons, to grant any license or other authority to any slave or free person of color to preach, or exhort, or otherwise officiate in Church matters.' This aroused the Baptists of the State, and a very powerful paper, drawn by Dr. H. H. Tucker, and largely signed by his brethren, was sent in remonstrance and protest to the Legislature, demanding the repeal of this iniquitous provision. They denounced it 'as a seizure by force of the things that are God's, and a rendering them unto Caesar,' an 'usurpation of ecclesiastical power by civil authorities.' They resisted it as a trespass upon the rights of conscience and a violation of religious liberty. They claimed that 'it is

the sacred right of the black to preach, exhort or pray, if God has called and commanded him to do either.' They protested that it was an offense against 100,000 Baptist communicants in the State, and that the Baptist Church in Columbia, ' with the new Code spread open before their eyes, and with a full knowledge and understanding of the intent and meaning of Section 1376, and after a thorough discussion of its provisions, deliberately violated the same, and ordained two negroes to officiate in Church matters in the office of deacon.' They claim that the obnoxious law 'trespasses not only on the rights of men but on the rights of God. It dictates to the Almighty what color his preachers shall be . . . and says to Omnipotence: "Thus far shalt Thou go and no farther." It allows Jehovah to have ministers of a certain complexion, and so exacting and rigid are these regulations imposed on the Almighty that they not only forbid his having preachers such as he may choose, but also prescribe that none shall even exhort, or in any way whatever officiate in Church matters, unless they be approved by this self-exalted and heaven-defying tribunal. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the spirit which prompted the act now under protest would stop, if unchecked, at its present point of audacity. Having prescribed color as one qualification for the pulpit, it might prescribe another qualification to-morrow.' The obnoxious section was repealed, and the State no longer imposes restrictions on the freedom of the Churches. The contests which the Georgia Baptists pushed against all that is narrow in ignorance and bigotry, especially from 1827 to 1840, in the shape of Anti-effort, has made the entire denomination their debtors. As in Maryland, the old school, or Primitive Baptists, as they loved to call themselves, arose in great strength, dividing Churches and rending Associations with great bitterness. This Antinomian element assailed their brethren with bitter satire, an element not known in the New Testament. One of the periodicals of the times published a sermon intended to caricature their missionary brethren who were spending their lives in beseeching men to be reconciled to God. Its text was taken from Prov. 27:27: 'Thou shalt have goats milk enough for thy food, for the food of thy household, and for the maintenance of thy maidens.' The preacher said that those who raised money for missions were first milking the sheep of Christ's flock; then turning to the non-professing goats, they obtained goat's milk enough for their editors, agents and secretaries, who were the maidens of the household, and so the poor drained goats fattened a few sinecures. Hard pushed with such trash, they brought ridicule upon our Lord's commission to 'go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.' Our brethren had the wisdom and firmness to resist this blight most steadfastly; one result of which is seen in the fact that now the laborious and aggressive Baptists are left nearly alone in the field. Their success has been astonishing, so that today they have the largest Baptist population of any State in the Union. They have 102 Associations, 1,601 ministers, 2,623 Churches, and 261,314 members.

Yearly half the Baptists of Georgia are colored people, who in latter years have been greatly aided by forming separate Churches and Associations of their own, and the present prospect, both of the white and colored Baptists, is more bright and prosperous than ever before.

Chapter 12

11 Baptists and the Revolutionary War

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS XI. BAPTISTS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR As time is the only reliable interpreter of prophecy, so history best traces the hand of God in preparing men for great events. It was impossible for the Baptists of the colonies to understand why they endured so much for their principles and secured so little in return, from the settlement of New England to the time of the Revolution. The Declaration of Independence was made July 4th, 1776, and the nation's struggle for liberty lasted about seven years. As nearly as we can get at the figures, there were but 97 Baptist Churches in all the colonies in 1770, and many of these were so very small, that one pastor, where they had pastors, supplied several of them lying many miles apart and preached to them only at long intervals of time, while others were dependent entirely on occasional visits from itinerant preachers. There was a large increase of Churches during the war, although many Churches were scattered, but in 1784 our total membership in the thirteen colonies was only about 35,000, although one hundred and fortyfive years had passed since the Church at Providence was constituted, and one hundred and nineteen years since the Church at Boston was gathered. Where they had houses of worship they were of the commonest character, and the most of their ministers received no salary. So common was it for the Churches to content themselves with one sermon a month, that these came to be known as 'Thirty-day Baptists,' and so ignorant or mean, or both, were many of them, that they thought it the absolute duty of their pastors to support themselves by a profession, by farming, or some other form of manual labor, and then prove their Apostolic calling by preaching for nothing. This class of Baptists took the greatest possible comfort in the thought that while the 'starched gentry' of the Standing Order peeled them by taxation, their pastors were strangers to 'filthy lucre.'

Under these conditions our ministry could not be eminent for learning. When Manning established his preparatory school at Warren, he and Hezekiah Smith, who had studied with him at Princeton, together with Jeremiah Condy and Edward Upham, graduates of Harvard, were the only liberally educated Baptist pastors in New England. Some who subsequently became known as scholars had studied with Isaac Eaton, at Hopewell. In addition to the above named, Dr. Guild mentions Samuel Jones and a number more who were students at that academy, and also in that opened at Lower Dublin in 1776. Several years later, William E. Williams, one of the first graduates of Rhode Island College, was added to the list of the educated, and opened an academy at Wrentham, Mass. Things existed much after the same order in the Middle and Southern Colonies, for down to that time the chief education of our ministry had consisted in that moral strength and fortitude which hardship and severity inspire. God, who foresaw the times which were to try men's souls, was clearly educating one class of his people to meet the high destiny for which only scourging, bonds and imprisonments can discipline men. Brown University had begun its work, and the Denomination was feeling after its future; but for the then present necessity, what our ministry lacked in the work of the schools, when compared with their Congregational brethren, was marked by a like disparity in favor of the Baptists in consecration to the saving of men. Their doctrine, that

none but the regenerate should enter the Church of Christ, inspired that effort to bring men to repentance which could not spring from faith in birthright membership. The social and political forces combined against them only contributed to maintain their zeal and devotion. To falter in maintaining the truth was to be crushed out of existence.

Besides, nothing but aggressive work could keep them alive to their peculiar views of religious liberty. Others were moved to resist the aggressions of Britain, simply on the ground that they were the victims of political oppression. This the Baptists felt also, but their circumstances impelled them to seek a higher order of liberty than that sought by their fellow-citizens.

Whatever oppressions England inflicted upon the colonies she seldom deprived them of their religions liberties, but from the first left them to manage these alone. Excepting in Virginia, the colonies, and not the mother government, laid the heavy yoke of religious oppression upon the Baptist neck. On several occasions they had appealed to the crown and their religious grievances had been redressed, as against their colonial oppressors. Hence, in the Revolution they were to fight a double battle; one with their political enemies on the other side of the sea, and the other with their religious tyrants on this side. The colonies were not about to begin a revolution for religious liberty; that they had; but the Baptists demanded both, and this accounts for the desperation with which they threw themselves into the struggle, so that we have no record of so much as one thorough Baptist tory.

Down to the Revolution, all the colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, had a Church established either by law or custom as the rightful controller of the spiritual interests of the people, and those of Massachusetts and Virginia, were peculiarly intolerant. In these the influence of the Baptists, as the champions of religious equality, was especially felt, as they resisted the legislative, judicial and executive departments combined. They were emboldened in this resistance from the fact that they took and held a footing despite this combination against them, and by piece-meal wrenched from their foes the recognition of their rights. In 1753 a law was passed in Massachusetts exempting Baptists from taxation to support the Standing Order, on condition that they confessed and proved themselves 'Anabaptists,' by certificates from three such Churches. Meetings were called in Boston, Medfiold and Bellingham, to devise methods of relief from this offensive act. John Proctor, a public-school teacher of Boston, and one of the original members of the Second Baptist Church there, was appointed to carry the case to England. He also drew up a remonstrance to the Legislature claiming that, under the charter of William and Mary, the Baptists had as good, ample and extensive a right to think and act for themselves in matters of a religious nature as any other Christians. This action somewhat lightened the execution without lessening the severity of the laws, for the last statute, passed in 1771, simply relieved the Baptist tax-payer from the necessity of presenting a certificate from three other Churches to prove him an 'Anabaptist.' The moral effect of many of the able documents drawn up by the Warren Association, Isaac Backus, and others, against these unrighteous laws, was very great on the thinking portion of the community, which compelled moderation when banishment and whipping became impossible. Virginia Baptists wrung some similar ameliorations from their Legislature which led them to throw themselves with all their hearts into the Revolutionary struggle, for they knew that if they secured full political independence religious freedom must necessarily follow.

It would furnish a splendid chapter in American Baptist History to sketch the honor-roll of the great fathers whom God was raising up from the first quarter of the eighteenth century to serve in the last, and who were to become the leaders in their contest for perfect religious emancipation. In addition to many others who had fought the first battles, he raised up a special host who were to push this conflict to its close, from Isaac Backus to John Leland; the man who saw the last vestige of religious oppression wiped off the statute-book of Massachusetts, in 1834. She. was the first of all the colonies to begin, and the last of all the States to end religious intolerance.

We have seen that ISAAC BACKUS, the Baptist historian, was born in Connecticut, January 9th, 1724, so that dying as late as November 20th, 1806, he lived through all the stages of the Revolution and saw his brethren as well as his country free. When the Warren Association appointed a committee to seek redress of grievances for the Baptists, and appointed first Hezekiah Smith, and then Rev. John Davis, their agent to the Court of Great Britain, Dr. Backus was exerting himself to the utmost in this direction. In the admirable biography of Backus by Dr. Hovey we have a graphic picture of the enthusiasm with which he threw himself into the work of changing the legislation from which his own Church at Middleborough had suffered so much, as well as his brethren elsewhere, he had been schooled in suffering for conscience' sake. His mother, Elizabeth Tracy Backus, was a descendant from the Winslow family, and became a devout Christian three years before Isaac was born; she was of a very strong character, and brought up her son in the love and fear of God. With many others she became a Separatist at Norwich, and when left a widow refused to pay the State-Church tax, for conscience' sake. On the night of October 15th, 1752, when she was ill, and seated before the fire wrapped in thick clothing to induce perspiration, the officers came, and as she says in a letter to her son, dated November 4th, 1752, 'Took me away to prison, about nine o'clock, in a dark, rainy night. Brothers Hill and Sabins were brought there the next night. We lay in prison thirteen days, and were then set at liberty, by what means I know not.' Her son Samuel lay in prison twenty days for the same crime. She evinced the essence of heroism, the genuine spirit of a confessor. The officer thought that she would yield when sick of a fever, and pay her rates rather than be cast into a doleful jail on a chill, stormy night in mid-October. Yet, hear her soul triumph, for she says:

'Oh! the condescension of heaven! Though I was bound when cast into this furnace, yet I was loosed and found Jesus in the midst of a furnace with me. Oh, then I could give up my name, estate, family, life and health freely to God. Now the prison looked like a palace to me. I could bless God for all the laughs and scoffs made at me. Oh, the love that flowed out to all mankind; then I could forgive as I would desire to be forgiven, and love my neighbor as myself. Deacon Griswold was put in prison the 8th of October, and yesterday old Brother Grover, and [they] are in pursuit of others, all which calls for humiliation. This Church has appointed the 13th of November to be spent in prayer and fasting on that account. I do remember my love to you and your wife and the dear children of God with you, begging your prayers for us in such a day of trial. We are all in tolerable health, expecting to see you. These are from your loving mother, ELIZABETH BACKUS.' The spirit of the mother was cherished by her son to the close of his life. The high esteem in which he is held is evinced in a private letter to Dr. Guild from Hon. George Bancroft, the historian, dated at Newport, R.I., September 25th, 1885, in which he writes: 'I look always to a Baptist historian for the ingenuousness, clear discernment, and determined accuracy which form the glory of their great historian Backus.'

SAMUEL STILLMAS, D.D., who was born in Philadelphia February 27th, 1737, and died March 12th, 1807, was another great Baptist leader during the Revolutionary period. At the age of eleven he removed with his parents to South Carolina, where he enjoyed the tuition of Mr. Hind, a classical tutor of renown. When still a youth, he was converted under the labors of Mr. Hart, by whom he was baptized and with whom he studied theology. In 1758, when he was but twenty-one years of age, he began to preach on James Island, near Charleston. Ill health compelled him to spend two years at Bordentown, N.J., when he was invited to become assistant to Rev. Mr. Bound, in the Second Church, Boston, where he spent about a year; and January 9th, 1765, he became pastor of the First Church, Boston, which he served until his death, a period of forty-two years. The distinguishing traits of his character were purity of heart, and fidelity to his convictions. He was brilliant, and sought the highest intellectual attainments, but instinctively eschewed all literary pomp and display, particularly that academical donnishness of style which many scholastic notables affect. And yet, because of his extreme taste in manners, dress and bearing, clownish folk, whose vulgarity was an annoyance to him and an offense, were ever ready to assail him, even with censoriousness. Like Dr. Baldwin, he was dignified in his bearing, observing all those points of decorum which distinguished the careful pastor of New England in former days. Elias Smith, an eccentric minister of Boston, who caused his brethren considerable trouble, complains of Drs. Stillman and Baldwin for insisting that he should dress more becomingly, and for enforcing proper order in connection with his induction into the pastoral office. Dr. Cornell says, in his 'Recollections of Ye Olden Time,' that when Smith was settled as pastor over the Baptist Church at Woburn, in 1789, they required him to be 'installed.' This he denounced as a 'new-fangled ceremony,' but they insisted and he submitted. However, he took his revenge in saying:

'Our popery was performed in the Congregational meeting-house, and it was a high day within. We made something of a splendid appearance as it respected the ignorant. We had two doctors of divinity, one or two A. M.'s, and we all wore bands. When we came out of the council chamber and walked in procession to the meeting-house, we looked as much like the cardinals coming out of the conclave after electing a pope, as our practice was like them. Dr. [Hezekiah] Smith said to me after Installation: "I advise you to wear a band on Lord's days." This was a piece of foppery I always hated, and when I walked over with it on I then thought I acted with it as a pig does when he is first yoked, and almost struck it with my knees for fear I should hit it. I should not have worn it that day but that Dr. Stillman, who was as fond of foppery as a little girl is of fine baby rags, brought one and put it on me.'

[Note: Though we don't know anything about Elias Smith except what Dr. Armitage tells us, we would tend to agree with old Smith's warnings, at least on the issue at hand. The love for titles and special garments and ceremony are not according to the New Testament pattern and are definitely a step toward ecclesiastical apostasy. D.W. Cloud]

But, Elias Smith's crotchets to the contrary, Samuel Stillman was as noble a man and as holy a patriot as ever trod American soil. He read the signs of the times with a true eye, and stood in his lot to breast the Revolutionary storm as long as it was possible. He was ever delicate in health, but earnest and fearless. He was deeply stirred by the outrages inflicted upon the Baptists of Massachusetts, and especially upon those of Ashfield, and signed a powerful petition, of which he was evidently the author, to the General Court for redress. That body had already taken the ground politically 'that no taxation can be equitable where such restraint is laid upon the taxed as

takes from him the liberty of giving his own money freely.' With the skill of a statesman Dr. Stillman seized this concession and used it thus: 'This being true, permit us to ask: With what equity is our property taken from us, not only without our consent, but violently, contrary to our will, and for such purposes as we cannot, in faithfulness to that stewardship with which God hath intrusted us, favor?' He, therefore, asked a repeal of their unjust laws, damages for the losses of the Baptists, and their perpetual exemption from all State Church rates thereafter. In 1766, ten years before the Declaration, he denounced the Stamp Act from his pulpit; again sustained the Colonial cause in a sermon on the general election, 1770, and did not leave his post till the British troops occupied Boston, in 1775. Then his Church was scattered and for a short time he retired to Philadelphia, but in 1776 he returned; gathered his flock anew, and kept his Church open all through the war, when nearly all others were closed at times. His eloquence was easy, sympathetic, warm and cheerful; it was inspired with the freshness of a June morning, and it fascinated his hearers. He was nervous, kind, pure, healthful and welcome to all; his motions were all grace, his voice was as cheerful as the truth that he told, his eye was full of light, and altogether he was the pulpit orator of New England. The late William Williams pronounced him 'probably the most eloquent and most universally beloved clergyman that Boston has ever seen.' Nor would he on any account swerve from the radical principles of the Gospel. The elite of Boston crowded his place of worship. Dr. Pierce, late of Brookline, said that many a time he had walked from Dorchester when a boy, to get standing room in Stillman's meeting-house. And, commonly, John Adams, John Hancock, General Knox and other dignitaries delighted to mingle with the throng and listen to his expositions of depravity, sovereignty, retribution and redemption. On one occasion his denunciation of sin was so scathing and awful that a refined gentleman on leaving the house remarked: 'The doctor makes us all out a set of rascals, but he does it so gracefully and eloquently that I am not disposed to find fault.' The forty years which he spent in Boston covered the great discussion of all that led to the war, the war itself, the birth of a new nation, and the adoption of the new Federal Constitution, together with the Presidency of Washington, Adams and Jefferson; he was a very decided Federalist in his political views. But all this time he was a leader in the councils of his brethren; and in their determined efforts to secure the sacred rights for which they suffered he never failed them.

Withal, he was everything that a Church could ask in a pastor; diligent, tender-hearted and spotless in his sanctity. His ministry brought many to the Lord, marked revivals of religion crowned his efforts, and he was the happiest of mortals in answering the question, 'What must I do to be saved?' His Church loved him with a peculiar reverence. Dr. Neale, one of his immortal successors, says of him:

'No pastor, before or since, was ever more beloved by his Church. His popularity was uninterrupted, and greater if possible in his old age than in his youth. A few individuals who sat under his ministry, and who were quite young when he was an old man, still survive and arc present with us today. They never weary of talking about him, and even now speak of this as Dr. Stillman's Church. They looked at the venerable pastor not only with the profoundest respect, but with the observant eye of childhood. They noticed and remembered everything in his external appearance, his wig and gown and bands, his horse and carriage, and negro man, Jephtha; how he walked, how he talked, how he baptized; the peculiar manner in which he begun his prayers: "O thou Father of mercies and God of all grace."'

He oft expressed the wish that he might not outlive his influence, and God honored his desire. His last sermon was on the ascension of Christ, and two weeks after, he died of paralysis, his last words being: 'God's government is infinitely perfect.' Dr. Baldwin preached his funeral sermon from 2 Tim. 4:7,8, and Dr. Pierce says: 'I have a distinct recollection of the funeral. All the members of the society appeared with badges of mourning, the women with black bonnets and handkerchiefs. If the pastor had been removed in the bloom of youth his people could not have been more deeply affected.'

JAMES MANNING, D.D., may be mentioned next in chronological order, as a Baptist leader at the time of the Revolution. He was born at Elizabeth, N. J., October 22d, 1738, and died July 29th, 1791, so that in 1776 he was in the prime of his days. Under His influence, the Rhode Island College had come to be an established fact, the Warren Association had become a powerful body, and his influence throughout New England was very great. The exactions of the crown upon the Colonies had become so onerous in 1774 that they determined to meet in a common Congress for the purposes of calm deliberation and resistance, if necessary, but to defend their rights under any circumstances. The delegates met in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, September 5th, 1774. At the meeting of the Warren Association, held at Medfield, September 14th, they resolved to address this first Continental Congress not only upon the political wrongs inflicted on the Colonies but upon their own privations, in that they were denied their rights as men to the free worship of God, and they sent Isaac Backus to present their case. He reached Philadelphia, October 8th, and on the 12th of that month the Philadelphia Association appointed a large committee to co-operate with the agent of the Warren Association. After consulting with a number of leading Quakers, they determined to seek a conference with the Massachusetts delegates rather than to address the Congress as such. Such a meeting having been arranged, they went to Carpenter's Hall, where they met Samuel and John Adams, Thomas Gushing and Robert Treat Paine, from Massachusetts; James Kenzie, of New Jersey; Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward, of Rhode Island; Joseph Galloway and Thomas Miffin. of Pennsylvania, and several other members of Congress; with many members of the Society of Friends, as Joseph Fox, Israel and James Pemberton, who sympathized with the suffering Baptists. Dr. Manning opened the case in behalf of his brethren in a brief but eloquent address, and then submitted a memorial which they had adopted. Dr. Guild says of this paper, that it 'should be written in letters of gold and preserved in lasting remembrance.' The first sentence couches the full Baptist doctrine in these ringing words: 'It has been said by a celebrated writer in politics, that but two things are worth contending for--Religion and Liberty. For the latter we are at present nobly exerting ourselves through all this extensive continent; and surely no one whose bosom feels the patriotic glow in behalf of civil liberty can remain torpid to the more ennobling flame of RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.' They go on to declare that the inalienable rights of conscience rank too high to be subjected to fallible legislators, as that dignity belongs to God alone. Men may legislate hypocritical consciences into existence, but cannot decree their fellow-men Christians. They had come to the free soil of Pennsylvania, to plead for that inestimable blessing which every lover of mankind should desire. They then described the sufferings of their brethren in Massachusetts, amongst those who had fled from oppression because they scorned domination over conscience, and yet had become ignoble oppressors themselves. They claimed their right to the free exercise of their religion under the charter, and referred to some ameliorations which had been granted to them in Massachusetts, but showed that these were a hollow mockery. For example, in 1728 their persons were exempted

from the religious tax, but not their property, if they did not live within five miles of a Baptist meeting-house; yet, in 1729, thirty persons, many of them Baptists, were confined in Bristol jail. In 1729, 1733, 1734, and 1747, under pretense of exempting their property from this tax, they had been subjected not only to all sorts of annoyances but to much severe suffering, until these systematic wrongs culminated in the outrages which robbed the Baptists at Ashfield, and sold their burying-grounds to build a Congregational meetinghouse; and they closed their appeal by pointing out the limits of human legislation, the just tenure of property, and the holy principles of Christianity, with the declaration that they were faithful citizens to all civil compacts; and hence, as Christians, they had a right to stand side by side with other Christians in the use of their consciences in religion. This conference lasted four hours, and the Massachusetts delegation, having a hard case, tried to explain away the alleged facts as best they could, but exhibited much ill temper at the bare relation of these stinging facts. John Adams betrayed great weakness in this direction. He says that having been informed by Governors Hopkins and Ward, that President Manning and Mr. Backus wished to meet them on 'a little business,' they went to Carpenter's Hall, and there:

'To my great surprise found the hall almost full of people, and a great number of Quakers seated at the long table with their broad brimmed beavers on their heads. We were invited to seats among them, and informed that they had received complaints from some Anabaptists and some Friends in Massachusetts, against certain laws of that province restrictive of the liberty of conscience, and some instances were mentioned in the General Court, and in the courts of justice, in which Friends and Baptists had been grievously oppressed. I know not how my colleagues felt, but I own I was greatly surprised and somewhat indignant, being, like my friend Chase, of a temper naturally quick and warm, at seeing our State and her delegates thus summoned before a self-created tribunal, which was neither legal nor constitutional. Isaac Pemberton, a Quaker of large property and more intrigue, began to speak, and said that Congress was here endeavoring to form a union of the Colonies; but there were difficulties in the way, and none of more importance than liberty of conscience. The laws of New England, and particularly of Massachusetts, were inconsistent with it, for they not only compelled men to pay to the building of churches and the support of ministers, but to go to some known religious assembly on first days, etc., and that he and his friends were desirous of engaging us to assure them that our State would repeal all those laws, and place things as they were in Pennsylvania.'

He then goes on to call the simple Quaker 'this artful Jesuit,' and to accuse him of attempting to break up the Congress by drawing off Pennsylvania; and then he put in this flimsy plea, which none but an 'indignant' man would have submitted when he was representing a great people in deliberation, concerning the surest way to break their fetters. He says that this was the substance of his own remarks:

'That the people of Massachusetts were as religious and conscientious as the people of Pennsylvania, that their conscience dictated to them that it was their duty to preserve these laws, and, therefore, the very liberty of conscience which Mr. Pemberton invoked would demand indulgence for the tender consciences of the people of Massachusetts, and allow them to preserve their laws. . . . They might as well turn the heavenly bodies out of their annual and diurnal courses as the people of Massachusetts at the present day from their meeting-house and Sunday laws. Pemberton made no reply but this: "O! sir, pray don't urge liberty of conscience in favor of such

laws!" . . . Old Isaac Pemberton was quite rude, and his rudeness was resented.'

Clearly it was; but not much to the honor of John Adams, by his own showing. The Baptists had less objection to the Congregationalists taxing themselves to support their own ministers for conscience sake, if their consciences were 'tender' on that subject, than they had to that tenderness of Massachusetts conscience' which compelled Baptists to support the Congregational ministry and their own too. This distinction seems to have been the rudeness in which Isaac Pemberton indulged and which Adams 'resented,' but just how 'indignant' Adams would have been if Lord North had insisted that the tender conscience of England compelled her to enforce her laws in Massachusetts does not appear. Probably he would have been more 'indignant' still.

Every kind of misrepresentation went abroad concerning this conference, and in high quarters the Baptists were accused of trying to prevent the Colonies from uniting against Britain, the effect of which was to throw stigma on them as the enemies of their country, and it is even said that Backus, their unflinching agent, was threatened with the gallows. This slander they refuted in various documents, but the answer which silenced all such empty clamor was the hearty unanimity with which the whole body threw themselves into the support of the war when independence of Britain was proclaimed. Another strange episode of hatred revealed itself in this desperate struggle. When they could obtain no justice here, they appealed for help to their own brethren in London, and Dr. Stennett appeared with a plea for them before his majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. He begged their lordships to induce the king: 'To disallow an act passed in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in June, 1767, by which the Antipedo-Baptists and Quakers are compelled to pay to the support of a minister of a different persuasion. Their lordships thereupon read and considered the said act, and it was ordered that a draught of a representation to His Majesty should be prepared, proposing that it may be disallowed.' On July 31, 1771, the King held a council, and 'His Majesty taking the same into consideration was pleased with the advice of his Privy Council to declare his disallowance of the said act, and to order that the said act be and it is hereby disallowed and rejected. Whereof the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's said Province of Massachusetts Bay, for the time being, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.' The loyalty of the baptists to the American cause was so clearly evinced, their appeals for equal rights were so well-balanced and reasonable, and their unyielding struggles for liberty were so open and manly, that at last they began to be felt and respected in public affairs. Schooled in conscience and scourged to unconquerable resistance to tyranny, they were driven to the use of every honorable incentive; like wise men, they organized for a long and severe contest; with Backus, Manning and Stillman at their head, and made their first attacks upon the strongholds of political Puritanism. Their powerful committee at Boston addressed a most statesmanlike document to the Congress of Massachusetts, which met at Cambridge, November 22d, 1774, in which they once more submitted their case. John Hancock, the president, presented the paper, and asked whether or not it should be read. The intolerants cried with one accord, 'No, no.' But a more considerate member rising said: 'This is very extraordinary, that we should pay no regard to a denomination who, in the place where he lived, were as good members of society as any, and were equally engaged with others in the defense of their civil liberties.' He moved that it be read, and the motion was adopted. After the reading the general disposition was to throw it out unacted upon. By that time Mr. Adams began to feel uneasy, and, rising to his feet, said that he apprehended if it were

thrown out it might cause a division amongst the provinces, and he moved its reference to a committee. On consideration the Congress sent this soft and civil answer:

'IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS', CAMBRIDGE, .December 9, 1774. 'On reading the memorial of the Rev. Isaac Backus, agent to the Baptist Churches in this government:

'Resolved, That the establishment of civil and religious liberty to each denomination in the province is the sincere wish of this Congress; but being by no means vested with powers of civil government, whereby they can redress the grievances of any person whatever, they therefore recommend to the Baptist Churches that when a General Assembly shall be convened in this colony they lay the real grievances of said Churches before the same, when and where this petition will most certainly meet with all that attention due to the memorial of a denomination of Christians so well disposed to the public weal of their country.

'By order of the Congress. JOHN HANCOCK, President. BENJAMIN LINCOLN, Secretary. A true extract from the minutes.' The moral effect of this action on the public mind was very great, for it advised the Baptists what course to take in the matter of their 'real grievances,' and when the Assembly met, in October, 1775, a new and strong paper was sent for its consideration. Upon its presentation Major Hawley declared to the body that without doubt the Baptists had been injuriously treated, and the memorial was committed to seven members for deliberate consideration. Dr. Asaph Fletcher, a Baptist, was on that committee, and after long debate it recommended redress of Baptist grievances. This caused great commotion in the House, and the memorial, with those who sent it, was severely attacked. Major Hawley defended both, and told the Assembly 'that the established religion of this colony was not worth a groat, and wished it might fall to the ground,' as Dr. Fletcher writes. After long discussion it ordered that Dr. Fletcher 'have liberty to bring in a bill for the redress of such grievances as he apprehends the Baptists labor under.' When this was passed, Mr. Gerry moved that the Baptists withdraw their memorial, for he was offended with the plain and sound manner in which it had put their wrongs on record. Hawley opposed this motion, wishing the paper to be put on file, for it was worthy; 'and he hoped it would he there till it had eaten out the present establishment.' Fletcher brought in a bill, which was read but never acted upon.

Dr. Manning was sent by the General Assembly of Rhode Island to the Continental Congress, 1786, where he served as their representative, with great honor to himself and his constituents, his voice and pen being ever ready to treat the great subjects under consideration with marked skill. He had great influence with the people of New England, and especially in Massachusetts and Rhode Island; which was felt in the most wholesome manner when the adoption of the Federal Constitution was stirringly opposed, for he cast his entire weight in its favor when it was in danger of rejection. He was far in advance of his times, both as a Baptist and an American. Broad, disinterested and self-sacrificing, his memory cannot be too sacredly cherished. He was manly and engaging in his address, spontaneous and forceful in his eloquence, symmetrical and powerful in body and mind, and, better than all besides, he was true to his holy convictions and Ins redeeming Lord. Another grand but very different Baptist leader of these days was:

JOHN LELAND, born May 14th, 1754, at Grafton, Mass.; died January 14th, 1841. No three great men could differ more widely than Stillman, Manning and Leland. They were all wise in council and mighty in execution, but they worked in various departments of patriotic activity and readied

different classes. Leland's convictions were as clear and deep as they well could be, but his tastes and habits, as well as his early training, all ran in other channels than these of his compeers. They were drilled in classic thought and expression; his associations had been with the pure, robust and sturdy plebeians of his youth. His powers were rare and natural; theirs were molded by culture. They were polished, measured, graceful; he followed the instincts of motherwit, quick adaptation and eccentric eloquence. They readied the grave, the conservative and thoughtful; he moved the athletic masses. They did more to begin the Baptist struggle under the Federalism of the East; he lived to finish the triumph in the radical democracy of the South. It is, therefore, wonderful to see how exactly God adapted them to their fields and made them true yokefellows in the same holy cause.

Leland was baptized by Noah Alden, of Bellingham, Mass., in 1774, only two years before the war, and after the most intense soul-agonies on account of his sins and exposure to the second death. A year afterwards he took his first journey to New Jersey and Virginia. In 1776 he united with the Baptist Church at Mount Poney, in Culpeper County, and for a time was its pastor until he removed to Orange County. He spent much of his time in traveling at large and preaching the Gospel, spending about fifteen years of his ministry in Virginia, where he baptized about 700 persons on their faith in Christ. Dr. Semple said that he was probably the most popular preacher who ever resided in Virginia. The late Dr. Cone loved to describe him as he heard him preach; in his own inimitable manner he would give the tones of his voice, his fertile genius in times of strait, his astonishing memory, especially of Scripture, and his vivacity and wit in handling an antagonist, expressed in home thrusts and cogent logic. And, withal, he always spoke of Leland's awful solemnity in addressing the Throne of Grace, and in enforcing the claims of God's justice, truth and benevolence. There was little of the sensational about him, but a tender unction often moved the crowds that followed him and led them without resistance to the atoning Lamb.

He had many struggles of mind as to the most successful way of addressing sinners and of leading them to repentance, he was a Calvinist, but would not be bound by the methods of Gill; neither did Wesley or Andrew Fuller suit him; and for practical purposes he thought that two grains of Arminianism with three of Calvinism made a good proportion in preaching. He says that one time he was preaching when his soul got 'into the trade winds,' and when the Spirit of the Lord fell upon him he paid no attention either to Gill or Fuller, and five of his hearers confessed Christ.

He was one of the bravest and most successful advocates of civil and religions liberty, and did a noble work with the Virginia Baptists in that direction. He believed that God had called him to a special mission to stand by his brethren in his adopted State; so that we find him side by side with Harris, Ford, Williams, Waller and others on every occasion where an inch of ground could be gained, he entered the State too late to suffer by persecution as a prisoner, but he was there in the thickest of the legal fight. To use his own words: 'The dragon roared with hideous peals, but was not red; the beast appeared formidable, but was not scarlet colored,' [meaning that no blood was shed] and his Virginia chronicles show that he was right.

Scarcely was the first shot tired at Lexington, when every Baptist on the continent sprung to his feet and hailed its echo as the pledge of deliverance, as well from domestic as foreign oppressors. They were amongst the 'first to suffer and to sacrifice, and then their enemies were mean enough to charge them with ingratitude to the king who had interposed for their help in Massachusetts. But

nothing moved them from their steadfastness; hence, wherever the British standard was triumphant, their pastors were obliged to flee from their flocks, their meetinghouses were destroyed, and they were hated of all men. In common with all Whigs they were traitors to the crown, and the State Churches in New England and Virginia rendered it hard for them as fellow-patriots to fight comfortably at their side, because they set at naught religious exactions which these regarded in force, inflexible as laws of Media and Persia. It required plain, honest men, of Leland's will and nerve, to meet this state of things, and he never flinched, nor did his Virginia brethren.

They organized their resistance as a denomination, and in May, 1775, sixty Churches met at the Dover Church, when their representatives resolved to address the Convention which Virginia had called to consider the state of the country. The address of the Baptists is spread upon the Journal of this political body. It states that they were alarmed at the oppressions which hung over America, and had determined that war should be made with Great Britain, that many of their brethren had enlisted as soldiers, and many more were ready to do so, and that they would encourage their young ministers to serve as chaplains in the army which should resist Great Britain. Also, they declared that 'Toleration by the civil government is not sufficient; that no State religions establishment ought to exist; that all religions denominations ought to stand upon the same footing; and that to all alike the protection of the government should be extended, securing to them the peaceable enjoyment of their own religious principles and modes of worship.'

These positions they argued and fortified at length, and they sent this memorial to the Convention by a Committee composed of Jeremiah Walker, John Williams and George Roberts. This Convention instructed the Virginia delegates in Congress to declare American independence on May 15th, 1776. Our brethren were wise in their generation; their deputation succeeding in enlisting Jefferson, Madison, and Patrick Henry, in their cause of full religious freedom. Dr. Hawks, in his 'History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia.,' says: 'The Baptists were not slow in discovering the advantageous position in which the political troubles of the country had placed them. Their numerical strength was such as to make it important to both sides to secure their influence; they knew this, and therefore determined to turn the circumstances to their profit as a sect. Persecution had taught them not to love the establishment, and now they saw before them a reasonable prospect of overturning it entirely. In their Association they had calmly discussed the matter, and resolved on their course; in this course they were consistent to the end.' The bitterest persecutions which they had endured ran through the twelve years between 1763 and 1775, and they gained their full freedom only point by point and inch by inch; as is evident from the fact that all which the Convention could be induced to do, under the lead of the three great statesmen named, was to return a complimentary answer to the Baptists, and to pass an order that the ministers of other denominations should be placed on the same footing as chaplains of the Virginian army with those of the Episcopal Church. But this was really the first step gained toward equality by our Baptist brethren. A second, and much more important one, was taken in 1776, when under the same influences the Virginia Declaration of Rights was adopted, June 12th, the XVIth Article of which lays the Baptist principle of soul-liberty as the corner-stone of Virginia's government. This was followed, by a general petition, that all sects should be exempted from legal taxes for the support of any one particular Church, and on October 7th, 1776, the State salaries of the Episcopal clergy were suspended. Jefferson says that: The first Republican Legislature which

met in 1776 was crowded with petitions to abolish this spiritual tyranny. These brought on the severest contest in which I was ever engaged,' and he adds that the measure to suspend this and certain other old laws touching the established Church was carried only after 'Desperate contests' in the Committee of the whole house, 'almost daily from the 11th of October to the 5th of December.' It was not until 1779 that these salaries paid by legal taxation were abolished forever.

During the struggle to abolish the State religion there arose a fear in the minds of many devout people, that Christianity itself might fall, or be so far impaired as to endanger the safety of the State, which is founded on true morality and religion. Even Patrick Henry felt some alarm here, champion as he was for religious liberty. He looked upon the success of the Republican movement, and rightly, as depending upon the virtue of the people, without which it must miserably fail. He saw that the influence of the war would be corrupting, that the country was threatened with the destructive ideas of France, and the religious teachers of the country were so poorly supported that he was alarmed, for he had never seen the working of the voluntary system on a large scale. In common, therefore, with many others, he caught the idea that the State authorities should regulate religion by imposing a tax on all its citizens, leaving each person at liberty to appropriate his tax to the support of his own Church. This measure seemed healthful to and was supported by nearly all Christian denominations in Virginia except the Baptists, who refused to be taxed by the State even for the support of their own Churches. They took this ground on principle, namely: That the State had no jurisdiction in the matter, as the question of religion was left amongst His inalienable rights in the hands of every man, subject to his choice, and that Christianity needed no State support by compulsory measures; therefore, it was an abuse and a usurpation of power over the citizen for the State to touch the subject at all.

They said in their remonstrance: 'Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity in exclusion of all other religions may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects?' They argued that an established Church destroys all equality before the law, in the matter of religion, as it imposes burdens on some and exempts others. They insisted that the liberties of man and the prosperity of the Commonwealth required Virginia to renounce all interference in the religion of her citizens, in consequence of their resistance the Assessment Bill was defeated, and Dr. Hawks writes: 'The Baptists were the principal promoters of this work, and, in truth, aided more than any other denomination in its accomplishment.' A volume would be necessary for a full detail of the service which the Baptists rendered to their country, in her civic and military departments, during the Revolutionary War. A few individual cases may serve to illustrate the general interest which they took in the issue. In Virginia, Capt. M'Clanahan, a minister of Culpeper County, raised a military company of Baptists, with whom. he served on the field both as captain and chaplain. Howe says that the Legislature had invited the formation of such companies 'under officers of their own principles.' Semple tells us that Rev. David Barrow took his musket and did good service for his country in the conflict, winning great honor for himself also.

Dr. Cone slates that his grandfather, Col. Joab Houghton, while attending worship in the Baptist meeting-house at Hopewell, N. J., met a messenger out of breath with the news of the defeat at Lexington. He kept silence till the services were closed, then in the open lot before the sanctuary detailed to the congregation:

’The story of the cowardly murder at Lexington by the royal troops, the heroic vengeance following hard upon it, the retreat of Percy, and the gathering of the children of the Pilgrims around the beleaguered city of Boston. Then pausing, and looking over the silent crowd, he said slowly: "Men of New Jersey, the red coats are murdering our brethren in New England. Who follows me to Boston?" Every man in that audience stepped out into line and answered, "I!" There was not a coward nor a traitor in old Hopewell meeting-house that day.’

Col. Houghton continued in the army to the close of the war and fought valiantly. At one time a band of marauding Hessians had entered a New Jersey house at Moore’s Mill, to plunder it, having stacked their arms at the door. He seized their arms and made their leader and a dozen men his prisoners, almost in sight of the British army. He was a member of the Hopewell Baptist Church, and died in 1795.

General Scriven, of Georgia, the grandson of Rev. William Scriven, was a brave soldier. After Savannah fell into the hands of the British forces, the officer in command ordered him to give up Sunbury also, and received the answer: ’Come and take it.’ Afterwards he was slaughtered in an ambuscade of British and Tories at Laurel Hill. Colonel Mills, who commanded 1,000 riflemen with great skill at the battle of Long Island, was a deacon in the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia. Although captured with Generals Sullivan and Sterling, he was made a Brigadier- General for his valor. Colonel Loxley, who commanded the artillery at the battle of Germantown, of whom of it was said, ’he was always foremost when great guns were in question,’ was a member of the same Church.

John Brown, of Providence, R.I., brother to Nicholas, and a firm Baptist, owned twenty vessels liable to destruction by the enemy. In 1772, when the British war vessel Gaspee entered Narraganset Bay, to enforce British revenue customs, she ran aground, whereupon Brown sent eight boats, armed by sixty-four men, under the command of Abraham Whipple, one of his shipmasters, to destroy her. On opening fire Lieutenant Duddington was wounded, the rest of the officers and crew left, and the Gaspee was blown up. It has been said that ’this was the first British blood shed in the War of Independence.’

We have another great patriot in the person of John Hart, who was a representative of New Jersey in the Continental Congress, and signed the Declaration of Independence. On the 23d of October, 1770, he had taken a leading part in passing the following resolution in the New Jersey Assembly: ’That no further provision be made for the supply of His Majesty’s troops stationed in this colony.’ This resolution startled the people, and the Governor threatened the Assembly so seriously that it annulled this action and voted ?500 for the use of the army. Hart stood firm, voted against reconsideration, and in April, 1771, sustained the resolution, which was passed the second time. He was elected Speaker of the New Jersey Assembly after that State had declared itself free, and he was limited as an arrant traitor. The Legislature was obliged to flee from place to place, its members hiding themselves as best they could, and Governor Parker says that when Hart returned to visit his home he found it deserted; ’the health of his wife, to whom he was devotedly attached, impaired by the cares of a large family and the alarm created by the near approach of the Hessians, had given way, and she died in the absence of her husband. His children had fled, and were concealed in various places in the mountains. His crops had been consumed by the enemy, and Ins stock driven away. He was compelled to fly to save his life, and for weeks he was

a fugitive, limited from house to house, wandering through the forests and sleeping in caves.' When Washington crossed the Delaware, in the snow and hail and rain of that immortal night, December 25th, 1776, and found himself and his little band of heroes safe in Trenton the next morning, honest John Hart came forth from his hiding place, convened the Legislature for January 22d, 1777, and held his fidelity till His death, full of years and honors. He executed a deed to the Baptist Church at Hopewell, in 1771, giving the land on which their meeting-house is built, and led in the erection of the building where he and his family worshiped God. On July 4th, 1865, the State of New Jersey erected a beautiful monument, of Quincy granite, over his bones at Hopewell. He is represented as being tall and very prepossessing in person, very kind in his disposition, and he made a great favorite of his negro servant, Jack. Jack committed larceny on some of his master's goods in his absence, and many wished Hart to punish him; but he said that, as he had confided all his movables to Jack's care, he must let the offense pass as a breach of trust. When he was secreted in the Sourland Mountains, in 1776, he rested where he could in the day-time, and slept at night in an out-house, with his companion, the family dog. A marginal note on the journal of the Legislature for 1779, and the probate of his will, show that he died in that year; the first of these being May 11th, and the last May 23d. These few instances show the general tone of American patriotism amongst the American Baptists, for their ranks were almost unbroken on this subject. Judge Curwen was an ardent Tory; he mentions 926 persons of note who sympathized with the British, and a still more numerous array of Tories exiled by Colonial law; but, so far as is known, there is not the name of one Baptist on the list. Most of the officials of Rhode Island and about two fifths of her people were Baptists. In 1764 she formed a Committee of Correspondence, whose design it was to secure the co-operation of the other Colonies in maintaining their liberties. This chapter may well close with a brief notice of SEVERAL BAPTIST MINISTERS WHO SERVED AS CHAPLAINS, for out of twenty-one whose names are now known, six of them, or nearly one third of the number, were our own brethren, who rendered marked service, some of them being of national reputation and influence. Mention may be made of: HEZEKIAH SMITH, D.D., of Haverhill, Mass. He entered the army in 1776, and so noted did he become as a patriot that he not only attracted the notice of Washington, but became his personal friend, corresponded freely with him after the war, and was visited by him at Haverhill in 1789. Smith set an example of bravery to the soldiers in battle, as well as of devotion to their country and purity of character. His recently published journal throws considerable light upon the movements of Gates in foiling Burgoyne's attempt to join Clinton, and on his overthrow at Stillwater and Saratoga. We have already spoken of

REV. JOHN GANO, who was a patriot of the best order, as well as a noble pastor. He began his services in the army in Clinton's New York Brigade, and was indefatigable in animating his regiment at the battle of Chattelton's Hill. The army was in something of a panic, and with cool courage he took his post in what seemed a forlorn hope. Many were abandoning their guns and flying without firing a shot, so that a mere handful were holding their ground when he sprang to the front. He states that he knew his station in time of action to be with the surgeons, and he half apologizes for his daring, saying: 'In this battle I somehow got to the front of the regiment, yet I durst not quit my place for fear of dampening the spirits of the soldiers or bringing on myself an imputation of cowardice.' he was at Fort Montgomery when it was taken by storm, but knew nothing of fear. Webb, Warren, Hall and Washington were all his personal friends. An interesting incident in his chaplaincy is related by Ruttenbeer, in His 'History of Newburg.' News was 'received

that hostilities had ceased and that the preliminary articles of peace were settled; and on April 19th, 1783, Washington proclaimed peace from the 'New Building,' and called on the chaplains with the several brigades to render thanks to God. Both banks of the Hudson were lined by the patriot hosts, with drum and fife, burnished arms and floating banners. At high noon thirteen guns from Fort Putnam awoke the echoes of the Highlands, and the army fired a volley. At that moment the hosts of freedom bowed before God in prayer, after which a hymn of thanksgiving; floated from all voices to the Eternal throne. This building was not Washington's headquarters, but was a large room for public assemblies, sometimes called the 'Temple,' located in New Windsor, between Newburg and West Point. Thatcher says in his 'Journal' that when this touching scene occurred the proclamation made from the steps was followed by three huzzas, then prayer was offered to the Almighty Ruler of the world by Rev. JOHN GANO, and an anthem was performed by voices and instruments. After these services the army returned to quarters and spent the day in suitable festivities. Then, at sundown, the signal gun of Fort Putnam called the soldiers to arms and another volley of joy rang all along the line. This was three times repeated, cannon discharges followed with the flashing of thousands of fire-arms, and the beacons from the hill-tops, no longer 'harbingers of danger,' lighted up the gloom and rolled on the tidings of peace through New England and shed their radiance on the blood-stained field of Lexington. Every patriotic Christian heart in the nation joined in the thanksgiving to which this patriot Baptist pastor gave expression in the presence of his immortal Commander-in-chief.

REV. DAVID JONES, born in Delaware, May 12th, 1736, was another eminent Baptist chaplain, he had been a student at the Hopewell Academy for three years, pastor at Freehold, N. J., and missionary to the Shawnee and Delaware Indians. At the outbreak of the war, however, he was pastor at Great Valley, Chester County, Pa. he was a bold and original thinker, and had highly offended many Tories in New Jersey by the free utterance of his Whig sentiments. The Continental Congress appointed a day of fasting and prayer in 1775, when he preached a powerful sermon in defense of the war to Colonel Dewee's regiment, which exerted a powerful influence on the public mind when printed. He became Chaplain to Colonel St. Clair's regiment in 1776, and greatly aroused the patriotism of the soldiers in a sermon just before the conflict at Ticonderoga. He served also under Gates and Wayne, and was so heroic that General Howe offered a reward for his capture, and one or more plots were laid to secure him, but failed. He preached to the army at Valley Forge, when the news came that France had recognized American independence. It seems to have been his custom to preach as often as possible before going into battle, and he remained in the army until the surrender of Cornwallis, at Yorktown. When Wayne was sent against the Indians, in 1794-96, he accompanied him as chaplain, and again in the same capacity he went through the war with Britain in 1812, under Generals Brown and Wilkinson. He was the father of Horatio Gates Jones, D.D., and grandfather of the present Hon. Horatio Gates Jones, of Philadelphia.

REV. WILLIAM VANHORN was another Baptist chaplain of note. His education had been committed to Dr. Samuel Jones, of Lower Dublin, Pa., and for thirteen years he was pastor of the Church at Southampton, in that State. His life in the army appears to have been marked by consistency, piety and industry, rather than by stirring acts of enterprise and daring. For twentyone years he was pastor of the Church at Scotch Plains, N. J., where he closed his useful life greatly beloved by his flock.

REV. CHARGES THOMPSON ranked equally with his fellow-chaplains as a man of culture and vigor. He was born in New Jersey in 1748, and was the valedictorian of the first class which graduated from Rhode Island College under the Presidency of Dr. Manning, numbering seven, in 1769; he also succeeded the doctor as pastor at Warren. There he baptized Dr. William Williams, one of his classmates, who afterwards established the Academy at Wrentham. In 1778 the meeting-house and parsonage at Warren were burned by the British and Hessian troops, and Thompson entered the American army as chaplain, where he served for three years. He was a thorough scholar and a finished gentleman, winning great distinction in the army. This exposed him to the special hatred of the enemy, who made him a prisoner of war and kept him on a guard-ship at Newport. He served many years as pastor at Swansea, and died of consumption in 1803. The last, and in some respects the most noted of our chaplains, was WILLIAM ROGERS, D.D. He was born in Rhode Island in 1751, and graduated in the same class with Thompson. He was the first student received at that college, entering at the age of fourteen, and on the day of his graduation delivered an oration on benevolence. In 1773 he became pastor of the First Baptist Church at Philadelphia, and had been there three years when Pennsylvania raised her quota of soldiers for that province; he was first appointed chaplain, and afterwards Brigade Chaplain in the Continental Army. In 1778 he accompanied General Sullivan in his expedition against the Six Nations, at the head of 3,000 troops gathered at Wyoming. They marched north to Tioga Point, then on the frontier. His eminent ability and refined manners placed him on relations of intimate friendship with General Washington, and made him an ornament in our Churches. For years he served as Professor of English and Oratory in the College of Philadelphia and in the University of Pennsylvania. In battle, in camp, in hospitals or in the pulpit and the professor’s chair he was alike at home, and a blessing to all around him.

Chapter 13

12 American Baptists and Constitutional Liberty

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS XII. THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY

Dr. Leonard Bacon writes of the Baptists in his 'New England Theocracy' thus: 'It has been claimed for these Churches that from the age of the Reformation onward they have been always foremost and always consistent in maintaining the doctrine of religious liberty. Let me not be understood as calling in question their right to so great an honor.' But until the American Revolution they had scant means, comparatively, to demonstrate the practical soundness of this claim. Yet when the field was open for experimental proof that it was well founded, they were not found faithless in their relations either to the free constitutions of the several States or to that of the United States. They had little to hope from most of their fellow-colonists, who had gone to the verge of their power in using all social and legal forces to persecute and destroy them as a religions body, and that phase of the question was solemnly considered by them. When Dr. Samuel Jones went as one of their committee to present their appeal to the Continental Congress he said: 'It seemed unreasonable to us that we should be called to stand up with them in defense of liberty, if, after all, it was to be a liberty for one party to oppress another.' The little Baptist colony of Rhode Island had more to lose and less to gain by revolution than any of her twelve sister colonies. Unlike Massachusetts and Virginia, she had no Governor appointed by the Crown, who could veto her acts of legislation. Bancroft tells us that this State enjoyed after the revolution, 'a form of government under its charter so thoroughly republican that no change was required beyond a renunciation of the King's name, in the style of its public acts.'

Revolution would imperil her largest liberties, while complete success in the attempt to secure independence of Britain would add little to the rights which she already possessed. But should she be conquered she must relinquish even these, for the Crown would appoint her a Governor and control her legislation, at least by the power of the veto. Yet no selfish consideration of this sort weighed with the Baptists of Rhode Island. They saw their brethren of other colonies oppressed more than they were, and as their own love of liberty was a genuine growth, they demanded it as the birthright of all. Hence, they were as ready at once to resist encroachment upon the civil liberties of all the colonies as they had been to defy the unjust exactions of a spiritual tyranny upon themselves. They, therefore, carried with them into the struggle against civil oppression the same spirit which had moved them in resisting all encroachment upon the liberties of the soul. Two months before the Declaration of Independence, and thirty-two days before Virginia renounced allegiance to the Crown, Rhode Island repudiated all allegiance to George III, May 4th, 1776; and immediately after the retreat of General Gage from Concord and Lexington, her Legislature voted to send 1,500 men to the scene of conflict. It is, therefore, a significant testimony to the character of the teaching of Williams and Clarke that the boon which they had given the Rhode Islanders, first the town-meeting and then the Colonial Assembly shorn of all power to touch the question of 'conscience' and shut up to 'civil things,' should in the next century have borne such good fruit. Nearly five generations had passed since the colony was first planted, and now it was willing to

imperil its own religious freedom in order to advance the political liberties of other communities. This brought no small strain upon its unselfish patriotism. The Baptists of Virginia took an equally resolute step in favor of independence. but though under different circumstances, not a jot less honorable. Notwithstanding their persecutions by the Colony itself, the moment that the State Convention met to determine the duty of the Colony, sixty Baptist Churches said to this civil body: Strike the blow! 'Make military resistance to Great Britain, in her unjust invasion, tyrannical oppression and repeated hostilities,' and we will sustain you, ministers and people. Virginia had no sympathy with Puritanism, and in her old devotion to the Stuarts had refused to recognize the authority of the Commonwealth. For this Massachusetts had prohibited all intercourse with her, and under the administration of George III, when Patrick Henry introduced His famous Fifth Resolution into the Virginia Legislature, containing the doctrine of revolution, denouncing the Stamp Act, and refusing taxation without representation, the leading men of that body cried with horror, 'Treason! treason!' Campbell, in his history of Virginia, says: 'Speaker Robinson, Peyton Randolph, Richard Bland, Edward Pendleton, George Wythe, and all the leaders in the House and proprietors of large estates made a strenuous resistance.' True, the wonderful eloquence of Henry secured a majority for the resolution, but the men who voted for it were so alarmed by the cry of treason which it provoked that the next day they secured its erasure from the records. One of the paradoxes of American history has been that, despite the sentiment of many of its leading men thus loyal to the Crown, Virginia should have finally taken front rank amongst the revolting colonies.

Jefferson, in his 'Notes on Virginia,' incidentally supplies the clue to this problem. He states that at the time of the Revolution two-thirds of her population had become Dissenters; for the most part they were Quakers, Presbyterians and Baptists. By the intolerable sufferings and indefatigable labors of the Baptist preachers they had cherished and diffused their own love of liberty throughout the whole colony for half a century. Their memorial to the Convention had deeper root than the feeling of the hour; it was grounded in these evangelical convictions which were shared by a majority of the people of Virginia. That Virginia cast her Royalist antecedents aside and loyally espoused the cause of the revolution was largely due to the fact that Baptist suffering, preaching and democratic practice, had educated her people for the issue. Thomas Jefferson, possibly an advanced Unitarian; Patrick Henry, a devout Presbyterian; and James Madison, thought to be a liberal Episcopalian, felt the throb of the public heart, saw that its patriotism was founded upon religious conviction, and, like wise men, instead of stemming the strong tide they gave it their leadership, under which it swept on, notwithstanding the opposition of English rectors and the entangling traditions of a grinding hierarchy. The Baptists of Virginia, however, did not rush hastily into this struggle, nor were they without a definite purpose; they counted the cost and anticipated the legitimate result of their position. The records of the Colonial Convention, June 20th, 1776, say that:

'A petition of sundry persons of the Baptist Church, in the County of Prince William, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the Convention and read, setting forth that at a time when this colony, with the others, is contending for the civil rights of mankind, against the enslaving schemes of a powerful enemy, they are persuaded the strictest unanimity is necessary among ourselves; and that every remaining cause of division may if possible, be removed, they think it their duty to petition for the following religious privileges, which they have not yet been

indulged with in this part of the world, to wit: That they be allowed to worship God in their own way, without interruption; that they be permitted to maintain their own minister's and none others; that they may be married, buried and the like without paying the clergy of other denominations; that, these things granted, they will gladly unite with their brethren, and to the utmost of their ability promote the common cause. Ordered that the said petition be referred to the Committee of Propositions and Grievances; that they inquire into the allegations thereof and report the same, with their opinions thereupon, to the Convention.' The Baptists concealed nothing. For full liberty, civil and religious, they were ready to give their lives and all that they had, but for less they would risk nothing: they might as well be the civil vassals of Britain as the religious vassals of a republic in Virginia. This was understood all around, and hence they kept influential commissioners in constant attendance on the Legislature and Conventions of the State, from the beginning to the close of the struggle for perfect religious freedom; or, as Bishop Meade expresses it, when their full rights were secured: 'The warfare begun by the Baptists seven and twenty years before was now finished.' They had a great advantage in the fact that the three men who were the most prominently identified with the Revolutionary cause in Virginia espoused their cause and co-operated with them--Jefferson, Henry and Madison. This was not due, perhaps, on their part, to the same deep religious conviction which actuated the Baptists. But in their immense breadth of mind, logical adherence to conclusions drawn from those premises which justified the Revolution, brought these mighty men to the same positions.

Thomas Jefferson comprehended Baptist aims perfectly, for he was in perpetual intercourse with their leading men, and they intrusted him with the charge of their public documents. His mother was an Episcopalian, but his favorite aunt, her sister, Mrs. Woodson, was a Baptist. These two sisters were the daughters of Ishain Randolph, Mrs. Woodson residing in Goochland County. When young he loved to visit her house and accompany her to the Baptist Church, of which she and her husband were members. It is through the members of his uncle's and aunt's family, as well as through the Madisons, that the tradition has come down that he caught his first views of a democratic form of government while attending these meetings. A letter lies before the writer from Mrs. O. P. Moss, of Missouri, whose husband was a direct descendant of the Woodson family; his mother knew Jefferson intimately, and has kept the tradition alive in the family. She says that 'when grown to manhood these impressions became so fixed that upon them he formulated the plan of a free government and based the Declaration of Independence.'

Jefferson himself speaks of his close intimacy with the Baptists in the following epistle, already referred to in Chapter VIII: 'To the members of the Baptist Church of Buck Mountain, in Albemarle; Monticello, April 13th, 1809:

'I thank you, my friends and neighbors, for your kind congratulations on my return to my native home, and of the opportunities it will give me of enjoying, amidst your affections, the comforts of retirement and rest. Your approbation of my conduct is the more valued as you have best known me, and is an ample reward for any services I may have rendered. We have acted together from the origin to the end of a memorable revolution, and we have contributed, each in the line allotted to us, our endeavors to render its issues a permanent blessing to our country. That our social intercourse may, to the evening of our days, be cheered and cemented by witnessing the freedom and happiness for which we have labored, will be my constant prayer. Accept the offering of my affectionate esteem and respect.'

Elder John Leland speaks of his intimacy with Jefferson. In his Address on an Elective Judiciary, he found it necessary to repel certain charges against his beau ideal statesman, and says: 'I lived in Virginia, from December 1776, until April, 1791, not far from Monticello; yet I never heard a syllable of either of these crimes.' There was a oneness of views and a mutual esteem in all that relates to religious liberty between him and the Baptists. John Leland was in constant communication with him on this subject, and he only spoke their sentiments when he said of Jefferson, that 'By his writing and administration, he has justly acquired the title of the Apostle of Liberty.' The replies of Jefferson to three Baptist Associations, and to the Baptists of Virginia in General Meeting assembled, speak of the satisfaction which the review of his times gave him, in remembering his long and earnest cooperation with them in achieving the religious freedom of America.

Early in his life Patrick Henry evinced his deep sympathy with them on the same point, for Semple says of the immortal patriot and orator and of the efforts to attain full liberty of conscience: 'It was in making these attempts that they were so fortunate as to interest in their behalf the celebrated Patrick Henry; being always the friend of liberty, he only needed to be informed of their oppression -- without hesitation, he stepped forward to their relief. From that time, until the day of their complete emancipation from the shackles of tyranny, the Baptists found in Patrick Henry an unwavering friend.'

It is supposed that he drew up the noble petition of the Presbytery of Hanover, addressed to the Virginia Colonial Convention, in favor of religious liberty, Oct. 7th, 1776, and if he did, it is enough to render his name immortal, for no abler document on the subject was ever submitted to that or any other body. William Wirt Henry, his grandson, claims, that his renowned ancestor was the real author of the sixteenth section of the Virginia Bill of Rights, which guarantees perfect religious liberty. George Mason, Edmund Randolph and Patrick Henry were all members of the Committee that framed it; and Randolph says, that when Mason submitted his draft for the consideration of the Committee, he had not made proper provisions for religious liberty.

Whereupon, Patrick Henry proposed the fifteenth and sixteenth sections in these words:

'That no free government, or the blessings of liberty, can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to Justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles. That religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, and not by force or violence; and, therefore, that all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, unpunished and unrestrained by the magistrates, unless, under the color of religion, any man disturb the peace, the happiness, or the safety of society; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity toward each other.'

Mr. Madison, however, who was also a member of the Committee, detected serious danger lurking in the word 'toleration,' and moved this amendment, which was adopted, first by the Committee, and on May 6, 1776, by the Convention:

'That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the

mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love and charity toward each other.'

Jefferson was not in the Convention which framed this Bill, but nine years afterwards he served on a Committee of the General Assembly to revise the laws for the new State, when he submitted the following, which was adopted, Dec. 16, 1785, and is still the fundamental law of Virginia. 'An Act to establish Religious Freedom:

'Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religions opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.'

James Madison had as close relationship to the Baptists as his two illustrious peers, and made himself intimately acquainted with their radical views on the subject of religious equality. Honest John Leland says of him: 'From a child, he was a pattern of sobriety, sturdy and inflexible justice. From an intimate acquaintance with him, I feel satisfied that all the State of Massachusetts, for a bribe, would not buy a single vote of him. A saying of His is fresh in my memory: "It is ridiculous for a man to make use of underhand means to carry a point, although he should know the point is a good one; it would be doing evil that good might come." This saying of his better describes the man than my pen can do.' General Madison, his brother, was a member of a Baptist Church, and their family took a deep interest in the struggles of the denomination. James was one of the youngest members of the Convention which adopted the Bill of Rights, and it required no small judgment and nerve to oppose the idea of 'toleration' on abstract principles there, or to support the tenet that 'all men are entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to their own consciences.' One measure succeeded another, in opposition to the legally established religion of Virginia, in which the Baptists took the leading part at times, and on some measures stood entirely alone, until in the main, through the influence of these three great statesmen, the last step was taken in 1802; the glebes [land belonging to the state-supported churches] were ordered to be sold in payment of the public debt, on the ground that they had been purchased by a public tax, and belonged to the State. Thus ended the struggle for religious liberty in Virginia, and with the disappearance of the Established Church, the last vestige of ecclesiastical tyranny was wiped from the statute-books of that State. The most worthy Baptist writers have never claimed that their Baptist fathers achieved this grand result alone, nor could such a claim be sustained. They were the most numerous body of dissenters in Virginia, and were a unit in this effort, but they were earnestly aided by all the Quakers and most of the Presbyterians, as lesser but influential bodies. 'Tories' and 'traitors' were held at a large discount in both these denominations, and there were few of them. Indeed, so far as appears, the twenty-seven Presbyterians who met at Charlotte, N.C., May, 1775, to represent the County of Mecklenburg in patriotic convention, were the first American body which declared itself 'a free and independent people; (who) are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of the Congress.' Besides, at that time, there were good reasons why the Quakers, Presbyterians and Baptists should stand firmly together in favor of religious liberty. From 1749, a plan had been openly pushed in England, to force an American Episcopate on all the American Colonies; it excited the deepest alarm in all the non-Episcopal Churches, and did much

to fan the revolutionary flame. In 1773 the 'Quebec Act,' to prevent Canada from uniting with the thirteen colonies, had given full freedom of worship and right of property to the Roman Catholic Church there. England also enlarged that province, by extending its lines to the Mississippi on the west, and the Ohio on the south, so that the five States, now northwest of the Ohio, were then included in Canada. Most of the Protestants in the thirteen colonies regarded this as an English attempt to establish that Church. As to this Protestant Episcopate, Graham says, in His 'Colonial History of the United States.' (ii., 194):

'The most politic of all the schemes that were at this time proposed in the British Cabinet, was a project of introducing an ecclesiastical establishment, derived from the model of the Church of England, and particularly the order of the bishops, into North America. The pretext assigned for this innovation was, that many non-juring clergymen of the Episcopal persuasion, attached to the cause of the Pretender, had recently emigrated from Britain to America, and that it was desirable to create a board of ecclesiastical dignitaries for the purpose of controlling their proceedings and counteracting their influence; but doubtless it was intended, in part, at least, to answer the ends of strengthening royal prerogative in America--of giving to the State, through the Church of England, an accession of influence over the colonists--and of imparting to their institutions a greater degree of aristocratical character and tendency. The views of the statesmen by whom this design was entertained were inspired by the suggestions of Butler, Bishop of Durham, and were continued and seconded by Seeker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the society instituted for the propagation of the Gospel. This society had received very erroneous impressions of the religious character of the colonists in general, from some worthless and incapable missionaries, which it sent to America; and Seeker, who partook of these impressions, had promulgated them from the pulpit in a strain of vehement and presumptuous invective. Such demeanor by no means tended to conciliate the favor of the Americans to the proposed ecclesiastical establishment. From the intolerance and bitterness of spirit disclosed by the chief promoters of the scheme, it was natural to forebode a total absence of moderation in the conduct of it.' This iniquitous plan, added to all the other oppressions of Britain, alarmed New England, for, as John Adams said: 'The objection was not merely to the office of a bishop, though even that was dreaded, but to the authority of Parliament, on which it must be founded. . . . If Parliament can erect dioceses and appoint bishops, they may introduce the whole hierarchy, establish tithes, forbid marriages and funerals, establish religion, forbid dissenters.' In 1708, the Assembly of Massachusetts appointed its Speaker, Mr. Cushing, James Otis, Mr. Adams, John Hancock and five others, a Committee on the Consideration of Public Affairs. In treating of this grievance they say to Mr. Deberdt, the agent of Massachusetts in England:

'The establishment of a Protestant episcopate in America is also very zealously contended for; and it is very alarming to a people whose fathers, from the hardships which they suffered under such an establishment, were obliged to fly their native country into a wilderness, in order peaceably to enjoy their privileges, civil and religious. Their being threatened with loss of both at once must throw them into a disagreeable situation. We hope in God such an establishment may never take place in America, and we desire you would strenuously oppose it. The revenue raised in America, for aught we can tell, may be as constitutionally applied towards the support of prelacy, as of soldiers and pensioners.'

It is not needful to quote authorities to show that Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey were specially excited on the subject, but it may be stated that Virginia resented the aggression as warmly as any of her sister colonies. Boucher, the Episcopal historian in Virginia, espoused the scheme warmly, and in a sermon on 'The American Episcopate,' preached in Caroline County, Va., in 1771, says:

'The constitution of the Church of England is approved, confirmed and adopted by our laws and interwoven with them. No other form of Church government than that of the Church of England would be compatible with the form of our civil government. No other colony has retained so large a portion of the monarchical part of the British constitution as Virginia; and between that attachment to monarchy and the government of the Church of England, there is a strong connection. . . . A levelling republican spirit in the Church naturally leads to republicanism in the State; neither of which would hitherto have been endured in this ancient dominion. . . . And when it is recollected that till now the opposition to an American episcopate has been contained chiefly to the demagogues and independents of the New England provinces, but that it is now espoused with much warmth by the people of Virginia, it requires no great depth of political sagacity to see what the motives and views of the former have been, or what will be the consequences of the defection of the latter.' The tobacco crop in Virginia was light in 1755 and again in 1758, and the price ran up. Debts had been paid in that staple, but the Assembly decreed that they might now be paid in money at the rate of two pence for a pound of tobacco. The salaries of sixty-five parish ministers were payable in tobacco, and at this rate they were heavy losers. Through Sherlock, Bishop of London, they induced the Council there to pronounce this law void and commenced suits to recover the difference between two pence per pound and the value of the tobacco. As a lawyer, Patrick Henry took sides against the parsons. In the case of Maury, who was to be paid in 16,000 pounds of tobacco, he raised the issue that the King in Council could not annul the law of Virginia. This was his plea in part:

'Except you are disposed yourselves to rivet the chains of bondage on your own necks, do not let slip the opportunity now offered of making such an example of the Rev. plaintiff, as shall hereafter be a warning to himself and his brothers not to have the temerity to dispute the validity of laws authenticated by the only sanction which can give force to laws for the government of this colony, the authority of its own legal representatives, with its council and governor.' When the jury fixed the damages at one penny, the Bishop of London said that the 'rights of the clergy and the authority of the king must stand or fall together,' and so a joint constitutional and ecclesiastical question met the new question of an episcopate at the first step. This question brought the Presbyterians and Baptists to common ground, with slight exceptions. The Presbyterians had not been true to the principle of full religious liberty in the Old World more than the Congregationalists had been in the New, and thousands of them had found a home in Virginia as early as 1738, under the promise of protection from that colony. They came to have a touch of fellow-feeling with their suffering Baptist brethren, hence they were able to say in their Hanover Memorial, of 1777: In this enlightened age, and in a land where all of every denomination are united in the most strenuous efforts to be free, we hope and expect that our representatives will cheerfully concur in removing every species of religious as well as civil bondage. Certain it is. that every argument for civil liberty gains additional strength when applied to liberty in the concerns of religion.' 'Honor to whom honor,' the Bible demands. While this contest was in progress, however, another, quite as warm

and vastly more important, was waged in regard to the Constitution of the United States, and chiefly through the same agencies. This great civil document was adopted by the Constitutional Convention and submitted for ratification to the several States, September 17th, 1787, nine States being needed to ratify the same. Immediately it met with strong opposition from all the States, some for one reason and some for another. Its only provision on the subject of religion was found in Article VI, thus: 'No religious Test shall ever be required, as a Qualification to any office or public Trust under the United States.' Great dissatisfaction prevailed with many of its provisions, and there was serious danger of its rejection for a time. Dissatisfaction with this provision lodged with the Baptists in all the States, but Virginia became their great battlefield. On the 7th of March, 1788, the representatives of all their Churches met in their General Committee in Goochland, and the minutes of the meeting say: The first Religious Political subject that was taken up was: 'Whether the new Federal Constitution, which had now lately made its appearance in public, made sufficient provision for the secure enjoyment of religious liberty; on which it was agreed unanimously that it did not.' Many of the political and social leaders of Virginia were opposed to the Constitution, and amongst them Patrick Henry, who resisted its adoption in the Virginia Convention, because, as he phrased his difficulty, it 'squinted toward monarchy,' and gave no guarantee of religious liberty.

Here a pleasant incident may be noticed, in which John Leland figures very honorably. James Madison led the Virginia party which favored ratification, but was in Philadelphia during the election of delegates to the State Convention, engaged with John Jay and Alexander Hamilton in preparing that memorable series of political papers, written in defense of the Constitution, and know as the 'Federalist.' When he returned to Virginia, he found that Leland had been nominated in Orange, his own county, by the party opposed to ratification, against himself, as the delegate in favor of that measure. Governor George N. Briggs, of Massachusetts, says, that Leland told him that Madison called on him and carefully explained the purposes of the Constitution with his arguments in its support. The opposing candidates soon met at a political meeting, in the presence of most of the voters, when Madison mounted a hogshead of tobacco, and for two hours addressed his fellow-citizens in a calm, candid and statesmanlike manner, presenting his side of the case and meeting all the arguments of his opponents. Though he was not eloquent, the people listened with profound respect, and said Leland: 'When he left the hogshead, and my friends called for me, I took it, and went in for Mr. Madison.' 'A noble Christian patriot,' remarks Governor Briggs; 'that single act, with the motives which prompted it and the consequences which followed it, entitled him to the respect of mankind.' Leland's advocacy of Madison's claim to a seat in the Convention led directly to the adoption of the Constitution by Virginia, for at the time of his election it was confirmed by only eight States, Hence, the ninth was absolutely necessary, and at the moment every thing appeared to turn on the action of Virginia. New Hampshire, however, approved the instrument on the 21st of June, but five days before Virginia, and New York followed one month later, namely, on July 26th, 1788. Up to this time, none of the other States had proposed the full expression of religious liberty in the organic law of the United States; this honor was reserved for Virginia. But the struggle was a hard one, and Madison, who at first insisted on its ratification precisely as it was, was obliged to save it by shifting his position. Henry submitted a number of amendments, demanding that they be engrafted into the instrument before it received Virginia's sanction. Amongst these was a Bill of Rights, of which the following was the 20th section, namely: 'The religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and

therefore all men have an equal, natural, and inalienable right to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience, and that no particular sect or society ought to be favored or established by law in preference to others.' At last Mr. Madison conceded the need of amendments, but urged the danger of disunion and the jeopardy of losing the Constitution, and recommended that the Convention ratify it then, which it proceeded to do; but in connection with that act it also recommended the amendments and directed its representatives in Congress to urge their embodiment in the Constitution. On the 26th of June, 1788, Virginia ratified the great charter, but by the narrow majority of eight votes out of 168. From that moment a most exciting controversy arose in other States on the subject of so altering the Federal Constitution as to make it the fundamental law, providing for religious liberty and equality as the right of all the inhabitants of the land. The Baptists of the whole country aroused themselves and opened a simultaneous movement in that direction. Those of Virginia sent Leland to their brethren of New York, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and other States to solicit their co-operation, which was granted with but few exceptions. There seems to have been a direct union of effort between the Baptists and the Virginia statesmen on this subject, although the Virginian leaders were divided on other subjects. Patrick Henry became the leader in the next State Legislature and induced that body to memorialize Congress to amend the new Constitution. But fearing that after all Mr. Madison might not heartily sustain that measure, he defeated Madison's election to the United States Senate, and secured the return of Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson, who were pledged to sustain the amendments. Madison was then elected to the Lower house of Congress from his own district, under the pledge that he would sustain them there. At this stage the Baptists consulted with Madison as to what they had better do under the circumstances, and he recommended them to address General Washington, the new President of the Republic, on the question. This suggestion they followed. They drew up a formal and well-digested presentation of the case, drafted, it is said, by Elder Leland, and sent it to General Washington by a special delegation. This paper is too long to transcribe here, but a synopsis may be given. It was entitled an "Address of the Committee of the United Baptist Churches of Virginia, assembled in the City of Richmond, 8th August, 1789, to the President of the United States of America." After a full review of the terrible conflicts and sacrifices of the Revolution, and the acknowledgment of debt on the part of the country to his great skill and leadership, they say:

'The want of efficiency in the confederation, the redundancy of laws, and their partial administration in the States, called aloud for a new arrangement of our systems. The wisdom of the States for that purpose was collected in a grand convention, over which you, sir, had the honor to preside. A national government in all its parts was recommended as the only preservation of the Union, which plan of government is now in actual operation. When the Constitution first made its appearance in Virginia, we, as a society, feared that the liberty of conscience, dearer to us than property or life, was not sufficiently secured. Perhaps our jealousies were heightened by the usage we received in Virginia, under the regal government, when mobs, fines, bonds and prisons were our frequent repast. Convinced, on the one hand, that without an effective national government the States would fall into disunion and all the subsequent evils; and, on the other hand, fearing that we should be accessory to some religious oppression, should any one society in the Union predominate over the rest; yet, amidst all these inquietudes of mind, our consolation arose from this consideration--the plan must be good, for it has the signature of a tried, trusty friend, and if religious liberty is rather insecure in the Constitution, "the Administration will certainly prevent all

oppression, for a WASHINGTON will preside." . . . Should the horrid evils that have been so pestiferous in Asia and Europe, faction, ambition, war, perfidy, fraud and persecution for conscience' sake, ever approach the borders of our happy nation, may the name and administration of our beloved President, like the radiant source of day, scatter all those dark clouds from the American hemisphere.'

After gracefully expressing their gratitude for his 'great and unparalleled services,' and confiding him in prayer to the 'Divine Being,' the paper is signed: 'By order of the Committee, SAMUEL HARRIS, Chairman, and REUBEN FORD, Cleric.'

General Washington's reply was addressed 'To the General Committee, representing the United Baptist Churches in Virginia.' After thanking them for their congratulations, and expressing his own gratitude to 'Divine Providence' for blessing his public services, he proceeds to write thus:

'If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension that the Constitution framed by the Convention where I had the honor to preside might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny and every species of religious persecution. For, you doubtless remember, I have often expressed my sentiments that any man, conducting himself as a good citizen and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshiping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience. While I recollect with satisfaction, that the religious society of which you are members have been, throughout America, uniformly and almost unanimously the firm friends to civil liberty, and the persevering promoters of our glorious revolution, I cannot hesitate to believe that they will be the faithful supporters of a free yet efficient general government. Under this pleasing expectation, I rejoice to assure them that they may rely upon my best wishes and endeavors to advance their prosperity, 'I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant, GEORGE WASHINGTON.' A month after this correspondence James Madison, with the approval of Washington, brought several Constitutional amendments before the House of Representatives, and amongst them moved the adoption of this:

'Article 1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.' The chief difference between the old Article VI and this amendment lay in the fact that in the first instance Congress was left at liberty to impose religious tests in other cases than those of 'office or public trust under the United States,' whereas, this amendment removed the power to make any 'law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' This proposition met with great opposition in Congress, but it passed that body September 23d, 1789, and was submitted to the several States for ratification. Eleven of the thirteen States adopted it between November 20th, 1789, and December 10th, 1791, New Jersey voting on the first of these dates and Virginia on the last, and all the rest between, those periods excepting Connecticut and Massachusetts. Thus, the contemned, spurned and hated old Baptist doctrine of soul-liberty, for which blood had been shed for centuries, was not only engrafted into the organic law of the United

States, but for the first time in the formation of a great nation it was made its chief corner-stone. For the first time on that subject the quiet, pungent old truth asserted its right to immortality as expressed by Scripture: 'The stone which the builders rejected is become the head-stone of the corner.' But this august event did not end the strife for religious freedom on American soil; the battle must be still pressed on the soil of New England. Drs. James Manning, Samuel Stillman and Isaac Backus had work enough left in Massachusetts. The loyalty of all classes to the full principles of the Revolution was not so easily won, because a large body of the people there were not in favor of entire separation between Church and State. Even John Adams wrote: 'I am for the most liberal toleration of all denominations, but I hope Congress will never meddle with religion further than to say their own prayers.' Yet he thought it as impossible to 'change the religious laws of Massachusetts as the movements of the heavenly bodies.' There was the same opposition in Massachusetts to the ratification of the United States Constitution that there was in Virginia, and much for the same reasons. Isaac Backus took about the same ground that Patrick Henry had taken in Virginia, because he could not see that it sufficiently guaranteed religious liberty. Manning and Stillman were wiser in their generation. Stillman had been chosen a delegate from Boston to the State Convention of Massachusetts, which was to accept or reject this instrument, a body numbering nearly 400 members. Manning hastened to Massachusetts, and for two weeks was indefatigable in argument and appeal to induce all Baptist delegates and other Baptists of influence to aid in securing first all that the unamended Constitution did secure. It was a very grave crisis, the public spirit was in a feverish state, and these two great men had their hands full to secure the full support of their own brethren. They knew that this document had not secured everything needful to them, but they also knew that such a revolution could not go backward excepting through alienation between the States. The Convention was in session for a month, half of which time Stillman and Manning were at work, and when the final vote was taken the Constitution was ratified by 187 to 168 votes. Massachusetts adopted the Constitution of the United States February 6th, 1788. After the vote, in which the Baptists held the balance of power, John Hancock, the President of the Convention, invited Dr. Manning to return thanks to God, and it is said that the lofty spirit of purity and patriotism which marked his prayer filled the Convention with reverence and awe. So far as the MASSACHUSETTS Baptists were concerned, this great opportunity was neither missed nor mismanaged, but was made an important step toward absolute freedom. Massachusetts had formed a State Constitution in 1780, and in that Convention the Baptists contended with pertinacity for their religious rights. Rev. Noah Alden, a lineal descendant of the Plymouth family, was a member of this Convention, and at that time pastor of the Baptist Church at Bellingham. He was also a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. When the famous Massachusetts Bill of Rights was reported he moved to recommit the third article, which gave power to the rulers in religious affairs. He was made a member of a committee of seven to consider the subject, and although he could not secure equality before the law for all sects in Massachusetts, he did procure so much concession as to excite marvel at the time, it was so far in advance of anything that this State had previously known in religious liberality. It recognized the power of the civil rulers to provide for the support of religion in towns where such provision was not made voluntarily; it required attendance on public worship, if there were any religious teachers 'on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend;' it provided that the people should 'have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance;' it gave the right

of the hearer to apply his public payments of religious tax 'to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religions sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instruction he attends,' and 'every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law, and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.' This wonderful gain in the Bill of Rights did not dis-establish the Church in Massachusetts, which was still protected under the several exceptions of the article, but it broke its tyrannical power, and in a little more than half a century it wrought the entire separation of Church and State in Massachusetts. It met with the most violent resistance in the Convention, and a leader of the opposition said: 'We believe in our consciences that the best way to serve God is to have religion protected and ministers of the Gospel supported by law, and we hope that no gentleman here will wish to wound our tender consciences.' 'The plain English of which,' says Leland, 'is, our consciences dictate that all the commonwealth of Massachusetts must submit to our judgments, and if they do not they will wound our tender consciences.' Alden was nobly sustained in this Convention by Dr. Acaph Fletcher, who was also a member, and a strong advocate of this measure. Under its provisions many ungracious acts were perpetrated, and all sorts of quibbles, pretexts and pleas that ingenious but wounded pride could invent were invoked to annoy the Baptists, but this Bill struck a death-blow at persecution proper in Massachusetts. The new Constitution was soon put to the test, for several persons were taxed at Attleboro, in 1780, to support the parish Church, although they attended elsewhere. Elijah Balkom was seized, and having sued the assessors for damages, judgment was had against him; but, on an appeal to the County Court at Taunton, he obtained damages and costs. In 1783 a similar case, in many respects, occurred in Cambridge, where Baptists were sued to support the Standing Order, and their money extorted, but they sued for its return and it was paid back. These annoyances continued and sometimes were grievous enough. In a letter from Dr. Backus to William Richards, dated May 28th, 1796, he says: 'Though the teachers and rulers in the uppermost party in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Vermont are as earnest as ever Pharaoh was to hold the Church of Christ under the taxing power of the world, yet that power is daily consuming by the spirit of God's mouth.' To meet and thwart these attempts the Warren Association kept a vigilant committee in existence. In 1797 it consisted of Drs. Stillman, Smith and Backus, with Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Grafton, to whom the oppressed Churches appealed for counsel and help, and they did good service indeed. John Leland said, 1801: 'In the year 1800 about six hundred dollars were taken from the Baptists, in Partridge-field, for the building of a meeting-house in said town for another denomination. The case is now in law, hung up, and what the event will be we know not.' Great hopes were entertained that the Convention held November 3d, 1820, to amend the Constitution, would entirely dissolve the last bond of union between Church and State in Massachusetts; but this was defeated, chiefly by the determined opposition of John Adams, who was a member of that body. Isaac Backus died in 1806, after a life of astonishing activity in the cause of religious freedom. But his survivors adopted the motto of Caesar, 'that nothing is done while anything remains undone,' and they pressed their case with new zeal, encouraged by their gains in securing a modification of the Bill of Rights. The dissatisfaction with the partial measure, however, was very great. Leland gave it voice in many addresses and in numerous articles from the press. He said:

’The late Convention, called to revise the Constitution, still retains the same principle. Strange, indeed, that Massachusetts, all alone, in opposition to all the other States, should still view religion a principle of State policy, the Church a creature of State, and ministers in the light of State pensioners! That the Legislature should have the power to clothe the majority of each town or parish with authority to compel the people, by a legal tax, to support the religious teachers among them. What a pity! When will men realize that a constitution of civil government is a charter of powers bestowed and of rights retained, and that private judgment and religious opinions are inalienable in their nature, like sight and hearing, and cannot be surrendered to society. Consequently, it must be impious usurpation for ecclesiastics or civilians to legislate about religion.’ In 1811 Judge Parsons gave a decision to the effect, that no congregation or society not incorporated by law could claim all the privileges which the dissenters claimed under the Bill of Rights, and alarm awakened them throughout the State. Petitions were circulated everywhere and sent to the Legislature, praying for a revision of the religious laws, and the people of Cheshire elected Elder Leland to that body for the purpose of pleading their cause. There he delivered that remarkable speech, in which reasoning, satire, eloquent declamation and sound statesmanship hold such equal and changeful parts. The following characteristic extracts are not familiar to the present generation of Baptists and may be reproduced:

’Mr. Speaker, according to a late decision of the bench, in the County of Cumberland, which, it is presumed, is to be a precedent for future decisions, these non-incorporated societies are nobody, can do nothing, and are never to be known except in shearing time, when their money is wanted to support teachers that they never hear. And all this must be done for the good of the State. One hundred and seventeen years ago wearing long hair was considered the crying sin of the land. A convention was called March 18 1694, in Boston, to prevent it; after a long expostulation the Convention close thus: "If any man will now presume to wear long hair, let him know that God and man witnesses against him." Our pious ancestors were for bobbing the hair for the good of the Colony; but now, sir, not the hair but the purses must be bobbed for the good of the State. The petitioners pray for the right of going to heaven in that way which they believe is the most direct, and shall this be denied them. Must they be obliged to pay legal toll for walking the King’s highway, which has been made free for all? . . . Since the Revolution, all the old States, except two or three in New England, have established religious liberty upon its true bottom, and yet they are not sunk with earthquakes or destroyed with fire and brimstone. Should this commonwealth, Mr. Speaker, proceed so far as to distribute all settlements and meeting-houses, which were procured by public taxes among all the inhabitants, without regard to denomination, it is probable that the outcry of sacrilege, profanity and infidelity would be echoed around; and yet, sir, all this has been done in a State which has given birth and education to a Henry, a Washington, a Jefferson and a Madison, each of whom contributed their aid to effect the grand event. . . . These petitioners, sir, pay the civil list, and arm to defend their country as readily as others, and only ask for the liberty of forming their societies and paying their preachers in the only way that the Christians did for the first three centuries after Christ. Any gentleman upon this floor is invited to produce an instance that Christian societies were ever formed, Christian Sabbaths ever enjoined, Christian salaries ever levied, or Christian worship ever enforced by law before the reign of Constantine. Yet, Christianity did stand and flourish, not only without the aid of the law and the schools, but in opposition to both. We hope, therefore, Mr. Speaker, that the prayers of thirty thousand, on this occasion, will be heard, and that they will obtain the exemption for which they pray.’ But their

prayers were not heard, and their most strenuous efforts at reform were unavailing, until the people arose in their might and so amended the Bill of Rights in 1833 that the Church and State were forever separated, since which time what Leland called 'the felonious principle' has been banished from the statute books of all the States, and, as Leland did not die until 1841, he breathed free air for the last seven years of his life, to his great health and delectation. He lived to be eighty-seven years of age, and deserved ten years of fresh air after he had labored sixty-seven years to vindicate the civil and religious rights of all men. Rest, royal old warrior, rest on the Cheshire hills, which thou didst so much to make free! IN VERMONT the contest was neither so long nor so severe. The lands which now form Vermont were claimed in part by New Hampshire and in part by New York, and were originally known as the New Hampshire grants. Their inhabitants applied to the Continental Congress for admission into the confederacy in 1776, but, New York opposing, they withdrew. The next year they proclaimed themselves independent and formed a Constitution, and were admitted into the Union in 1791. Dr. Asaph Fletcher had removed from Massachusetts to Cavendish, Vermont, in 1787, and was a member of the Convention which applied for the admission of the State into the Union. He was also a member of the Convention of 1793 to revise the State Constitution, when he contended for the separation of Church and State, but the contrary idea prevailed. Such a vital subject could not long rest, however, especially with Dr. Fletcher in active service as a member of the Legislature, a Judge of the County Court, a member of the Council, and a State Presidential elector. In 1789, two years after Fletcher's settlement in Vermont, he was followed by Rev. Aaron Leland, from Bellingham, Mass. His liberal political sentiments soon commended him to his fellow-citizens, and he was elected to the General Assembly. There he served as Speaker of the House for three years, and for four years he was one of the Governor's Council. For five years, also, he was Lieutenant-Governor of the State, and for eighteen he was an Assistant Justice in the County Court. He had large influence amongst the Baptists of the State, as well as with its citizens generally, and in 1828 he declined a nomination for Governor, fearing that the office would interfere too much with his pastoral duties. He was a Fellow of Middlebury College, possessed great mental power, and was a very forcible debater. While he was Speaker of the House a proposition came before it for a dissolution of Church and State, and in the discussion some one was weak enough to say that Christianity would go down if the State withdrew its support. This stirred all the fervor of his spirit. He left the chair and took part in the debate, delivering one of the strongest speeches ever heard in Vermont in favor of religious liberty, the main strength of his position being that God had founded his Church upon a rock, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her. A third Vermont Baptist champion of religious freedom is found in Ezra Butler, who, in 1785, removed from Claremont, N. H., to Waterbury, Vt., where, about 1800, he became a Baptist and formed a Church, which he served as pastor for more than thirty years. His talents and high character induced his fellow-citizens to intrust him with civil office, first as town clerk, justice of the peace, and then as member of the Legislature, also as Chief Justice for Washington County. In 1813-15 he served his State in Congress, and from 1826 to 1828 he was Governor of Vermont, with Aaron Leland as Lieutenant-Governor, both being Baptist ministers at the time. Under these great leaders and their compeers the public sentiment finally threw aside the union of Church and State in Vermont, distancing Massachusetts by a number of years in that race. SOUTH CAROLINA Baptists stood firmly for religious liberty. The State formed its Constitution in 1776, and amended it in 1778 and 1790; but the Baptists were early awake to the need of securing their rights, and as early as 1779 the Charleston Association

made it the duty of a standing committee to labor for the perfect equality of all religious people before the law, and for this purpose they were 'to treat with the government in behalf of the Churches.' No one contributed more to the result of civil and religious liberty in Georgia than did the noted Richard Furman, D.D., of whom a brief sketch may here be given. He was born at AEsopus, N. Y., in 1755, but, while an infant, his parents removed to South Carolina and settled on the High Hills of Santee. Here, after a good early education, he became a Christian, and at the age of eighteen began to preach, with a remarkable degree of clearness, devotion and force, for a youth. The district where he labored lay to the east and north of the rivers Wateree and Santee, where wickedness abounded. He formed many Churches, which united with the Charleston Association. He was extremely modest, but his unassuming ardor, with his ripeness of judgment in interpreting Scripture, and His uncommon pungency of appeal awakened universal surprise and admiration. He was scarcely twenty-two when the Revolution commenced, and he avowed himself at once a firm Whig and threw all his powers into the American cause. When the British invaded South Carolina he was obliged to retire into North Carolina and Virginia, and afterwards Cornwallis put a price on his head. In Virginia he became intimate with Patrick Henry, who presented him with certain books, which are cherished in the Furman family to this day. In 1787 he accepted the pastoral charge of the Baptist Church in Charleston, where he remained for eight and thirty years, and became intimate with those patriot families, the Pinckneys, Rutledges and Sumpters, together with whom he labored earnestly for the Revolutionary cause. When independence was achieved, and the leading men of the State were selected to meet in convention and form a new Constitution, their suffrages made him a member of that body, in which he contended earnestly against the exclusion of Christian ministers from certain civil offices, and did much to secure soul-liberty in the State. So nobly had he blended his patriotism with the refinement and urbanity of a holy character, that on the death of Washington and Hamilton he was appointed by the Cincinnati and the Revolution Society to deliver orations in tribute to their memory.

Taken altogether, he was a most eminent servant of God and of his country. The late Dr. W. R. Williams said:

'Of this eminent servant of the Lord it is difficult to express what is just and proper without the appearance of excessive partiality. To represent him in the ordinary terms of eulogy, or to depict his virtues by any of the common standards of description, would be the direct way to fall short of the truth. The Providence of God gives few such men to the world as Dr. Furman . . . Where others were great he was transcendent, and where others were fair and consistent in character, he stood forth lovely and luminous in all the best attributes of man. . . . In general learning he had made such progress as would have ranked him among men of the first intelligence in any country. . . His studies were chiefly confined to mathematics, metaphysics, belles-lettres, logic, history and theology. He cultivated also an acquaintance with the ancient classics, particularly Homer, Longinus and Quintillian, with whose beauties and precepts he was familiar. He read with sedulous attention all the writers of the Augustan age of English literature, and whatever the language possessed valuable in criticism and immortal in poetry. There are few men, it is believed, who have had their minds more richly stored with the fine passages of Milton, Young, Pope, Addison, Butler and other great authors than Dr. Furman. From them he could quote properly, and appositely for almost every occasion, what was most beautiful and eloquent. He possessed uncommon talent in discerning the utility of these studies connected with the mind, and in

condensing them into such abstracts as to make them clearly intelligible to every capacity. In this way he could analyze and expound the principles of moral philosophy and logic, with a facility which could only have resulted from a ready mastery over the subjects. Bat that which imparted a charm to his whole life was the godly savor which pervaded and sweetened all his superior endowments and qualifications. All the vigor of his noble intellect was consecrated to God. All the matured fruit of His long experience was an oblation to the Father of Mercies. All the variety of his acquirements, and all the vastness of his well-furnished mind, were merged in one prevailing determination to know nothing save Christ crucified.'

Chapter 14

13 Foreign Missions?Asia and Europe

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS XIII. FOREIGN MISSIONS--ASIA AND EUROPE

Scarcely had the Baptists adjusted themselves to their new circumstances in the American republic, when a fresh element was thrown into their life by enlarging their conceptions of duty to Christ both in sending the Gospel to foreign lands and in doubling their efforts to evangelize their own country. American Baptists were called to foreign mission work in 1814 on this wise. In 1812 Rev. Adoniram Judson and his wife, Ann Hasseltine Judson, with Rev. Luther Rice, were appointed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to establish missions in Asia. Messrs. Judson and Rice sailed in different vessels to India, and on their voyage, without consultation with each other, they re-examined the New Testament teaching on baptism. The result was that they both adopted the views of the Baptists, and, in loyalty to God's word, when they reached Calcutta, they were immersed on a personal profession of their faith in Christ. At once they made this change known to the world, and were cut off from their former denominational support.

Mr. Rice returned to the United States to awaken in the Baptist Churches a zeal for the establishment of missions in India, he was heartily welcomed, and measures were adopted for the temporary support of Mr. and Mrs, Judson. Mr. Rice traveled from Boston through the Middle and Southern States, and his addresses kindled a wide-spread enthusiasm, which resulted in the gathering of a convention, composed of thirty-six delegates from eleven States and the District of Columbia, who met in Philadelphia, May 18th, 1814, when a society was formed, called The Baptist General Convention for Foreign Missions. Dr. Furman, of South Carolina, was President of this body, Dr. Baldwin, of Massachusetts, Secretary, and Mr. and Mrs. Judson were adopted as its first missionaries. Rev. Dr. Baldwin, of Boston, was also elected President of a Board which was to conduct the operations of the Convention, which office he filled till his death in 1825, and Drs. Holcomb and Rogers were elected Vice-Presidents. Mr. John Cauldwell was chosen as Treasurer, and Rev. Dr. Staughton as Corresponding Secretary. Mr. Rice was chosen 'To continue his itinerant services in these United States for a reasonable time, with a view to excite the public mind more generally to engage in missionary exertions and to assist in organizing societies and institutions for carrying the missionary design into execution.' The Convention itself came to be known as the 'Triennial Convention,' from the fact that it met once in three years, and the Board of the Convention was located in Boston. Mr. Rice collected a considerable amount of money, and in 1815 Mr. Hough, of New Hampshire, and Miss White, of Philadelphia, were appointed missionaries. The first triennial session of the Convention was held in Philadelphia, May, 1817, when Dr. Furman was re-elected President; and Dr. Sharp, of Boston, Secretary. At this meeting the Convention enlarged its work by appropriating a portion of its funds to domestic missionary purposes, and also by determining 'to institute a classical and theological seminary' to train young men for the ministry, which measures, as we shall see, diverted the Convention considerably from the primary intention of its founders.

Meanwhile, Mr. and Mrs. Judson were driven by the intolerance of the government from Bengal and proceeded to Rangoon, to commence missionary work in Burma, where they arrived July 13th, 1813. Rangoon was the chief sea-port of Burma, and the most important center of Buddhism. A feeble attempt to establish a mission here had been made by a son of Dr. Carey, but it had been abandoned; and Mr. and Mrs. Judson found themselves in this heathen city, without an English-speaking helper, a grammar, a dictionary or a printed book. They began the study of the language, in which, twenty-one years later, Mr. Judson was able to lay the whole Bible, faithfully translated, before the Burman people. Mr. and Mrs. Judson celebrated the Lord's Supper alone in Rangoon, September 19th, 1813; but Mr. and Mrs. Hough joined them in October, 1816, and Messrs. Wheelock and Coleman in 1819. A zayat, or shed, for the preaching of the Gospel, was opened on the way-side in April, 1819. Though they had labored much privately, this was 'their first attempt at public worship. Their first congregation numbered fifteen, but was both inattentive and disorderly. Besides the Sabbath service, the missionaries used the zayat from morning till night every day in the week, to teach the way of salvation to all who came. The first convert, Moung Nau, was baptized June 27th, 1819; two others were immersed in November of that year. As the laws of Burma made it a capital crime for a native to change his religion, Messrs. Judson and Coleman thought it prudent to visit the Emperor at the capital, that they might, if possible, secure toleration for the converts who had become Christians. They went up on this errand to Amarapura in December, carrying to the Emperor an elegant Bible in six volumes, enveloped, according to Burman taste, in a beautiful wrapper. A tract, also, was prepared and presented, containing a brief summary of Christianity. The Emperor read but two sentences of the tract and threw it from him in displeasure; he also declined to accept the Bible. The missionaries returned to Rangoon to report their failure to the converts, dreading its possible effect upon their minds; but, to their surprise, these remained steadfast to their profession, and begged their teachers to abide with them until there should be eight or ten converts, at least. If then they should depart, one of the converts would he appointed to teach the rest, and so the new religion might spread itself. Mr. Coleman went to Chittagong, a part of India which had been ceded to the English Crown, to provide a refuge for the converts in case they should be driven by persecution to seek the protection of the British government, and he died while on this mission of love. Mrs. Judson visited England, Scotland, and the United States and awakened a deep interest in the work. Mr. and Mrs. Wade joined the mission; but, just as prosperity began to dawn on the missionaries' labors, the first Burmese war broke out, suspending their operations for nearly three years, and subjecting them to the gravest apprehensions for their own lives. The Burmans did not understand the difference between Englishmen and Americans, and arrested indiscriminately every person wearing a hat. An executioner was placed over Messrs. Judson and Wade, who, with bent heads and bared necks, awaited the fatal blow, the order having been given that the Burman executioner should strike off their heads the moment that a British shot should be fired upon Rangoon. The shot was fired, but the executioner fled in terror, and the two men of God escaped. After this, Judson was confined in various prisons for two years and three months, the victim of agonizing sufferings. Meanwhile, his precious manuscript of the New Testament was for a season buried in the earth under a floor, and afterwards sewed up in an old pillow, which was tossed about from hand to hand till the close of the war, too hard to tempt the head of the poorest by the thought that it was worth destruction.

During the war a native preacher remained in Rangoon; yet the converts were scattered, and the pastor suffered scourging, the stocks and imprisonment, for the name of Christ. In a short time after the war, however, the Church numbered twenty members, nearly all baptized by him. The terms of peace annexed a large portion of Burman territory to British India, and from that time the mission fell under British protection. Not far from this period the KARENS first received the Gospel. They had long been oppressed by their Burman neighbors, and lived hidden in the hills and forests. It was, therefore, a thrilling scene when thirty-four of that people were baptized by Mr. Mason, in the presence of Mr. Boardman, their apostle. Up to that time there had been but twenty-two converts in fifteen years including the capital of Burma, Amherst and Tavoy. At the close of this baptismal scene, the first-fruits of Mr. Boardman's labor amongst the Karens, his joyful spirit ascended to its rest. This people seemed ripe for the Gospel from the beginning, while the prouder Burman race have received the Gospel slowly, only about 1,200 having become members of our churches down to this date; about 30,000 Karens have become Christians, and are now gathered into Gospel churches. For the general convenience of our Burman missions, the printing department, the Karen College, and the Theological Seminary are located in Rangoon. Mr. Bennett first established the press and had charge of it for more than half a century, accomplishing incalculable good thereby to all Burma. The Karen College was opened in 1872, with seventeen students, under the Presidency of Ray, Dr. Binney, in buildings endowed by the late Professor Ruggles, of Washington. The Theological Seminary was established by Dr. Binney, in 1859, though instruction had been previously given, at different times and places, by Dr. Wade and others, to candidates for the ministry. Rev. D. A. W. Smith, D.D., has presided over the seminary since the death of Dr. Binney, aided by four native Karen teachers, educated men, prepared for their office. It numbers about sixty students, and yearly graduates about one fourth of that number to preach to their own people. Dr. Smith has nearly finished a complete commentary of the Bible in Karen, and prepared and issued for the use of Karen students an elementary treatise on logic and Wayland's 'Elements of Moral Science,' and for several years he has put into Karen the 'International Sunday-School Lessons' for Karen Sabbath-schools. Besides superintending the Burman work in and around Rangoon, Dr. Stevens has instructed several Burman assistants. The first female convert in Burmah, Mah Menia, was baptized by torch-light, on the night of July 18th, 1820. Such has been the growth of the Burman missions that amongst the various peoples of the empire there are 98 missionaries, male and female, 118 ordained native preachers, and 25,371 members. The war of 1826 was followed by the death of the heroic Mrs. Judson, in Amherst, where she now sleeps in Jesus. After her death, her husband transferred most of his personal property to the missionary treasury.

MAULMAIN, the chief station of the British power in Burma, was thenceforward made the head-quarters of the mission. Work was begun there in 1827, between which time and September, 1828, twenty-one converts were baptized and a native Church was formed, numbering thirty members. In 1834 Dr. Judson completed the revision of the New Testament and finished the translation of the Old. A mission press was set up in Maulmain by Mr. Bennett in 1830, which was followed within a brief interval by three others. The printing of the Bible in four or five languages and dialects, besides tracts, school-books and other works, has kept the press--which in 1862 was transferred to Rangoon--constantly busy. Maulmain was the first seat of the Karen Theological Seminary and of Miss Haswell's school for native girls, established in 1867; which in five years numbered 103 pupils. Here also Dr. Haswell translated the New Testament into Peguan, and here

he rests in hope of a blessed resurrection. A Baptist Church was formed here, in connection with the British army, and many English soldiers became the disciples of Christ. The native Christians are well trained in the art of giving for religions purposes. In seven years they gave over $5,000 in gold for the support of the Gospel and mission schools. In connection with the station at Maulmain there were reported in 1886 about twenty Churches and more than 1,100 members.

Dr. Judson did His last work at Maulmain. He had spent ten years at Rangoon, two at Ava, and a brief time at Amherst, after which he removed to Maulmain and continued there to the close of life, chiefly pursuing the work of translation; though he kept the oversight of the Burmese Church there. The last leaf of his translation of the Scriptures was finished on January 31st, 1831, and he put his revised translation to press in 1810. When His health became thoroughly broken, he left this place under the advice of his physician, on board the French bark Aristide Marie, bound for the Island of Bourbon, in the hope that the voyage might prolong his life. But nine days after his embarkment, when scarcely three days out of sight of the Burmese mountains, he began to sink rapidly. All that love and skill could do for him were done, but at fifteen minutes past four o'clock P. M., on the 12th of April, 1850, he passed to the bosom of Jesus, as peacefully as a child would drop asleep in its mother's arms. At eight o'clock the same evening, the crew, his two broken-hearted Burman assistants and Mr. Ranney assembled on the larboard part of the ship, and in reverent silence committed his body to the keeping of the Indian Ocean. No eye now rests upon the spot that closed over him but that of the true God. In latitude 13 degrees north, longitude 93 degrees east, God found a grave for one of His noblest sons on this globe. None can drop a tear or raise a shaft there, but His eternal monument lives in redeemed Burma. She glorifies God in him who to her was made the savor of life unto life.

TAVOY was the third of the Burman missions: its establishment being due to a suggestion of the first native Burman preacher, who proposed to make a missionary journey there in 1827. Here that great work amongst the Karens commenced; here the first Karen preacher was baptized, and near Tavoy Mr. Mason performed his first official act as a missionary in baptizing thirty-four Karens. It is nearly two hundred miles distant from Maulmain and thirty-five miles from the sea, on Tavoy River. Its population at the opening of the mission, April 18th, 1828, was about 6,000; it is in British Burma and a stronghold, of idolatry. Two converts soon formed the nucleus of the Church, and a missionary spirit possessed the converts, who visited many villages far and near with the word of life. The Karens of the vicinity held a tradition that at some time messengers from the West would bring to them a revelation from God. Hence, they were prepared to receive our missionaries with open arms and to accept their message. The printing-press was located at Tavoy for some time, and a chapel was built in the town, not far from the grave of Boardman. The Karen Church in the town is weak, but many Churches exist in the forest and jungle, some miles away. Mr. Morrow is the faithful missionary to the Karens there, and his wife, an educated physician, is his efficient helper. The Tavoy Association numbers 23 Churches, 950 members, 11 ordained and 10 unordained preachers, and 13 schools. The second war between Burma and Great Britain, 1852, was brief, but had an important influence on the missionary work. It resulted in the annexation of a large portion of Southern Burma to the British realm in India, which opened a wider field for preaching and relieved the converts from the fear of persecution by a heathen government; our mission in Burma, therefore, took a sudden expansion. New stations were commenced in Tonngoo, on the Sitang River, Henthada, and other places, and many triumphs crowned the

labors of our brethren. Toungoo, one of the new stations, opened by Dr. Mason in 1853, was one of the most fruitful in converts. The zeal of Sail Quala, a native preacher, was awakened through a man from Toungoo, who had been converted three years previously. The second day after the beginning of the mission, a hundred Burmans called on Dr. Mason to inquire about the new religion, and in a few weeks found several disciples. Ill health compelled Dr. Mason to leave for the United States for a time; but the mission, left in charge of San Quala, seemed to be blessed with a new Pentecost. Active, faithful, wise and energetic, this native preacher took a broad field, planned prudently, superintended efficiently, and commended himself to all by his self-denying labors. In the first year of the mission 741 were baptized. Within a year and nine months he had administered the ordinance to 1,860 converts and formed 28 churches, while hundreds of converts were still waiting to be baptized. In 1856 zayats were erected in forty villages, where the people had renounced idolatry, and ten native preachers in the district were supported by the Maulmain Missionary Society. In a single month of 1857 Mr. Whitaker baptized 233 converts; two Associations were organized, and various Karen tribes were brought under Christian influences. Dr. Mason died in 1874. Mr. Bunker, Mr. Eveleth, Dr. Cross and others, had in the meantime, joined the station. Dr. Mason had translated the whole Bible into Sgaii Karen, and later, Mr. Brayton translated it into Pwo Karen. Dr. Mason, being a man of scientific tendencies, contributed largely to the knowledge of natural history in the Burman empire. The mission in and about Toungoo numbers 102 native preachers, 110 Churches, and 3,869 members. From this point the mission to the Shans began, and the Bible has been translated into Shan by Dr. Gushing. The statistics of 1886 give 144 churches, 4,788 members, and 84 native preachers.

HENTHADA was opened as a mission station after the war of 1852. Mr. Thomas was the first missionary to the Karens of this mission, and Mr. Crawley to the Burmans. At first many of the natives, attracted by curiosity, thronged as visitors to the missionaries, who, after the Gospel was introduced, became zealous converts; for at the end of the first year the Karen department reported 8 churches and 150 members. At the end of ten years, the mission reported 751 Burman converts and five preachers. Mr. Thomas instructed a class of twenty or more native helpers every year, during the rains, and kept the charge of his field twelve or thirteen years, traveling in every part of his district, preaching and baptizing constantly, enjoying almost a perpetual revival. At length, broken in health, for a time he changed his field for that of Bassein, and Mr. Smith took the post at Henthada. In a short time Mr. Thomas was compelled to return to the United States, where he died on the day after his arrival. His widow returned to Henthada, where she efficiently continued the work which her husband had begun; their son, Williston, joined his mother in 1880, and is still toiling in a spirit worthy of his parents.

ARRACAN, on the western coast of Burma, became a mission station in 1835, and, at different times, thirteen missionaries and their wives labored there with much success. A chain of mountains, parallel with the coast, divided Burma Proper from the territory which had been ceded to Great Britain. In many instances, the converts on the Burman frontier, having embraced Christianity, crossed the mountains into English territory, and being baptized, returned, to live a Christian life amongst their fellow-countrymen. The work prospered and multitudes believed. The names of Abbott, Comstock, Stilson, Ingalls and others, are a memorial in this mission. All of them passed away early, and the Arracan Mission disappeared; but out of it grew the mission in Bassein, one of the fairest portions of the Christian heritage in Burma. It has become one of the

great centers of evangelical labor amongst the Karens. In 1872, a Burman preacher, supported almost wholly by native contributions, visited 540 houses, conversed on religious themes with 1,397 persons, and distributed 600 or 700 tracts. As early as 1848, there were 36 teachers and more than 400 pupils in the schools of the Karen department. Day-schools existed in nearly every village, and the native Christians sustained the preaching of the Gospel in their own neighborhoods. The plan of self-support has been effectively developed, and native Christians have contributed much to send the Gospel to others. A memorial hall, serving the double purpose of a place of worship and for higher education, spacious and provided with every facility, was dedicated at Bassein in 1878, on the fiftieth anniversary of the baptism of the first Karen convert. This building was paid for mainly by the liberality of the native Christians. In 1886 there were 99 churches, 8,490 members, and 97 native preachers.

PROME has ever been a scene of missionary interest, on account of the visit paid to that city by Dr. Judson in 1830, although for twenty-four years after that visit no missionary returned there. But the work was again taken up by Messrs. Kincaid and Simons, and still later by Mr. E. O. Stevens, son of the veteran missionary in Rangoon, and it has yielded good fruit. Four Churches connected with the mission are self-supporting, and there are now 11 native preachers, 4 churches, and 241 members. Many other stations in Burma have missionaries and native preachers, churches and schools, and are fully organized for Christian work. Thongzai, an exclusively Burman station, is remarkable for the labor of Mrs. Ingalls and a female associate, who have stood firmly at their post for many years. She has won the confidence and affections of the converts and of the heathen, and is held in high esteem by travelers of all ranks; for the railroad, extending between Rangoon and Prome, passes directly through Thongzai. In. 1877 Bhamo became a station of the Missionary Union, and since the absorption of Burma proper into British India, Mandelay, the capital, is also occupied by that body. All upper Burma is now included in the territory cultivated by the American Baptists. A recent enterprise has been entered upon in a station amongst the Karens at Chienginai, in northern Siam.

ASSAM was opened as a mission in 1836 by Messrs. Nathan Brown and O. T. Cutter, who had been previously stationed in Burma. The first station of the mission was Sadiya, 400 miles north of Ava, and about 200 from Yunnan, on the borders of China. But about a dozen stations are now occupied, mostly on the south side of the Brahmaputra, and are accessible by British steamers. A printing-press was established by Mr. Cutter, and the translation of the New Testament into Assamese was begun by Dr. Brown, Jan. 1, 1838. Mr. Bronson undertook to open a mission amongst the Nagas, in their hills, but on account of the insalubrity of the climate he changed his residence to Nowgong, where he baptized the first Assamese convert, June 13, 1841. The Nowgong Orphan Institution was for several years a fruitful part of the mission work, for in it many were converted and trained for usefulness. The school was dispersed after twelve years, but more native helpers were brought out of this school than from any other source. Other stations were occupied in succession by new missionaries, Messrs. Ward, Whiting, Danforth and others, whose labors were crowned by abundant blessings. In 1851 the second edition of the New Testament was issued, and revivals of religion, with large additions to the Churches, followed. In 1857, at the time of the Indian mutiny, much apprehension was felt; but the storm passed, and not a hair of the head of any missionary was touched. The GAROS were first visited in 1857, and that movement opened one of the brightest chapters in the history of the mission to Assam. A torn tract, swept out

of a building which had been cleaned and prepared for a new tenant, was picked up by a Sepoy guard and read. It led to his conversion; he became an efficient preacher to his tribe, and in 1867, a Church was formed amongst them, numbering 40 members. The next year the number increased to 81, and in 1869 to 140; from these sprang 5 native churches, 8 native preachers, and a formal School. The mission has conveyed the Gospel to tribe after tribe in the hills and on the plains adjoining the Brahmaputra. Two Assamese native preachers and one Garo have visited the United States, and the latter, who had learned English, spent a year in the Newton Theological Institution. The statistics of 1886 show, 30 churches, 1,889 members, and 27 native preachers, with 7 stations and 21 missionaries, male and female. The stations of the Assam Mission are divided into three Assam, three Naga, and one Garo, amongst which there are 72 schools and 1,229 pupils. SIAM was the second mission undertaken by American Baptists amongst the heathen inhabitants of Asia. Rev. John Taylor Jones was the first missionary, he had labored about two years in Burma, and had become so proficient in that language as to preach to the natives in their own tongue. He reached Bangkok in March, 1833, and the first converts were baptized in December of that year. They were all Chinese, which race form the majority of the people of that city. Dr. Jones translated the New Testament into Siamese and made much progress in preparing a Dictionary of the language, a grammar and other works. Mrs. Jones prepared a Catechism of the Christian religion. From the mission-press in Bangkok, much Christian literature was scattered abroad. Dr. Dean joined the mission in 1834; and devoted himself to the Chinese department; left Siam in 1842, and returned to Bangkok in 1864. In August, 1835, he preached his first sermon to 34 natives, and in 1841, formed a class of Chinese preachers, which he continued till he left for Hong Kong. Mr. J. H. Chandler joined the mission in 1843. He was not a preacher, but possessed remarkable mechanical skill, and largely through his influence the king became one of the most progressive native rulers of Asia. In the palace is a working printing-press, and one or more steamboats belonging to the government ply in the river before Bangkok.

During the next ten years Messrs. Davenport, Goddard, Jencks and Ashmore, with their wives, joined the mission, and Miss Harriet H. Morse, the latter to labor in the Siamese department, the others in the Chinese. Dr. Jones died in 1851. A decree was issued tolerating Christian worship, and by authority of the king the ladies of the mission were invited to the palace daily to teach the court ladies English. After the death of Dr. Jones, the Siamese work was continued by Mr. S. J. Smith, who, with his wife, has remained until this date, to superintend a school, to prepare and distribute tracts and to teach the people the knowledge of the true God.

Mr. Smith supports himself and his work by secular employment. Messrs. Lisle, Partridge and Chilcott and Miss Fielde have labored in the Chinese department. In the year 1874 there were large additions to the number of converts, two new Churches were formed and two native pastors ordained. Eleven were baptized at one station, seventeen at another, twenty-five at a third, and eighty-four at a fourth. In 1877 there were six churches, 418 members, and sixty-one were baptized during the year. Dr. Jones labored in Bangkok eighteen years, Dr. Dean more than twenty-five, Messrs. Davenport and Telford, nine years each; Dr. Ashmore and Miss Morse, seven years each; Miss Fielde six years, Mr. Partridge four, and Mr. Chilcott one. About thirty missionaries have been connected with this mission. Its latest statistics report five churches and one hundred members. Many of those who have been baptized, being but temporary residents of

Siam, have returned to China and been numbered with the disciples of Christ there. THE TELUGUS. This Indian mission has been amongst the most successful and renowned in modern times. The Telugu nation numbers about 18,000,000, residing mainly in India, west of the Bay of Bengal, and between Calcutta on the north and Madras on the south. The mission was commenced in 1836, by Messrs. Day and Van Husen. Its jubilee was celebrated with great joy at Nellore, in February, 1886. The 'Lone Star,' as it has been often called, has expanded into a constellation. For the first twenty years the work was discouraging and many proposed to abandon it, but a few pleaded for its continuance and prevailed. The first permanent station of the mission was Nellore. Rev. Mr. Jewett joined the mission in April, 1849, and preached his first sermon in Telugu in December, eight months after his arrival. At the close of 1852 he and his wife, with two or three native Christians, visited Ongole, and, before leaving the place, they ascended a slope of ground overlooking this village, since named 'Prayer-meeting Hill.' and while kneeling together there, prayed that a missionary might be sent to Ongole. In the meantime the work of preaching, teaching and tract distribution was continued, and a few converts were gathered as the first-fruits of these efforts. In 1858 several were added to the Church, and twelve years after the prayers on Prayer-meeting Hill, Rev. J. E. Clough formed the mission and planted his standard at Ongole. On the 1st of June, 1867, eight members formed a church at Ongole. Divine influences have been wonderfully shed abroad amongst this people. After the Week of Prayer; in the beginning of January, five days were spent in a tent-meeting devoted to reading the Scriptures, prayer and preaching; at the close twenty-eight asked for baptism. In 1868 when Mr. Timpany joined the mission, twenty-three were baptized in Xellore and sixty-eight in Ongole. More than eighty villages, in a circuit of forty miles around Ongole, had heard the word of life.

Mr. MeLanrin came to the help of the missionaries in 1870, when 1,000 villages had heard the Gospel. This year a Church was organized in Ramapatam, and the number of baptisms reported for the year was 915. The Theological Seminary for native preachers, was opened here in 1872, with eighteen students, a body that has increased to more than 200 members. Mr. Downie arrived in 1873, and Mr. Campbell in 1874. Then came a year of famine, a year of cholera, and still another of famine. During these years the government came to the help of the perishing people by employing them in digging canals for the development of the country. Mr. Clough took contracts for certain portions of this work, and paid good wages to the starving natives of his district, and while they labored for their bread, his native preachers laid before them the Gospel.

Many asked for baptism, but he refused to baptize any while the famine lasted lest they should profess Christianity from wrong motives. When the three years of pestilence and famine were over, he offered baptism to all true believers. In one day 2,222 were immersed upon the profession of their faith. He detailed the process to the writer with great care, stating that there were six administrators; three of them immersing at a time, as the candidates were brought to them into the water, and when they became weary the three rested while the others proceeded with the baptisms. Everything, he said, was done with perfect deliberation, the Gospel formula was carefully pronounced over each candidate before his burial; that he stood by and superintended the administration, but baptized none himself, and that only about eight hours were passed in the great baptism. From June to September, 9,147 were immersed, and the numbers increased until 17,000 had been immersed on their profession of faith in Christ. The church register in Ongole alone contained, in 1881, more than 16,000 names. During the first half of the year 1881, 1,669

were baptized, and from June, 1878, to June, 1881, the total number reached 16,846. For years the native preachers had faithfully preached throughout the district, and the American missionaries were delighted to see them thus honored of God in their labors. The Ongole Church having become the largest in the world, the multitude was organized into fourteen Churches for convenience. The whole number of members reported in 1886 is 26,389, the church at Ongole still numbering 14,890. In the mission, at the same date, there were 287 stations, 40 missionaries, male and female, 160 native preachers, 46 churches, 292 schools, and 4,270 pupils.

CHINA. The Missionary Union has two missions in the empire of China, the Southern and the Eastern. Mr. Shuck and Mr. Roberts founded the Southern mission, being followed by Dr. William Dean, who readied Hong Kong in 1842. Mr. Lord readied Ningpoo in June, 1847, and Mr. Goddard went from Bangkok to Ningpoo in 1849. There was a temporary station at Macao, where the first Chinese convert of the mission was baptized. A chapel was built in Victoria and another in Chekdiee. Thirty-three services were held every week in Chinese, and in 1844 nineteen were baptized. In 1848 Mr. Johnson joined the mission, and in that year 20,000 tracts were distributed; also, Dr. Dean's ' notes on the Gospel of Matthew and the Book of Genesis.'

Mr. Ashmore joined the mission in 1858, and in 1861 the seat of the mission was transferred to Swatow. The Church there numbered thirty members in 1863, but suffered great persecution. A literary graduate, however, confessed Christ; two Chinese preachers were ordained in 1867 and became pastors of churches. Miss Fielde and Mr. Partridge were transferred to Swatow; the former prepared a synopsis of the Gospels in Chinese and a dictionary of the Swatow dialect. In 1876 forty-nine were baptized, and the next year 169, making the number of members 512. Mr. McKibben labored largely amongst the hill tribes, answering to the Karens in Burma; the statistics of 1886 give 36 out-stations, 1,433 members, 36 native preachers, 14 missionaries, 11 schools, and 175 pupils.

Inmoro, or the Eastern China mission, has its principal station at Ningpo. It has been occupied from 1843, when Dr. Maegowan opened a hospital. In eight months of the next year 2,139 cases were treated. A chapel was opened in 1846, and a congregation of from eighty to one hundred attended, some also being baptized. In 1853, Mr. Goddard, who had joined the mission at Ningpo, completed an independent version of the New Testament, pronounced by competent judges the best Chinese version that has been made. Mr. Knowlton joined the mission in 1855, and various outlying stations were established, so that, in 1859, nineteen were baptized, two of them literary-men, and an unusual number of females. Two women became Bible-readers, and the Church at Ningpo supported its own pastor. Five young Chinamen became candidates for the ministry, and in December, 1872, the first Baptist Chinese Association was formed there, numbering six Churches, twenty-three delegates being present, members of Churches 219, and native preachers fifteen. Dr. Barchet re-established the medical work in 1877, and Mr. Jenkins issued a Reference Testament. Sometimes sixty cases of disease were treated in a day, and many of the pupils were able to recite, word for word, the whole books of Genesis and Matthew. At this time, 1886, the Churches of the Eastern China mission number seven; members 246, native preachers thirteen, Bible-women four, schools six, pupils 184.

JAPAN. This mission was commenced by the appointment of Dr. Nathan Brown, once missionary to Assam, in May, 1872. He arrived on his field in February, 1873. Japan was just awakening from

the slumber of centuries, and its persecuting edicts against Christianity were, about that time abandoned by imperial proclamation. Mr. Arthur and wife joined the mission in October, and, while studying the language, found numbers of young men who had forsaken the gods and were ready to listen to the Gospel. A Church of eight members was formed at Yokohama in 1873. Mr. Arthur stationed himself at Tokio, the capital, and several Buddhist priests offered him quarters in one of their temples. A Scripture Manual in Japanese was prepared by Dr. Brown, for the use of schools, and put in circulation. The first baptism in Tokio was in October, 1875. At Yokohama a daily Bible class was established and a Sabbath-school; a native preacher labored, and by 1876 the Church numbered twenty-two members, while at Tokio, the same year, the Church had thirty-six members. Mr. Arthur died in 1877. Within three years the mission printed more than 3,000,000 pages of Scriptures and tracts, and the first Gospel ever printed in Japan was printed at the Baptist mission press. In 1878 twenty-eight converts were added to the two Churches, and Dr. Brown's translation of the New Testament was issued in 1879. Dr. Brown was one of the loveliest men ever known to the writer, and one of the best scholars. Before his death, in 1886, he translated the New Testament into the language of two heathen peoples: the Assamese and the Japanese. A Catechism of forty-eight pages, by Mr. Arthur, remains as a precious memorial of his literary labors for the Japanese. Rev. Thomas Poate joined the mission in December, 1879. He was formerly a teacher in the Imperial College of Japan. In a journey to the north he found the Japanese remarkably open to Christianity, and during 1880 baptized twenty-six and organized three Churches in that part of the empire. In 1886 there were five stations, four Churches, 409 members, fifteen native preachers and 215 pupils in schools.

AFRICA. The mission to the continent of Africa was commenced almost simultaneously with that in Burma, and several devoted missionaries sacrificed their lives in that inhospitable climate. The mission, begun in MOUROVIA, LIBERIA, was continued with indifferent success and under many discouragements, until 1856. The labors of Messrs. Lott Carey (colored), Skinner and others, were amongst Africans restored to their own country from America, and the Bassa tribe in the vicinity. Mr. Clarke, one of the missionaries, prepared a dictionary of the Bassa language, and nine Bassa young men were converted. One native came to the United States, was baptized here, learned the printer's trade, and was about to return to his own people when he died. So many of the missionaries died after a brief period on the field that the mission was suspended in 1856; in 1868, the work was renewed, and Robert Hill (colored) appointed a missionary; he never reached his field. In 1869-70, 153 were baptized, and the mission reported 218 converts; in 1871 two Churches were organized and a place of worship dedicated. Two years afterwards, 19 Bassas cast off idolatry and embraced Christ, but aside from several heroic Biblereaders, who were on the field in 1880, the work is in a languishing state, in the absence of trained missionaries. THE CONGO MISSION, in Central Africa, was first sustained by Mr. and Mrs. Guinness, of London, and much money was expended, largely out of their own possessions, in buildings and the maintenance of a steam-boat to ply on the river Congo and its branches, with other provisions for prosecuting mission work. They proposed to turn over to the American Baptists all the mission property in the Congo country, including land, buildings, the steam-boat and the missionary force, on condition that the work be carried forward on the principles of the Missionary Union. In 1885 this proffer was accepted, and the work undertaken. On grounds of expediency, some of the stations were transferred to another society laboring near them, and arrangements were made to bring the work into line with the general methods of work pursued by the Union. In 1886 five

stations were reported, thirteen male missionaries, of whom three are married, and two single women. One missionary and wife have been sent from the United States, and two colored missionaries will soon be added to the force. At present, this noble enterprise is in its infancy, and although several converts have been baptized, the fruits of the mission. have been largely the anticipation of prayerful hope until very recently. Intelligence is received that a powerful work of grace is in progress at Banza Manteka, where more than 1,000 converts have been baptized, two of the king's sons being amongst them. At Mukimbungu about 30 have been converted, and the work of God is spreading in various directions.

EUROPEAN MISSIONS. Efforts to establish missions in Europe have been put forth by American Baptists. In France in 1832, in Germany and adjacent countries in 1834, in Greece 1836, in Sweden 1866, and in Spain 1870. Some of these efforts have met with but limited success, while others have been very largely blessed. The mission was commenced in FRANCE by Messrs. Wilmarth and Sheldon. Mr. Rostan, a native Frenchman, had previously made explorations, which awakened hope for the success of the undertaking. In May, 1835, a Baptist Church was organized in Paris, and later, Mr. Willard instructed a few young men in studies preparatory to the ministry. Messrs. Wilmarth and Willard returned to this country, and the work in Paris was left mainly in the hands of native ministers. From 1840 to 1872 the Church there struggled hard for existence. In the last of these years a costly chapel was built in the Rue de Lille, in which the Church still worships. There are also several small Churches in other parts of France, so that, as nearly as can be ascertained, there are 13 native Baptists laborers in France, male and female, with about 770 communicants.

GERMANY. Hase, the Church historian, pronounces the German Baptists 'after the American type of Christianity,' and Mr. Oncken, their apostle, demands notice here as, under God, their honored founder. He was born at Varel, in the Duchy of Oldenburg, Jan. 26th, 1800, and while young went to England, where he became a Christian. In 1823 he accepted an appointment from the British Continental Society as a missionary to Germany. He preached on the shores of the German Ocean, chiefly in Hamburg and Bremen, till 1828, when he took an agency for the Edinburgh Bible Society; being, meanwhile, a member of the English Independent Church at Hamburg, under the pastoral care of Mr. Matthews. In the winter of 1830-31, Captain Tubbs, master of the brig Mars, and a member of the Sansom Street Baptist Church, Philadelphia, found his vessel ice-bound at Hamburg, and while detained there made his home in the family of Mr. Oncken. During his stay, Tubbs and Oncken spent much of their time in examining the New Testament, and the captain explained to him the doctrines and practices of the American Baptist Churches. Oncken was convinced that these Churches were modeled after the Gospel pattern, and expressed his wish to be immersed on his faith in Christ. When Captain Tubbs returned to Philadelphia, he reported these things to Dr. Dagg, his pastor, and to Dr. Cone, of New York. In 1833 Prof. Barnas Sears, of the Theological Institution at Hamilton, went to Germany to prosecute certain studies, and while there fell in with Mr. Oncken and six others who had embraced the same views, and on April 2nd, 1834, immersed the seven in the River Elbe at Altona, near Hamburg, and on the 23d they were organized into a Baptist Church with Mr. Oncken for pastor. When this became known, there was no small stir in Hamburg. The Established Church, Lutheran, was in arms at once; and the old 'Anabaptist' skeleton was brought out from the cupboard promptly, the upper room where the little band worshiped was surrounded by a mob, its doors and windows broken, and Oncken was

dragged before the magistrates and thrust into prison. This at once gave flame to the movement throughout all Germany; the clergy raged, the mob threatened, and the magistrate punished, but it all amounted to nothing. For a time, they were driven from place to place, and Oncken says that his citations to appear before the police averaged about one a week for a time, but 'the threats only gave me a greater impulse.' He was fined as well as imprisoned, his goods were seized, and he says: 'It happened that the Senator Hudtwalker, who, at that time, stood at the head of the police, was an esteemed Christian, who, although no Baptist, considered my religious activity as fraught with blessing. . . . He was pressed hard to proceed against us, but he was not able to reconcile with his conscience the persecution of Christ in his members.' Mr. Oncken detailed to the writer, in his own house at Altona, some of the arguments by which he moved this chief of police. One was so novel that it must be repeated here. He said: 'Mr. Senator, the law of Hamburg provides that no lewd woman of the city can ply her wicked calling until she brings a certificate to the authorities, from the clergyman of her parish, stating that she was baptized in infancy, and is now a communicant in good standing in the State Church; then a license is given to her, to protect her from all harm in her wickedness. But if we persuade her to renounce her evil life and turn to Christ, and baptize her for the remission of her sins, as Peter taught at Pentecost, we are thrust into prison with the penitent woman for the crime of saving her!' This argument had weight with Hudtwalker. But says Oncken: 'His successor in office (who, however, afterwards became our friend, and has shown us much kindness), declared to me, at that time, that he would make every effort to exterminate us. When I reminded him that no religious movement could be suppressed by force, and said to him, "Mr. Senator, you will find that all your trouble and labor will be in vain," he answered: "Well, then, it will not be my fault, for as long as I can move my little finger I shall continue to move against you. If you wish to go to America, I will give you, together with your wife and children, a free passage; but here, such sectarianism will not be endured."' This state of things continued for years, but the word of God prevailed, and the work of grace spread all through the German States; and from Hamburg it has spread to Prussia, Denmark, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Russia and Turkey. Within a little more than four years from its commencement, there were 4 churches and 120 members under Oncken's direction. In 1844 he had sent forth 17 preachers, organized 26 Churches, and their communicants numbered 1,500 members. The true prosperity of the mission, however, only began to be felt after the great Hamburg fire of 1848. At that date the Baptists had control of a large warehouse in the city, three stories high, where they received and distributed food and raiment amongst, and gave shelter to, the homeless poor. Here many were saved from death, and for the first time heard the Gospel, and the Government felt itself a debtor to those whom it had persecuted. In May, 1853, Mr. Oncken visited the United States and remained for fifteen months. Out of 70 Churches in Germany, only 8 had regular chapels built for the worship of God, and the American Churches aided them in erecting a number, $8,000 a year being promised to him for five years. During the last twenty-six years, the Hamburg Church has had additions yearly, the smallest number being 5, and the largest 121, making a total of 1,317, an average of nearly one every Sabbath for the entire period. The largest Church connected with the Mission in 1867 was at Memel, In Eastern Prussia, numbering 1,524.

Two missions were supported by the German Churches at this time, one in China and another in South Africa, and still later, one in the region of Mount Ararat, besides a number which they planted in the United States and South America. The Theological School at Hamburg, having a four-years' course of study, is a constant source of supply for the ministry, twenty students having

graduated therefrom in 1886. The Churches are gathered into Associations, and the Associations into a Triennial Conference. The Churches within the territory of Russia, which have sprung chiefly from the German Churches whose preachers have traveled into Switzerland, Poland, Hungary, Lithuania and Siberia, have recently formed the 'Union of Baptist Churches in the Russian Empire.' Dissent from the Greek Church in Russia is relentlessly crushed out, yet in many places little bands of Baptists have sprung up numbering in all about 12,000 persons. Itinerant missionaries in many provinces, such as Esthenia, are successfully winning men to Christ. In St. Petersburg, Mr. Schiewe has gathered crowds of people in his own house, until the authorities have forbidden their further assembling on the pretense of danger to health. Within two years he has baptized above four hundred converts there and elsewhere. But these men of God pay a great price for the privilege of saving their fellow Russians. One of them has been imprisoned more than forty times for preaching the Gospel. An old man of seventy years was put in chains and compelled to walk sixty English miles for this crime, the blood running from his ankles and wrists. In one town the preacher and all who listened to him were imprisoned, and few Baptist preachers in Russia have escaped the prison. Mr. Schiewe says:

'I, also, have not been free from it, having been imprisoned seven times for the Gospel's sake, and was forbidden the country for the same reason. In the year 1869 I was imprisoned for the first time; during the year 1872 five times, and in the year 1877 I was taken away by the police from my brethren and from my wife and children, and, together with five other brethren, was conducted over the frontier by guards armed with revolvers and side-arms, and banished into exile.' The amount contributed by the Missionary Union in 1885, in behalf of the German Mission, was only $5,400, and no American missionary has ever been engaged in the work in Germany. The statistics of this mission, in 1886, give 162 Churches, 152 chapels, and 32,244 members. Thus, in love, is God avenging the blood of the old German Baptist martyrs.

SWEDES. As the German mission was an outgrowth of a Baptist Church in Philadelphia, through the captain of a sea-going vessel, so the Swedish mission was directly the outcome of the Mariners' Church in New York, through a common sailor. This Church for Seamen had been recognized as a regular Baptist Church by a Council of Churches, December 4th, 1843, and Rev. Ira. B. Steward became its pastor. About two years after, Mr. Isaac T. Smith, one of its members, found a Danish sailor at the Sailors' Home, and brought him to the service of this Church. The man became interested, and came again about a year after, walking with a crutch, for he had then lost a leg. After lying in the hospital in Charleston, S. C., he had debated on the choice of returning to his home in Denmark, or to New York, but decided on the latter course. After his baptism, his brethren procured for him an artificial leg, thus enabling him to walk easily, he soon manifested great zeal in missionary work. In 1848 he was licensed to preach, and soon the ladies of the Bethel Union sent him as their missionary to Denmark. There, meeting another sailor who had lost a leg, he constructed one for him like his own artificial limb, and his fame soon spread amongst the wounded and crippled of the navy. The king sent for him and offered to set him up in that business in Copenhagen, if he would cease preaching and furnish legs for the disabled of the royal navy. But F. L. Rymker, for this was his name, concluding that it was bettor for his brethren that they should enter into life maimed, determined to preach; which he continued to do in Denmark for seven or eight years, when he went to labor in the north of Norway. The result of about ten years' labor there was the formation of five or six churches, the ordination of two preachers, the

employment of five unordained, and the conversion and baptism of between one hundred and fifty and two hundred Norwegians, scattered over a territory of two hundred miles in length. This was the condition of things there in 1868.

Right here we begin to trace the origin of the Swedish Mission to the same Church. Not long after Rymker had united with this body, Gustavus W. Schroeder, a young Swedish sailor who had Just landed at the wharf in New York, came to the meeting on a Sabbath morning. He had been converted on his voyage and intended to unite with the Methodist Church, but another sailor invited him to attend the service with him that day at the Baptist Bethel. During the service Mr. Steward immersed two converted sailors on their faith in Christ. This was the first time that young Schroeder had seen the ordinance, and he was deeply affected, and said: ' his is the way that the Lord Jesus, who redeemed me with his blood, was baptized, and now, it would be ungrateful for me not to follow him.' This decided the matter; he, too, was immersed, and soon after sailed for Grottenburg, Sweden. There he fell in with Rev. Frederick O. Nelson, a Methodist missionary of the Seamen's Friend Society, who must here tell his own story. He says, that through the instrumentality of

'The dear brother Schroeder, the Lord has been pleased to awaken a spirit of inquiry in my mind on the subject of Baptism and the ordinances of God's house. The result of the inquiry has been that, after a long and sore conflict with myself, I have at last been obliged to submit to and receive the truth. I was baptized in July, 1847, by the Rev. Mr. Oncken, in Hamburg; and on the 9th of September, this year, my wife and four others were baptized by a Danish brother by the name of Foster, a missionary of the Baptists in England. Thus the Lord has been pleased to commence a Church on New Testament principles even here in Sweden, the spiritual Spain of the North. . . . We expect great trials and suffering for our principles; and we have had thoughts of leaving the country, but our consciences would not suffer us, till we were driven out by the authorities. . . . If we are punished according to an existing law, it is a question if we do not suffer death.'

Again, under date of March 5th, 1848, Nelson writes:

'We have now twenty-eight Baptists! mind, twenty-eight Baptist believers in Sweden. Two years ago, as I and my wife were talking about Baptist principles, we said to one another; ''Yes, it is right; if the Bible is true, the Baptist principles are the only Apostolic, the only true ones; but no one in Sweden will ever embrace them besides ourselves. . . . Just as we were about in good earnest to prepare for emigration to America, some persons began to inquire, and to listen to our reasoning from the New Testament, for as yet we have had nothing but the Holy Scriptures by which to convince people. We are, however, not all in one place. In Gottenburg there are four brethren and two sisters. In another place, thirty-six English miles from town, there are three brethren and six sisters; about eighteen miles from there, are six brethren and seven sisters; making altogether twenty-eight.' Ten days later he wrote, that he had baptized another 'in the sea; 'but on the 24th of April he says: 'The truth has begun its course and is making disturbance in the enemy's camp. We are now thirty-five Baptists in Sweden,' and some of his brethren had been arrested because they refused to have their children christened. On July 4th, 1849, Nelson was brought before the Court of Consistory, in Gottenburg, on the charge of spreading 'religious errors,' when the presiding Bishop demanded: ' Do you, Nelson, acknowledge that you have been in such a place, at such a time, and there preached against our Evangelical Lutheran religion, and enticed people to join the

errors of the Baptists; and that you, even there, baptized several persons? To this he replied: 'I have often, there and elsewhere, spoken the truth according to the word of God; but as to the charge that I have enticed any one to embrace errors, I could not assent, as I always proved every thing I said by the Bible, and directed the people to the Bible to search for themselves. I also acknowledge having baptized persons.' At that time the punishment for forsaking the State religion was banishment, and for inducing others to leave it, a fine of two hundred thalers silver and banishment for life. In 1853 Nelson and his Church were banished, and they came to America. About this time, another Mr. Nelson was banished from Sweden for becoming a Roman Catholic, and the friends of religious liberty in England sought relief for the oppressed ones through Lord Palmerston, who, at the time, was Premier there. Dr. Steane, of London, opened a correspondence with a Committee in New York who sought to influence the Swedish government in the interests of religious freedom, through the American government. Dr. Gone and the writer were members of that Committee, and earnest appeals were made to the Swedish government, through Lord Palmerston and General Cass, Secretary of State, at Washington, from 1857 to 1860. The correspondence was of a most interesting character, showing the British Minister and the American Secretary to be the firm friends of religious liberty. These letters were laid before the London and New York Committees, and their contents showed that his Majesty of Sweden was quite willing to sign a bill giving toleration to his subjects, but he was hedged in with difficulty. Indeed, he had introduced a measure in the Diet, in favor of enlarged religious liberty, but it was rejected. The case stood about this way: 1. The laws of Sweden recognized all its subjects as born religiously free until they took religious vows upon them to support the State religion. 2. Every parent was required to put his child under those vows within a month of its birth. 3. If these vows were ever cast off, the penalty was banishment. 4. This law could not be altered without the joint consent of the Houses of Peers, Commons and Bishops, three separate bodies, and the royal assent. 5. Under the appeals of the English and American governments, aided by the rising popular opinion of Sweden, a bill for larger religious freedom had twice passed the Peers and Commons, but the House of Bishops had defeated it before it reached the king, who was prepared to give it signature. In time, however, Nelson's sentence was revoked, and he returned to labor in Sweden. Shortly before Nelson's banishment a Mr. Forsell and a small company in Stockholm had seen the need of a holy life, the abandonment of infant baptism, and a Gospel order of things; and further north still, Rev. Andrew Wiberg, a clergyman of the State Church, had reached the conclusion that unregenerate men should not be admitted to the Lord's Table. While in that state of mind, he visited Germany in company with Mr. Forsell. At Hamburg they consulted Oncken, but Wiberg held fast to his infant baptism and returned to Stockholm. On leaving Hamburg, some brother presented him with 'Pengilly on Baptism,' and on full examination he adopted Baptist principles. Accordingly, he was immersed in the Baltic by Mr. Nelson at eleven o'clock on the night of July 23d, 1852, in the presence of many brethren, and sisters. In quest of health he came to New York, united with the Mariners' Church, was ordained by advice of a council March 3d, 1853, and in due time returned to Sweden, where his labors have been greatly blessed. This interesting fact is connected with his return to his native land: At the Baptist anniversaries in Chicago, 1855, a letter was read dated from 'a cell in Stockholm Prison, January 25th, 1855,' and signed by a pastor, telling of the imprisonment of fifteen brethren and sisters, on bread and water diet, for taking communion outside of the State Church. The reply of the American Baptists was the appointment of Mr. Wiberg as a missionary of the Publication Society to Sweden. During his

absence, fourteen pamphlets had been published against the Baptists, the court preacher had entered the house of Forsell with a policeman, and by force had sprinkled the forehead of a six-months' child. [Was he a Pedobaptist fanatic?] In another place two cows had been seized and sold for the fees of a priest, who had christened two children against the protest of their parents, and a Bishop had given the solemn decision that the Baptists might exist, but they must not increase. Still, one of our brethren had visited Norberg, and the owner of the iron works let his men stop work to listen, and afterwards came with his superintendent 120 miles to Stockholm to be immersed. Returning, he built a chapel, and Wiberg found 23 persons there ready for baptism. A converted Jew came to Stockholm for baptism in May, 1858, and returned to labor in the island of Gottland, and by the close of the next year there were six Churches, with 373 members on the island. A Baptist preacher was sent to Stockholm with a set of thieves, where he was imprisoned for preaching. He not only preached in prison, but, summoned from court to court, he traveled 2,400 miles to obey. Yet he was careful to hold 144 meetings and baptize 116 converts on the journey. One night he was put in a cell, where he preached all night through a wall to a prisoner in the next cell, and in the morning they bade each other good-by without having seen each other's face. A young nobleman, Mr. Drake, a graduate of the State Church ministry, at the University of Upsala, was converted and baptized in 1855, when the people set him down for a lunatic. In 1880 this solitary convert met a Baptist Association in the same town, representing 38 churches and 3,416 members. Mr. Wiberg found 24 Baptists at Stockholm. Soon their place of worship could not contain the people. His work on baptism, an octavo volume of 320 pages, had been published at Upsala, he started a semi-monthly paper, called the 'Evangelist,' and, in 1861, he was obliged to visit England to collect money for a new church edifice. There he raised ?1,100; then he came to the United States for the same purpose, and now in Stockholm there are three Baptist Churches. The house of worship here spoken of is large, seating 1,200 persons, built of light colored stone: it is well situated, very conveniently arranged, cost about $25,000, and is paid for. This church is known as the 'Bethel Kappelet;' its communicants number about 2,400; they appeared to the writer to be of the middle and working classes. They sustain several stations in the outskirts of the city and are active in foreign mission work, helping to support a missionary in Spain and, perhaps, some in other countries. Also in Stockholm is the Theological Seminary, of which Rev. K. O. Broady, a former student of Madison University, is president. It has sent out at least 250 ministers, and now, in its beautiful now building, has from twenty-five to thirty students. Rev. J. A. Edgren, D.D., for some time principal of the Scandinavian Department of the Theological Seminary at Chicago, and Rev. Mr. Truve, formerly a student at Madison, who worked in this field with Messrs. Drake, Brady, Wiberg and others, created an evangelical literature for Sweden which is working wonders. The work has crossed the Baltic and entered Finland. Six or seven Churches have been formed in Norway; one of them in Tromsoe, north of the Arctic Circle, and the most northerly Baptist Church on the globe. Here our brethren find no more difficulty in immersing believers once, in January and February, than the Greek Church does in dipping babes three times; and, in 1874 they reported a Laplander amongst the converts. In 1866 the Swedish Mission was transferred from the Publication Society to the Missionary Union. The statistics for the present year, 1886, give this aggregate: 131 Churches, 28,766 members, 478 preachers, the number immersed in 1885, 3,217, and the appropriations from the missionary treasury in Boston for that year, $6,750. The Swedish Baptists are yet the victims of cruel laws. The government still holds the absurd theory that all Swedes are born in the National Church, and that they cannot be legally separated

therefrom. Yet the trend of modern public opinion has compelled it to make some provision for dissent. Under the pretense of relief it made a Dissenter law in 1860, full of obnoxious restrictions, and in 1873 amended it, under the further pretense of removing them; but still it exacts from them conditions to which they cannot yield and retain their self-respect. They must apply to the King in order to be recognized by the State, laying their creed before him and certifying their intention to leave the State Church; if he grants them the right to exist as a Church, they must give notice to the civil authorities, that the pastor may be held responsible for their worship according to the creed; all change of pastors and the internal affairs of the Church must be reported as a matter of information to the civil authorities; no person can unite with a Baptist Church till he is eighteen years of age; no person can leave the State Church to unite with Baptists without notifying the priest of his parish two months before doing so; they shall have no schools for their children who are under fifteen years of age, for the teaching of religious truth, without special permission of the King in individual cases, under a fine of from 5 to 500 rix dollars; a public officer who joins the Baptists shall be dismissed from office; a royal decree may revoke the freedom of worship at any time, under the pretense that it is absurd, and noncompliance with these provisions subjects the pastor or Church to heavy fines. By a comical construction of the l

Chapter 15

14 Other Baptist Missions?Foreign and Home

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS XIV. OTHER BAPTIST MISSIONS?FOREIGN AND HOME

American Baptists had been deeply interested in Foreign Missions from their establishment by the English Baptists in 1792; as is shown in their gifts to the mission at Serampore in 1806 and 1807. In those years $6,000 were sent to aid Dr. Carey in his work, by American Christians, chiefly Baptists. From the organization of the Baptist General Convention for Foreign Missions, in 1814, to the year 1844, the Northern and Southern Baptists worked earnestly together. But at the latter date the question of domestic slavery not only entered largely into American politics, but into the Churches and religious societies of most American Christians. At that time it so divided the councils of American Baptists, that the North and South deemed it expedient to work in separate missionary organizations both at home and abroad. Hence, in 1845, a society was organized under the title of the 'Southern Baptist Convention,' and in 1846 the Northern Baptists re-organized their mission society, under the title of the 'Baptist Missionary Union.' The Southern Society was located at Richmond, Va., where it has continued its operations with great zeal and wisdom. J. B. Jeter, D.D., was elected President, which office he filled with great efficiency for the following twenty years, and Rev. James B. Taylor, Secretary, who continued to serve till His death, in 1871. The great work which the Southern Convention has accomplished well deserves the volume which Dr. Tupper has devoted to the narration of its sacrifices and successes. It has sustained missions in Brazil, Mexico, Africa, China and Italy, and does an inestimable amount of home mission work in the United States, for the Convention combines both Home and Foreign Mission labor. A review of its work in each of its fields will excite gratitude in all Christian hearts.

CHINA. When the Southern Convention was formed, Rev. J. L. Shuck and Rev. I. J. Roberts, missionaries, transferred themselves to its direction and support. Mr. Shuck and his wife had been the Baptist missionaries in Canton, from 1836, and had formed the first Baptist Church there. In 1842, when Hong Kong fell into the hands of the British, the missionaries left Canton for a time and sought protection here. Mr. Shuck had baptized his first converts in Macao, in 1837, but the Church at Canton was not formed till 1844; when he returned. The Spirit of God was poured out upon his work, and he found it needful to erect a place of worship. At that time he lost his noble wife, and finding it necessary to bring his children to the United States, he brought, also, one of the Chinese converts with him, and raised $5,000 for a chapel, but it was thought that wisdom called for the establishment of a mission at Shanghai. He accordingly returned to China in 1847, and labored faithfully till 1851 at Shanghai, where he lost his second wife, and returning to the United States, closed his useful life in South Carolina, after laboring in California from 1854 to 1861. In 1850 Messrs. Clopton, Pearcy, Johnson, Whilden, and Miss Baker, were added to the Canton Mission, and between the years 1854-60, Messrs. Gaillard, Graves and Schilling followed. A number of these soon fell on the field, were transferred to other stations, or were obliged to return in broken health, but in 1860, 40 baptisms and 58 Church members were reported. Mr. and Mrs. Williams and Miss Whilden went out in 1872 and did a good work, especially in schools amongst

Chinese women. Mr. Simmons and wife reached Canton in 1871, and are still on the field, and Miss Stein joined them in 1879. B. H. Graves, D.D., has been in Canton since 1856, and for a generation has consecrated his life to his holy work with his faithful wife. She was a Miss Morris, of Baltimore, known to the writer almost from childhood as a Christian who counted no sacrifice too great for Jesus, and who has stood firmly at her husband's side since 1872. Dr. Graves has published a Life of Christ in Chinese, also a book on Scripture Geography, another on Homiletics, still another on our Lord's Parables, and a Hymn Book.

SHANGHAI. As already stated, this mission was founded in 1847, by Messrs. Yates, Shuck and Tobey, when a Church of ten members was formed, and two native preachers were licensed to preach. When Mr. Pearcy joined the mission, in 1848, 500 natives attended the services. In 1855, 18 public services a week were held, five day-schools were kept, a Chinese woman was immersed, and about 2,500 persons heard the Gospel weekly. Various other missionaries joined the mission, but after 1865 Dr. Yates and his wife were left alone. Dr. Yates has done a great work for China in the translation of the Scriptures into the Chinese colloquial, the speech of 30,000,000, and in the issue of Chinese tracts. This veteran has pushed his Bible translation to 1 Timothy, and continues on the field in full vigor. The Shantung Mission consisted of the Chefoo and the Tung-chow stations, which have been fully cultivated from 1860; the first by Mr. and Mrs. Hartwell and Mr. Crawford. In 1868 a native preacher baptized 20 converts. There are now in China 56 missionaries and native assistants, 654 Church members and 145 pupils in the schools.

AFRICA. In 1846 the Convention established a mission, in Liberia, and appointed John Day and A. L. Jones (colored) their missionaries; who, at different times have been followed by others. Stations were established in Liberia and Sierra Leone, against all sorts of difficulties and discouragements, largely arising in the opposition of the Africans themselves, who, in many cases, have driven out the missionaries, especially in the Beir country. Many of those sent have died on the field, while others have not only lived, despite the trials of the climate; but have risen to great usefulness and influence as teachers and preachers. John Day, the first pastor of the Church at Mourovia, established a high school there, in which not only the elementary branches were taught, but classical and theological instruction was given. He died in 1859, but not until he had planted a number of Churches, many Sunday-schools, and preached the Gospel, as he thought, to about 10,000 heathen. Rev. T. J. Bowen established the Yoruba Mission in 1850, and between 1853 and 1856 about a dozen missionaries went to his help. But after they had planted many Churches and schools, many of them fell victims to African disease, and others were driven out by wars and African persecution. Mr. Bowen labored with much zeal and success for a considerable time, but returned to the United States, and during the Civil War in the United States the Convention was compelled to discontinue the African Mission for want of means. But in 1875 it was reorganized by Messrs. David and Colley, who were welcomed by such of the native converts as had held fast their confidence in Christ. At present, Messrs. David and Eubank, with Mrs. Eubank, and four native laborers, are on the field at Lagos, where a new chapel has been erected and good promise for the future is held forth. There are stations also at Abbookuta and Ogbomoshaw, with several minor points; seven or eight missionaries, native and foreign, are laboring earnestly. In 1865, 18 converts were baptized. There are 125 Church members in the mission and 220 scholars in the schools.

BRAZILIAN MISSION. This work was begun in 1879, and has met with the most determined opposition on the ground, so that the missionaries have suffered much in their work of love and reaped light fruit. The missionaries have been Messrs. Quillan, Bagby and Bowen, and the stations Rio de Janeiro, Santa Barbara, Bahia and Macio. The brethren have published two works in Portuguese, 'The True Baptism,' and 'Who are the Baptists,' and have circulated many copies of Mr. Taylor's tract on the 'New Birth.' The field is very hard, but the Convention is full of perseverance and hope. The present Church membership is 168, of whom 23 were baptized in the mission year 1845-46.

MEXICAN MISSION. This mission was taken up with Rev. J. O. Westrup, in 1880, and had scarcely been adopted when that devoted servant of Christ was murdered by a band of Indians and Mexicans. But Mr. Powell is now on the field and about 12 missionaries and teachers are laboring with him in Mexico; at Saltillo, Patos and Parras, also in the Monclova and Rio Grande Districts, in which several stations there are at present about 270 Church members with 216 scholars in the schools. THE ITALIAN MISSION. This has become one of the most interesting fields occupied by the Convention. Not only must Rome and Italy ever present a peculiar charm for Baptists, because of their immortal connection with Apostolic triumphs, but because during the Middle Ages there was always a little remnant left there who held fast to some of the Baptist principles of the primitive times. The archives of the Inquisition in Venice furnish proof that in a score of towns and villages of Northern Italy the 'Brothers' were found, although they were obliged to escape to Moravia. Then, from 1550, that court had its hands fall in the attempt to exterminate them. Gherlandi and Saga, especially, are of precious memory. Gherlandi's father had designed him for the priesthood, but the holy life and teaching of the 'Brothers' won him, and in 1559 he labored in Italy to bring men back to Apostolic truth. His capture, however, soon cut short his toils, and when thrust into prison his 'inquisitors pressed him to change his opinions.' 'They are not opinions,' he said, 'but the truth, for which I am ready to die.' Though they drowned him in the lagoon at night, nevertheless, say the 'Baptist Chronicles:' 'His death will be for the revelation of truth.' Saga was born in 1532 and studied at Padua, where, while sick, he was converted through the words of a godly artisan. Dr. Benrath says in 'Studien und Kritiken,' 1885, that when he became a Baptist, his relatives cast him off; and that when he was ready to conduct twenty disciples to Moravia, he was betrayed and taken to Venice, where, after a year's confinement, sentence of death was passed, and in 1565 he was drowned at night in the Sea of Venice.

Modern Baptists prize any land where such heroism has been displayed for the truth, and when the temporal power of the pope fell and Italian unity opened the gates of Rome to free missionary labor, the Southern Convention was not slow to send a man to that post. Dr. W. N. Cote, one of its missionaries on the Continent of Europe, formed a Church of eighteen members in Rome in 1871, but the little flock passed through grave troubles, and Mr. Cote's connection with the Convention ceased. In 1873 Rev. George B. Taylor, son of the first Secretary, James B. Taylor, was appointed to take charge of the mission. He made His way to Rome, a beautiful place of worship was built at a cost of $30,000, and after laboring with the greatest devotion and wisdom, and with large success, ill-health compelled him to return to Virginia in 1885. Meanwhile the mission is conducted under the general direction of Rev. J. H. Eager, and is in a prosperous condition. The Italian Baptists are beset with peculiar difficulties from many sources, but they are pronounced Baptists, and stand resolutely by their principles. For mutual aid they have formed themselves into an

'Apostolical Baptist Union,' and support a journal known as 'Il Testimonio." They are also developing the practice of self-support somewhat rapidly. They have stations at Rome, Tone Pellice, Pinerola, Milan, Venice, Bologna, Modena, Carpi, Bari, Barletta and the Island of Sardinia. Many of these interests are small, but they aggregate about 288 members. The Foreign Mission Stations of the Southern Baptist Convention number altogether, Stations, 27; Out-stations, 26; Male Missionaries, Foreign and native; 41; Female Missionaries, 33; Churches, 40; Communicants, 1,450; number added in 1885?86, 209.

INDIAN MISSIONS. A great work has been done for the Christianization of many Indian tribes by the Southern Convention, chiefly the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles. Rooted amongst the white missionaries to these 'aborigines, have been Messrs. Buckner, Moffat, Burns, Preston and Murrow, and of converted Indians themselves there have been Peter Folsom, Simon Hancock, Lewis and William Cass and John Jumper. Amongst the various tribes there are 5 Associations, embracing about 8,000 communicants, with many secular and Sunday-schools and meeting-houses. THE HOME MISSION work of the Convention is done chiefly through the State Mission Board, and is known as the Domestic work. The Domestic Board first took its separate existence in 1845, with Rev. Russell Holman as Corresponding Secretary, who was followed in due time by Rev. Thomas F. Curtis, Rev. Joseph Walker, and again by Mr. Holman. His successors were Rev. M. T. Sumner and Dr. McIntosh; all of whom did a great work for the feeble Churches in almost every Southern city. and in every Southern State, especially in Texas, Florida, Arkansas and Georgia. Over $1,100,000 have been expended on the field, and fully 40,000 persons have been baptized on their faith in Christ Jesus.

Missionary efforts FOR THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA were commenced by the Baptist General Convention in 1817, and prosecuted by the Baptists of the North and South together until 1846. After that the Missionary Union prosecuted its Indian missionary work alone till 1865, when it transferred that department to the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The tribes in which this work was prosecuted during this period, were the Pottawatomies and Miamies, 1817; Cherokees, in North Carolina, 1818; Ottawas, 1822; Creeks, 1823; Oneidas and Tonawandas, including the Tuscaroras, 1824; Choctaws, 1826; Ojibwas, 1828; Shawnees, 1831; Otoes, 1833; Omahas, 1833; Delawares, including the Stockbridges, 1833; and Kickapoos, 1834. The missionaries employed, male and female, numbered upwards of 60, and the missions which yielded the largest fruit were those amongst the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Ojibwas, Delawares, and Shawnees. The whole number of converts baptized were about 2,000, of whom three quarters were of the. Cherokee nation. In 1826 seven young Pottawatomies were sent as students to Hamilton Theological Seminary for instruction, and two to Vermont as students of medicine. In 1833 a Cherokee native preacher was ordained, another in 1844; in 1850 two more, and in 1852, yet another. In 1835 there was a Choctaw native preacher, and in 1842, there were two others; a Creek Indian became a preacher in 1837, and a Tuscarora, chief was ordained pastor in his own tribe in 1838. The earliest stations amongst the Pottawatomies were called Carey and Thomas stations, in honor of the missionaries in India. Rev. Isaac McCoy was the founder of both these missions. In 1831 these Indians were removed farther westward by the government of the United States, became mixed with other tribes, and the work was suspended in 1844. In 1822 schools were formed among the Ottawas and a Church in 1832, with 24 members. They contributed a sum equal to thirty cents per member for missions in 1849; and in 1854 the

work was transferred to the Indian Territory. The Cherokee station, in North Carolina, was begun by Rev. Evan Jones and Mr. Roberts in 1825, and in 1838, 156 natives were baptized in the space of ten months. After they were removed to the Indian Territory the work progressed, and in two years their Church numbered 600 members. Mr. Fry joined the station in 1842, and the members were estimated at 1,000. All the Cherokee Churches had meeting-houses, and their was also amongst them a printing-office and a female high school. A missionary periodical was established in 1844, and the translation of the New Testament was completed in 1846. The tribe may well be considered a civilized and Christian nation. The mission amongst the Delawares began with two preaching places; their first. missionary was Rev. J. G. Pratt. This mission was finally absorbed in that to the Shawnees. Mr. Binghum conducted the mission to the Ojibwas at Sault Ste. Mary, from 1828 to 1857; the tribe had dwindled away through death and emigration, and the work was given up. Rev. Moses Merrill labored amongst the Otoes from 1833-to 1840, when he died on the field after translating portions of Scripture into the Otoe language; after his death that mission was discontinued. Mr. Willard, formerly missionary to France, and others, remained amongst the Shawnees from 1831 to 1862. At an earlier date, there were missions amongst two or three tribes in Western New York, but the advancing tide of civilization swept them away. Schoolcraft estimates the number of Indians at the discovery of America within the present area of the United States at 1,000,000, but the Report of the United States Commissioner for 1882 gives their number as only 259,632.

After the Revolutionary War the disjointed condition of the Baptist denomination unfitted it for general missionary work. It needed concert of action, and yet, nothing could force organization upon it so effectually as the pressure of missionary work. From the beginning our people felt the need of pressing the work of personal regeneration, and yet every form of jealousy for reserved rights repelled them from formal organization. Still, the Associations were impelled to cooperation, and helped the Churches to feel their way to concert of action. The Shaftesbury Association, which comprised Northeastern New York and Western Massachusetts, in 1802, sent out Caleb Blood, paying his traveling expenses through Central New York and over the Niagara River into Upper Canada. At that time the Associations' especially the Philadelphia, the Warren and the Shaftesbury, had largely imbibed the missionary spirit and were engaged in home evangelization. The first missionary organization in which American Baptists were active, outside of these, so far as is known, was the 'Boston Female Society for Missionary Purposes.' It was formed in 1800 with 14 members, part of whom were Congregationalists. For the first year it expended $150 in New England. Several years after this, 1802, a few brethren in Boston, without the action of the Churches, formed the 'Massachusetts Domestic Missionary Society,' the object of which was 'to furnish occasional preaching, and to promote the knowledge of evangelic truth in the new settlements of these United States, or further, if circumstances should render it proper.' In the first year of its operations it sent Joseph Cornell through the northwestern part of the State of New York, and two other missionaries to Maine and New Hampshire, Cornell's journey occupied six months; he traveled 1,000 miles, and preached in 46 townships, reporting that in 41 of these the people had no religions instruction, and that in 13 no minister had ever preached. This Society existed thirty years and had missionaries in ten States, West as far as Illinois, and South as far as Mississippi. John Ide, Edward Davenport, Amos Chase, Nathanael Kendrich, John M. Peck and James E. Welch were amongst its missionaries. It afterward became the parent of the present Home Mission Society.

There had been scattered communities of Baptists in Missouri from the settlement of that country. Thomas Johnson, of Georgia, had visited it in 1799, while it was under foreign dominion and Roman Catholic control. A few families from the Carolinas, about 1796, made a settlement in St. Louis County. John dark, an Irish Methodist, became a Baptist, and probably was the first Baptist who ever preached west of the Mississippi. He gathered a Church in 1807.

Before considering the next mission organization, it will be in chronological order here to notice that great movement of explorers and first settlers which planted Baptist Churches in Kentucky at so early a date. Most of its early inhabitants were from Virginia and the Carolinas, principally from Virginia; most of them were Baptists in their religion, and their early ministers brought the strong marks and earnest spirit of their ministry with them. The settlers of Kentucky were generally men of powerful frame and dauntless courage, backwoodsmen, splendidly adapted to the subjugation of this great empire of forests, and these ministers met exactly the wants of the people. For about a score of years they were exposed to the wrath of the savages, who abounded in this world of wilderness. The encroachments of the whites had driven them back from their sea-coast domains, and as these slipped out of their hands, as was natural, they became sullen and vengeful. White emigrants found their crops destroyed, their stock driven off, their buildings burnt, and their wily foe in ambush to slaughter them in the dark forests. Dr. Spencer gives an illustrative case. The Cook family, from which sprang Abraham Cook, a devout Baptist minister, had removed in 1780 to the forks of Elkhorn, when the father died, leaving his widow and a large family unprotected on this frontier. She struggled with poverty and danger till the year 1792, when her sons, Hosea and Jesse, married. One day a band of Indians fell upon these two sons, while they were shearing sheep, and murdered one of them. The other, mortally wounded, fled to the house, barred the door and fell dead. The two women must now fight the Indians to save themselves and their babes. They had one rifle, but no shot. Finding a musket-ball, however, in her desperation one of the women bit it in two with her teeth, and fired one half at an Indian through a crevice in her log-house, he sprang into the air and fell dead. The savages then tried to force the door, but failing, sprang to the roof to fire the house. As the flames began to kindle, one of the heroines climbed the loft and quenched the fire with water. The Indians fired the roof the second time, but the women, having no more water in the house, took eggs and quenched the fire with them. The Indians kindled the flames the third time, when, having neither eggs nor water left, the poor woman tore the jacket from her murdered husband, saturated with his blood, and smothered the flames with that. Thus baffled, the savages retired, leaving these young mothers clasping their babes to their bosoms, obliged themselves to bury their slaughtered husbands. Many of the early ministers suffered much from the Indians. It is supposed that Rev. John Gerrard was murdered by them. The Severns Valley Baptist Church was the first, organized in Kentucky, about forty miles south of Louisville, at what is now Elizabethtown, though the church still bears its ancient name. On June 18, 1781, eighteen Baptists met in the wilderness, under a green sugar-tree, and there, directed by Rev. Joseph Barrett, from Virginia, formed themselves into a Baptist Church, choosing Rev. John Gerrard as their pastor. Cedar Creek was the second, founded July 4th, 1781, and Gilbert’s Creek the third, constituted under the leadership of Lewis Craig. For several years these Churches, and others that were formed, met with no marks of signal prosperity; but, in 1785, they were visited by a blessed revival of religion, especially those in Upper Kentucky. In 1784 a Church was gathered in the Bear Grass region, about thirty miles from what is now Louisville. At that time several able ministers had settled in the new territory, and the young Churches were greatly prospered. In 1787

Rev. John Gano left his pastoral charge in New York and settled in Kentucky, greatly strengthening the hands of His brethren. This State has now become the fourth Baptist State in the Union in point of numbers, having 61 Associations, 896 ministers, 1,731 Churches, 183,688 members. Last year, 1885, 10,748 persons were immersed into the fellowship of those Churches. Our brethren there have always expected and received 'large things.' In the olden times Jeremiah Vardeman baptized 8,000, Gilbert Mason 4,000, James M. Coleman 4,000, and Daniel Buckner 2,500. In returning to speak of organized missionary effort, it may be stated that in 1807 a number of brethren, within the limits of the Otsego Association, met on the 27th of August, at Pompey, Onondaga County, N. Y., and organized the Lake Missionary Society, for the 'promotion of the missionary enterprise in the destitute regions around.' Its first missionary was Rev. Salmon Morton, who was engaged at $4 a week. Two years later the name of the society was changed to the 'Hamilton Missionary Society.' It was the day of small things, for, in 1815, the society was able to provide only for forty weeks' labor in the course of a year, and it was greatly encouraged to receive from the 'Hamilton Female Missionary Society' in 1812, 'twenty yards of fulled cloth,' to replenish its treasury.

Still, the missionary spirit possessed the hearts of the American Baptists. At the meeting of the Triennial Convention, held in Philadelphia, May 17th, 1817, the sphere of its operations was enlarged by authorizing the Board 'to appropriate a portion of the funds to domestic missionary purposes.' This action diverted attention for a time from the original purpose of the Convention, for during the three ensuing years only three additional missionaries wore sent into foreign lauds. The Convention was feeling its way, in the absence of missionary experience, and its heart desired to take in the world. Luther Rice had influenced its action by his enlarged plans and holy aims. He possessed great ability, was of most commanding presence and an earnest speaker, and his recent conversion to Baptist principles had stirred the whole country. After his tour through the South and West, he reported a recommendation that a mission should be established in the West, not only on account of the importance of the region in itself, but it was 'indispensably necessary to satisfy the wishes and expectations of pious people in all parts of the United States,' and the Convention took his view of the case. Hence, it gave power to the Board to send missionaries into 'such parts of this country where the seed of the Word may be advantageously cast, and which mission societies on a small scale do not effectively reach.' The direct result of this vote was the appointment of John M. Peck and James E. Welch to this work and the appropriation of $1,000 for their support. They went West, acting under this commission, where they established many Churches, amongst them the Church at St. Louis, in the year 1817. James McCoy and Humphrey Posey were sent out under similar commissions to the Indians. In 1820 the Convention saw that it had attempted too much, and withdrew its support from Messrs. Peek and Welch. Mr. Welch returned East, and Mr. Feck was taken up and supported by the Massachusetts Society. For years he tried in vain to induce the Triennial Convention to resume its work in the West, and so from 1820 to 1833 home mission work was thrown back upon local organizations, Associations and State Conventions. In New York, the Convention was formed in 1821, in Massachusetts, 1824; and in others previous to 1832. After nine years' labor in the West, Mr. Peck returned to New England to arouse new interest in the work of western evangelization, and explained to the Massachusetts Society, in Dr. Baldwin's Church, in Boston, the necessities of this field. He also visited Br. Going, pastor of the Church in Worcester, Mass., and moved his bold but sound judgment and warm heart to examine the subject seriously. The two men corresponded constantly

on the subject for five years, when Drs. Going and Belles resolved to visit and inspect the West for themselves. The result was, that the three men sketched a plan, 'to lend efficient aid with promptitude;' and on returning, Dr. Going convinced the Massachusetts Society that a General Home Mission Society should be formed. It was willing to turn over all its interests to a new society, and used its influence to secure its organization: the result was, that on April 27th, 1832 the American Baptist Home Mission Society was formed in New York city, with Hon. Heman Lincoln, of Massachusetts, for its President, Dr. Going for its Corresponding Secretary, and William Colgate for its Treasurer. In Dr. Going's first report to the Executive Committee of the new society, he made an elaborate statement of Baptist strength in the United States, and the ratio of ministerial supply in various parts of the country. He estimated the whole number of communicants at 385,259, ministers 3,024, Churches 5.321, and Associations, 302. he reckoned the destitution in the Western States as 17 per cent greater than in the Eastern; and while the Churches of New York and New England were supplied with ministers seven eighths of the time, the Middle States were only supplied three eighths, and the Western one eighth. He further calculated that all the ministerial labor in the Valley of the Mississippi was only equal to that of 200 pastors in the East. The managers of the new society 'Resolved' with what they regarded as great boldness, that $10,000 ought to be raised and expended during the first year, and felt very grateful when Mr. Colgate reported $6,580.73, as the result of the year's work. But on this sum they had carried 89 missionaries, laboring in 19 States and Territories through that year. In the sixth year the receipts were $17,238.18, missionaries 116, and 1,421 persons baptized. It is difficult to get at the separate statistics for all the preceding five years, as they were mixed up with the State Conventions, which held certain auxiliary relations to the society. In October, 1837, Dr. Going accepted the presidency of the Literary and Theological. Institute at Granville, Ohio, and in 1839, Rev. Benjamin M. Hill, of Troy, N. Y., was elected to fill his place as Home Mission Secretary. As Dr. Going has become so thoroughly historical amongst American Baptists, a fuller sketch of him will be desired.

Jonathan Going, D.D., was of Scotch descent, and was born at Reading, Vermont, March 7th, 1786. He graduated from Brown University in the class of I809; and during his first year at college, April 6, 1806, he united with the First Baptist Church at Providence, under the care of Rev. Stephen Gano. He pursued his theological studies for a time after his graduation, with President Messer, and then became pastor of the Church at Cavendish, Conn., 1811-1815. In 1815 he became pastor of the Church at Worcester. Mass., and during the first year of His service organized the first Sunday-school in Worcester Co. At that time ardent spirits were in common use amongst Church members and ministers, but Mr. Going took high ground against this practice. It is said that a neighboring Church applied to the Doctor for aid, when he asked if that congregation could not support itself by economizing in the use of liquor? The reply was: 'I think not, sir, I buy mine now by the barrel, at the lowest wholesale rates.' The personal influence of Dr. Going made him a sort of Bishop in all the surrounding country. During his pastorate of 16 years at Worcester; 350 additions were made to his Church. Hon. Isaac Davis, for many years a member of his Church and a personal friend, said of him: If there was an ordination, a revival of religion, & difficulty in a Church, or a public meeting in aid of some benevolent object, within 30 or 40 miles, the services of our pastor were very likely to be called for. Every body saw that his heart was in the great cause, not only of benevolent action but of the common Christianity, and every body expected that he would respond cheerfully and effectively to all reasonable claims that were made upon him.' After taking charge of Granville College, his influence in Ohio became as extensive and healthful as in

Massachusetts, but he was permitted to fill His place only till November 9, 1844, when he fell asleep in Jesus, lamented by all who knew him.

Much might be said of Dr. Hill's secretaryship in the Home Mission Society, which he filled for 22 years. He was a native of Newport, R.I., born April 5, 1793. He entered the Pennsylvania University to prepare for the medical profession, but was converted at the age of 19 and became a pastor at 25. He served two smaller Churches first, then spent 9 years as pastor of the First Church, New Haven, Conn., and 10 years as pastor of the First Church Troy, N. Y., before he accepted the place vacated by Dr. Going. During the period of his secretaryship the country and the Society were agitated by several very exciting and perplexing questions, but under his firm and judicious management, it derived no serious injury from any of them. He kept his head and heart upon the one aim of the Society, 'North America for Christ,' and he did much to bring it to the Saviour's feet. One of the serious practical difficulties which beset the Society in the prosecution of its western work was not' readily overcome. In many sections a salaried ministry was denounced, and many otherwise sensible people looked upon the plan of missions as a speculation and the missionaries were set down as hirelings. In November, 1833, a Convention met in Cincinnati, where representative men from various portions of the South and West met representatives of the Home Mission Society, face to face, to exchange views on the subject. This meeting did much to dispel prejudice and ignorance. Still, for many years the narrowminded folk in the West treated the honest, hard working missionaries much as they would be treated by fairly decent pagans. Only persistent work and high Christian character conquered the recognition of their gifts and self-sacrificing life. The settlement of the interior in regard to intelligence, virtue and religion, as well as free government, had been a matter of great solicitude with the earlier statesmen of the country. Under the colonial date of July 2d, 1756, Benjamin Franklin wrote to George Whitefield:

'You mention your frequent wish that you were a chaplain in the American Army. I sometimes wish that you and I were jointly employed by the crown to settle a colony on the Ohio. I imagine that we could do it effectually, and without putting the nation to much expense; but, I fear, we shall never be called upon for such a service. What a glorious thing it would be to settle in that fine country a large, strong body of religious and industrious people! What a security to the other colonies, and advantage to Britain, by increasing her people, territory, strength and commerce! Might it not greatly facilitate the introduction of pure religion among the heathen, if we could by such a colony, show them a better sample of Christians than they commonly see in our Indian traders??the most vicious and abandoned wretches of our nation! Life, like a dramatic piece, should not only be conducted with regularity, but, methinks, it should finish handsomely. Being now in the last act, I begin to cast about for something fit to end with. Or, if mine be more properly compared to an epigram, as some of its lines are but barely tolerable, I am very desirous of concluding with a bright point. In such an enterprise, I could spend the remainder of life with pleasure, and I firmly believe God would bless us with success, if we undertake it with a sincere regard to his honor, the service of our gracious king, and (which is the same thing) the public good.'

Although the wish of Franklin to enter the heart of the country with Whitefield, as missionaries, for 'the introduction of pure religion among the heathen,' and to found a colony to the 'honor' of God, it was reserved to others, as honorable and as noble, to compose an 'epigram' there, under a Republic of which neither of these great men dreamed when the philosopher expressed this wish. In a quiet way single missionaries there have done an almost superhuman work. Fourteen of

thestrongest Churches in Illinois and Michigan were planted by that pure-hearted man, Thomas Powell, as well as the Illinois River Association. Out of this body in turn have come the Ottowa, Rock River, East Illinois River and the McLean Associations, which were organized under his direction. Dr. Temple wrote his friend, Dr. Sommers, in 1833, concerning Chicago, then, a mere trading post: 'We have no servant of the Lord Jesus to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation. . . . I write to beg that you will see Brother Going and ask that a young man of first-rate talent, whose whole heart is in the cause of Christ, may be sent to it immediately. I will myself become responsible for $200 per annum for such a missionary.' Dr. Going found the young man in Rev. A. B. Freeman, who had just graduated from Hamilton,. and justified what seemed hasty, by saying that 'Chicago promises to become a very important place on very many accounts, and it is deemed highly important that we have a footing there at an early date.' In October, 1833, the First Church in Chicago was organized in what is today one of the centers of power in our land.

Under the administration of Dr. Hill, the work of the Home Mission Society began to assume its fuller proportion of importance to American Baptists. In 1832 its principal field was the Mississippi Valley, extending from Galena to New Orleans, embracing about 4,000,000 people, but in twenty years from that time the vast stretch west of the great river was opened up to the Pacific Ocean. What, in 1832,.stood upon the maps as the 'Great American Desert,' an immense empire of black waste, became Kansas, Oregon, Minnesota, as States; while Nebraska, Washington, Dakota, Nevada and Colorado were becoming rapidly colonized in 1852. At the close of Dr. Hill's service, the operations of the Society extended into Kansas and the Territory of Nebraska, 160 miles up the Missouri River from the Kansas line;. up the Mississippi to its junction with the St. Croix, thence to the Falls of the St. Croix, and to the head of Lake Superior. The necessity had been forced upon the-Society of doing something to assist infant Churches to secure houses of worships This was a new order of work, and at first, appropriations were made in the form of loans at a light interest of two per cent. Many of the Churches were paying 8 to 12 per cent., and the aim was to help them to help themselves, by making the interest as nearly nominal as might be, and when the principal was re-paid, to re-loan it to other Churches for similar use. Dr. Hill published a plea for the Church Edifice Fund, aiming to raise $100,000 for this purpose. The plan was a wise one, but the movement had scarcely been inaugurated when the financial panic of 1857 fell upon the country, and the responses in money were light. In 1866, when the funds were used only in the form of loans and the gift system had ceased, the receipts ran up to $72,005 13, of which $30,000 was made a permanent fund. Rev. E. E. L. Taylor, D.D., of Brooklyn, N. Y., a man of large ability every way and a most successful pastor, was appointed to raise the permanent fund to $500,000. He labored nobly in his work till 1874, when his Lord called him to his temple above. He had, however, secured $130,000 for the fund.

Dr. Hill declined further service in 1862, and Dr. Jay S. Backus, one of the most vigorous minds and consecrated pastors in the denomination, was chosen as Ins successor. He served from 1862 to 1867 as the only Secretary, but in 1867 Rev. J. B. Simmons, D.D., of Philadelphia, was appointed an additional Corresponding Secretary, with special reference to the Freedmen's work, and in 1869 Dr. Taylor was added to his colleagues with special regard to the Church Edifice Fund. Dr. Simmons stood the peer of his two fellow-secretaries in wisdom and goodness. He was a graduate of Brown University and of Newton Theological Seminary, and had done delightful pastoral work in Indianapolis and Philadelphia. Thus equipped, the Society stood ready to follow

the lead of these three men of God, and well did each of them stand in his lot. The times were extremely trying, for the country had just passed through its severe Civil War, slavery had ceased to exist, and an unexpected change of circumstances called for various modifications in the work of the Society. The new secretaryship, filled by Dr. Simmons, sprang from these necessary changes. At the close of the war the Annual Meeting of the Society was held at St. Louis, May, 1865, when it resolved to prosecute missionary work amongst the Freedmen. Dr. Edward Lathrop and Mr. J. B. Hoyt were sent to visit the Southern Baptists to invite their co-operation in this work, and in 1867 a delegation was sent to the Southern Baptist Convention, at Baltimore, to further that object. That Convention reciprocated these brotherly interchanges, and appointed a similar delegation to meet the Home Mission Society, a few days later, at its annual meeting, in New York. Drs. Jeter and J. A. Broadus made addresses in which conciliation and brotherly affection abounded. Various methods of practical co-operation were suggested, but the Committee which reported on the subject could do little more than recommend that co-operation should be sought and had in all ways that should be found practicable. In December, 1864, however, a company of Baptists had, on their personal responsibility, formed 'The National Theological Institute,' at Washington, to provide religious and educational instruction for the Freedmen. At the St. Louis meeting of the Home Mission Society in 1845, it was reported that $4,978.69 had been received by its Treasurer for a Freedmen's Fund, and that the Society had already 68 missionaries laboring amongst them in twelve Southern States. The Board was instructed to continue this work. The Institute conferred with the Home Missionary Society as to the best method of conducting this work, for, in 1867, it had schools under its direction at Washington, Alexandria, Williamsburg and Lynchburg, with $3,000 in books and clothing, and $18,000 in money, for their support. The result of much conference was, a recommendation made by a committee, consisting of Messrs. Mason, Hague, T. D. Anderson, Fulton, Bishop, Peck and Armitage, to the Home Mission Board, to organize a special department for this work. This being done, Dr. Simmons was chosen Secretary by the Society, especially for this department. His work naturally divided itself into missionary and educational branches. All ordained missionaries, of whom there were about 30 each year, were instructed to give religious tuition to classes of colored ministers. Dr. Marston reported, that in two years 1,527 ministers and 696 deacons were present at classes which he held. Before Dr. Simmons's election, amongst others, Prof. H. J. Ripley, at Savannah, Ga.; Dr. Solomon Peck, at Beaufort, N. C.; Rev. H. L. Wayland, at Nashville, Tenn.; and Rev. D. W. Phillips, at Knoxville, Tenn.; were engaged in this important work, so that over 4,000 pupils were gathered into these schools. The Society held that the teacher for the common school was secondary to the education of the colored preacher. Teachers were impressed with the responsibility of winning souls to Christ, and those converted in the schools were sent forth to become teachers, pastors' wives, and missionaries to their own people. Fifteen institutions for the colored people have been established with an enrollment in 1885 of 2,955 pupils, 1,391 of them young men, 1,564 young women and 103 teachers. These institutions are all designed primarily for these who are to be preachers or teachers; two are for the separate instruction of women, and one is distinctively a Theological Institution. Industrial education is given in nearly all of them, and the demand for medical education, so closely connected with the moral and religious education of the race, is one that generous patrons are considering. Dr. Simmons continued in this work till 1874, and it is still prosecuted with vigor and success.

Mrs. Benedict, of Pawtucket, R. I., widow of Deacon Stephen Benedict, gave $30,000 for the establishment of the Benedict Institute, in Columbia, S. C. Deacon Holbrook Chamberlain, of Brooklyn. N. Y., gave fully $150.000 for the Freedmen's work, most of it for the founding and support of the Leland University, at New Orleans, La., and others gave large sums for the same cause. After the Civil War the colored Baptists in the South constituted separate Churches and Associations of their own, though previous to that, as a rule, they had been members of the same Churches with the white Baptists. At its session, held at Charleston, 1875, the Southern Convention said:

'In the impoverished condition of the South, and with the need of strengthening the special work which the Southern Baptist Convention is committed to prosecute, there is no probability of an early endowment of schools under our charge for the better education of a colored ministry. The Convention has adopted the policy of sustaining students at the seminaries controlled by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. It is much to be desired that larger contributions for this purpose may be secured from both white and colored Baptists.' The Georgia Baptist Convention said in the same year:

'The Institute for colored ministers, under the care and instruction of our esteemed brother, J. T. Robert, is doing a noble work for our colored population. We trust that many will avail themselves of the excellent course of instruction there, and that the school may prove an incalculable blessing in evangelizing and elevating the race.' In 1878 it added: 'We recommend our brethren to aid in sending pious and promising young men, who have the ministry in view, to this school, which consideration was urged in view of the fact, among other facts, that Romanists are making strenuous efforts to control our colored people, by giving them cheap or gratuitous instruction.' And in 1879 the same Convention resolved that: 'The institution deserves our sympathy and most cordial co-operation. It is doing a most important work, and. is indispensable as an educator of this most needy class of our population.' The Baptist Seminary and the Spelman Seminary, located at Atlanta, are doing a truly wonderful work. The latter was largely endowed by the philanthropist, John D. Rockefeller, and bears Mrs. Rockefeller's maiden name. It has 626 pupils, and its income for 1885 was $7,133; Sidney Root, Esq., of Atlanta, has been unwearied in his zeal to build up both these useful institutions. At the Annual Meeting, held in Washington, in 1874, the Society elected but one Corresponding Secretary to take charge of the mission and educational work, Dr. Nathan Bishop; with Dr. Taylor in charge of the Church Edifice Fund. But as Dr. Taylor died that year, Dr. Bishop was left alone. From 1876 to 1879 Dr. Cutting served as Corresponding Secretary, when he was succeeded by Rev. H. L. Morehouse, D.D., the present Secretary, whose very successful administration has brought up the Society to a position commensurate with the times, and to a position of strength worthy of its preceding history. As Nathan Bishop, LL. D. was a layman, and did so much for the interests of the Baptist denomination generally, this chapter cannot be more fittingly closed than by a brief sketch of his life and labors. He was pre-eminently a scholar, a Christian gentleman, a philanthropist and a man of large religious affairs. He was born in Oneida County, N. Y., August 12th, 1808. His father was a Justice of the Peace and a farmer, and brought up his son to habits of thorough industry and economy. While yet a youth, Nathan was converted, under the labors of Rev. P. P. Brown, and united with the Baptist Church at Vernon. Early he displayed an uncommon love for knowledge with a highly consistent zeal for Christ, a rare executive ability and a mature selfpossession. At eighteen, he entered the Academy

at Hamilton, N. Y., and Brown University in the year 1832. There he became a model student, known by all as full of quiet energy, a Christian of deep convictions, delighting in hard work, manly, self-denying and benevolent, and graduated with high honor. In 1838 he was appointed Superintendent of Common Schools in Providence, where he re-organized the whole plan of popular education. In 1851 he filled the same office in Boston, and for six years devoted his great ability to elevating its common schools to a very high rank. He married and settled in New York in 1858, and here he identified himself with every line of public beneficence, to the time of his death, August 7th, 1880. He was a leader in the Christian Commission, the Board of State Commissions of Public Charities, the Sabbath Committee, the American Bible Society, the Evangelical Alliance; and, under the administration of General Grant, he served in the Board of the United States Indian Commissioners. No man contributed more invaluable time and toil to the development and upbuilding of Vassar College, or to the New York Orphan Asylum, and, in his denomination, every department of benevolent operation felt his influence. In the City Mission, the Social Union and the Home for the Aged, he put forth a molding and strengthening hand from their organization. But the greatest service, and that which must be ever associated with his honored name, was rendered in association with Baptist Missionary work, in both the Home and Foreign departments. Although never a wealthy man, he was a prodigy of liberality all his life, and when he died he left the most of his property for mission uses. For many years he gave his most precious time to the Home Mission Society, and for two years discharged the duties of its Corresponding Secretaryship without charge, besides increasing his contributions to the treasury. While he was Secretary, he and Mrs. Bishop made a centennial offering to the Society of $30,000, besides large gifts to the Freedmen’s fund. Once the Doctor said to Dr. Simmons: ’I have been blamed for giving so many thousand dollars for the benefit of colored men. But I expect to stand side by side with these men in the day of judgment. Their Lord is my Lord. They and I are brethren, and I am determined to be prepared for that meeting.’ No man ever known to the writer was more completely devoted, body, soul and spirit, in labor for man and love for God than Dr. Bishop. He had as robust a body, as broad a mind and as warm a heart as ever fall to the lot of Christian humanity; and not a jot or tittle of either did he withhold from this holy service. Yet, when told that death was near and that he would soon be free from extreme pain and enter into rest, his only reply was the expression of a grateful soul that he should soon begin a life of activity.

15 Preachers?Educators?Authors

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS XV. PREACHERS--EDUCATORS-AUTHORS In the absence of the connectional principle in the life of Baptist Churches, their history and united efforts are at times largely included in the biography of particular individuals, who have left the impress of their minds and hearts upon their own times and on succeeding generations. Of none is this more true than of several individuals who have had much to do with those great movements that must now be mentioned. Few of our American fathers acted a more prominent part in the work of missions, whether on the home or foreign field, than the immortal THOMAS BALDWIN; and having already spoken of him at some length, it will be but needful here to glance at his Boston ministry and general character.

After serving the Church at Canaan, N.H., for seven years, he became the pastor of the Second Baptist Church, in Boston, in 1790, which responsible office he filled till His death, in 1825. His labors were most abundant, and his success in the conversion of men to Christ was very great. He was not a graduate of any college, but he fostered all educational projects; nor did he love controversy, but when he found it necessary to defend Baptist principles against the pen of the celebrated Dr. Worcester he did so with faithful vigor. Dr. Stillman and himself were fast friends and true yoke-fellows in every good work. As politicians, Stillman was a firm Federalist, and Baldwin as firm a Jeffersonian Democrat, and generally on Fast Day and Thanksgiving-day they preached on the points in dispute here, because, as patriots, they held them essential to the wellbeing of the Republic, especially, in the exciting conflicts of 1800-01: yet, there never was a moment of ill feeling between them. On these days, the Federalists of both their congregations went to hear Dr. Stillman and the Democrats went to Baldwin’s place, but on other days they remained at home, like Christian gentlemen, and honored their pastors as men of that stamp. Dr. Baldwin filled many important stations with the greatest modesty and meekness, for with a powerful intellect he possessed his temper in unruffled serenity; all men seemed to honor him, as his spirit was the breath of love. Few painters could have thrown that peculiar charm into his countenance which is seen at a look, had it not first been in his character. The soul of patience, he was inspired with a stern love of justice, and commanded a large fund of playful humor and innocent wit. His manners were unaffected, simple and dignified, so that in him heart-kindness and rectitude blended in a rare degree, and his counsel carried weight by its vigorous discrimination. The Massachusetts Missionary Society, and after it the Missionary Union, were great debtors to His zeal and wisdom. As an independent thinker, without petty ends to gain or fitful gusts of passion to indulge, all trusted him safely.

Before he entered the ministry he served the State of New Hampshire as a legislator in its General Court; and after his removal to Boston he was frequently elected chaplain to the General Court of Massachusetts, he also served as a member of the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts, in 1821, and took an active part in its discussions. For many years he was a Trustee and Fellow of Brown University, a Trustee of Waterville College from its organization, also of Columbian College. His first work as an author was ’Open Communion Examined,’ published in 1789, at the request of

the Woodstock (Vt.) Association. His second was a volume of about 250 pages, in reply to Dr. Samuel Worcester's attack on the Baptists. This work amply vindicated the sentiments of the Baptists, and did much at the time, by its vigor of intellect, its strength of logic and its Christ-like spirit, to arrest the unwelcome treatment which they met at the hands of their assailants. Dr. Baldwin was born at Bozrah, Conn., December 23d, 1753, and died at Waterville, Me., August 29th, 1825, having gone there to attend the commencement of the college.

REV. STEPHEN GANO, M.D., was another master in Israel, who had much to do with the shaping of his own times. He was born in New York, December 25th, 1762. In consequence of the disturbances of the Revolutionary War he was not able to attend the Rhode Island College, then under the care of his uncle, Dr. Manning, but he was put under the care of Dr. Stiles, of New Jersey, another uncle, to study medicine. At the age of nineteen he entered the army as a surgeon, where he remained for two years, and then settled at Tappan, N. Y. He says that when he left his mother for the army she buckled on his regimentals, which her own hands had made, saying: 'My son, may God preserve your life and patriotism. The one may fall a sacrifice in retaking and preserving the home of your childhood (New York was then in the hands of the British), but never let me hear that you have forfeited the birthright of a freeman.' His father had already gone to the war, and Stephen adds: 'Without a tear she saw me depart, bidding me trust in God and be valiant.' The next morning his regiment marched to Danbury, where he witnessed the burning of that town. He speaks of his after marches in the army, under Col. Lamb, as traced in their blood on the snow, and of shoes being sent to them which Gen. Lafayette had provided in France. After this, he served as surgeon in the new brig commanded by Decatur, of whom he says, 'a braver man never trod the deck of any vessel.' She was captured, for she ran on a reef of rocks, when: 'Finding escape impossible, we managed to cut away her leaders and nailed her flag to the mast, and long after we were captured our stars and stripes floated over her deck.'

After their capture, Gano and thirty-four others were left upon Turk's Island without food, to perish. There he was taken so sick that he appeared to be dying. His companions, however, found some conchs on the shore and roasted them. They raised his fainting head from the sand-beach, and gave him a portion of the liquor, saying: 'Gano, take this and live, we will yet beat the British.' He revived, and after some days was taken to St. Francis. Upon landing there, he begged from door to door for a morsel of bread, till a woman gave him half a loaf, which he shared with his companions. After working hard to load a vessel with salt, he obtained passage on a brig for Philadelphia, but when four days out was re-captured and taken into New Providence. Here he was put on board a prison-ship, fastened in chains, and nearly died of hunger. After a time he was exchanged as a prisoner, but safely reached Philadelphia, and soon entered on the practice of medicine at Tappan, N. Y.

There he was converted and in 1786 was set apart to the Gospel ministry. In the sketch of himself which he wrote for his children he speaks of his early abhorrence of intoxicating drinks thus: 'When four years old, milk-punch was recommended in the small-pox, which I had most severely. My mother has informed me that, when she urged my taking it lest I should die, I replied to her, "Then I will die."' This repugnance he carried through life. He also speaks of visiting his grandmother when he was thirteen and she was more than fourscore years of age.

’On first seeing me she bade me kneel beside her, and gently placing her aged hand on my youthful head she offered up a fervent petition for my salvation, when, after a short silence of prayerful abstraction, she said: "Stephen, the Lord designs thee for a minister of the everlasting Gospel. Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life."' He also tells us that, while under conviction for sin, an elderly lady, a neighbor and intimate friend of his wife, seeing his distress of mind, thought that she would show him the way of salvation. She confessed, however, that she had been seeking her own salvation for forty years but had not then been saved. They bowed before the Lord together in prayer and agreed to pray for each other. A few days passed, and one night he found himself so happy in Christ that he could not wait for the dawn of day, but urged his horse at full speed to the house of his aged friend, to tell her what the Lord had done for his soul. He rapped at the door and she, raising an upper window, asked: ’Doctor, is your wife ill?’ ’O no,’ he cried, ’I have found Jesus precious and have come to tell you.’ She replied: ’I was only waiting for daylight to come and tell you that I am rejoicing in him, with joy unspeakable and full of glory.’ That day he wrote the joyful news to his parents, saying: ’Tell it upon the house-tops that Stephen is among the redeemed.’ His father, John Gano, replied: ’As I never expect to be nearer the house-top, in a suitable situation to make known the joyful news of my dear son’s conversion, than the pulpit, I read his letter from thence on the last Sabbath.’ Stephen’s daughter says that after her father’s death she was mentioning this letter to an aged minister, who said: ’When I was a thoughtless lad of sixteen I went to hear your grandfather preach and was present at the very time when your father’s letter was read, and that, with the accompanying remarks, was one of the means of my conversion and had its weight in leading me into the ministry.’ The ordination of Stephen, in his father’s church, at the age of twenty-three, put great honor upon the faith both of his mother and grandmother. When he was left on Turk’s Island, news reached his mother that he was dead. This she did not believe, but said: ’When I gave my son to my country I gave him to God. After his departure, I felt an assurance that God had accepted the gift for his own service. I believe that he will yet be an able, faithful, successful, and, it may be, deeply-tried minister of the Gospel of Christ.’ Her faith was prophetic. In 1792 he became pastor of the First Baptist Church at Providence, where he continued until his death, in 1828, having filled its pastorate for thirty-six years. His ministry was remarkably successful. When he became pastor his Church numbered but 165 members, but five new Churches sprang up, mostly from his own, and when he died the ancient Church itself numbered above 600 members. He stood pre-eminent amongst his brethren as a public speaker and a leader in all denominational affairs. His executive ability was large, his punctuality in dispatching business and his large forecast gave him great influence in all Baptist councils. For nineteen years in succession he acted as Moderator in the Warren Association. He constantly preached with an eye to the copious outpourings of the Holy Spirit, and he enjoyed many revivals of religion in his Church. With some hundreds of others, he baptized his six daughters, four of whom became the wives of Baptist ministers, amongst whom were the late Drs. Henry Jackson and David Benedict, the historian. Few men have left a more hallowed influence on the Baptists of America than Stephen Gano. His doctrines were of the purely orthodox pattern, especially in all that related to the person and work of Christ. At the close of a sermon on his Deity he says: ’The sentiment I have been presenting to you, and which I have feebly supported in this place and from this pulpit for more than thirty-five years, is now the only ground of my hope, and that which I wish to commend when the messenger of death shall summon my soul to an account before the only wise God and Saviour.’

REV. ALFRED BENNETT was born at Mansfield, Conn., in 1780, and lived to be honored for years and influence, being long known as 'Father Bennett.' He was a contemporary of Baldwin and Gano, and labored side by side with them for many years in promoting foreign missions. He was licensed to preach in 1806, by the Church at Homer, N. Y., and became its pastor in 1807. His early ministry there was so blessed of God that his Church sent out two new Churches in the vicinity, and great revivals followed his labors. Like most of the pastors of his day, he preached much abroad, especially in the region which now forms the central counties of New York, and he left a holy influence wherever he went. From 1832 to the close of his life, in 1861, he devoted his time to pleading the cause of foreign missions, and was one of the chief instruments in establishing that love of missionary enterprise which characterizes the Baptists of the State of New York. More than a generation has passed since he departed this life, yet his name is always pronounced with reverence. In person he was tall, of a dark complexion, thin and stooping. He had a fine head, with strong features, a winning address and an earnest spirit. He was attended by an atmosphere of firm devotion and close walk with God.

REV. DANIEL SHARP, D.D., was a native of Huddersfield, Yorkshire; born December 25th, 1783. His father was the pastor of a Baptist Church at Farsley, near Leeds. Early in life Daniel became a Christian, united with a Congregational Church, and was greatly prospered in secular business. He came to the United States in 1806, when he began to examine the difference between himself and the Baptists, and, as the result, united with the Fayette Street Church, New York, of which he soon became a very useful member. Then he believed himself called of God to the Christian ministry, and preached his first sermon in the outskirts of the city. In March, 1807, he began a course of theological studies with Dr. Staughton, of Philadelphia, and was ordained pastor of the First Church at Newark, NJ., in 1809, where he remained until 1812, when he became pastor of the Charles Street Church, Boston, Mass. Here his large capacities for usefulness developed in every sphere, especially in preaching the Gospel and in laying broad foundations for foreign mission work and the education of the ministry. When Baptist educational movements led to the formation of the Newton Institution, he was one of its foremost advocates, and for eighteen years presided over its Board of Trustees. He also became a Fellow in the Corporation of Brown University, and one of the Board of Overseers in Harvard. In Boston his public influence was general and healthful, for His talents, with the purity and beneficence of his life, commended him to all. His personal presence bespoke the man of mark wherever he went. The cast of his face was noble, albeit the compression of His mouth and the glint of his eye indicated sternness of diameter and the power to slant a satire; indeed, his whole carriage said: 'I magnify mine office.' Yet, where his suspicion was not excited or his confidence challenged, he was as winsome as a child, and trusted men implicitly; but ever insisted in return on transparent simplicity and staunch honor in all their conduct. His conservatism always demanded the unity and peace of consistent integrity. In a sermon to his own people he says: 'One Diotrephes may destroy the peace of a Church. It is a melancholy fact that some men must be first or they will do nothing. They will rule or rage; and the misfortune is, they rage if they rule. May God preserve me from such good men.' Dr. Sharp was tall in stature and very erect, elegant, benignant and courtly in his manners, and his eloquent ministry held the respect of the whole community in Boston for one-and-forty years. He was emphatically a teacher and a father in Israel; at the same time, in all spheres of refined society, he was a rare specimen of the fine old English gentleman. He died in 1853.

SAMUEL F. SMITH, D.D. Few men are now living who have more beautifully adorned our ministry, or more earnestly aided our missions, than the modest and widely-known author of our national hymn, 'My Country! 'tis of Thee.' Dr. Smith was born in Boston, Mass., October 21st, 1808. He was fitted for college in the Latin School of that city, and was a Franklin Medal scholar. He graduated at Harvard in 1829, in the class with Oliver Wendell Holmes, Judge B. R. Curtis, Judge Bigelow, James Freeman Clarke, Professor Benjamin Pierce and other men of distinction. In Dr. Holmes's poem on 'The Boys' he sings of him thus:

'And there's a nice youngster of excellent pith; Fate tried to conceal him by calling him Smith; But he shouted, a song for the brave and the free Just read on his medal, "My country, of thee!"'

He was a student in the Andover Theological Institute from 1829 to 1832, when he became the editor of the 'Baptist Missionary Magazine' for one year. In February, 1834, he was ordained pastor of the Baptist Church at Waterville, Maine, and was Professor of Modern Languages in the College there for eight years. From 1842 to 1854, twelve years and a half, he was pastor of the First Baptist Church at Newton, Mass. Then, for seven years, 1842 to 1849, he was editor of the 'Christian Review,' and for fifteen years editor and translator of the 'Missionary Union.' His soul-stirring national hymn, known to every statesman and school-child in the republic, was written at Andover, in 1832, and also his great missionary hymn, 'The Morning Light is Breaking.' He translated an entire volume of Brockhaus's 'Conversations Lexicon' from the German, which was incorporated into the 'Cyclopaedia Americana,' and, in association with the late Lowell Mason, wrote or translated from German music-books nearly every song in the 'Juvenile Lyre,' the first book of music and songs for children published in the United States, he has rendered great service to Churches and Sunday-schools as the compiler of 'Lyric Gems' and 'Rock of Ages,' as the editor of four volumes of juvenile literature, and also as the principal compiler of the 'Psalmist,' a hymn-book which the greater part of the Baptist denomination used for thirty years, and which contained about thirty of his own hymns. His busy pen also produced the 'Life of Rev. Joseph Grafton,' 'Missionary Sketches,' 'Rambles in Mission Fields,' the 'History of Newton, Mass.,' with endless contributions to periodical and review literature. Dr. Smith visited Europe in 1875-76, and again in 1880-82, extending his journey to Asia and visiting the Baptist missions in Burma, India and Ceylon, as well as the European missions in France, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Austria, Turkey, Greece, Italy and Spain. He married the granddaughter of Dr. Hezekiah Smith, of great renown in Baptist life, and his son, Rev. Dr. D. A. W. Smith, has been a missionary in Burma since 1863, and is now President of the Karen Theological Seminary at Rangoon. No man amongst Baptists is better known or more beloved for his learning, usefulness and Christlike spirit, his brethren generally appreciating him as in regular lineal descent from 'Nathaniel,' an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile.'

REV. WILLIAM B.. WILLIAMS, D.D. LL.D., was of general and denominational celebrity, he was born in New York, October 14th, 1804, and was the son of Rev. John Williams, at that time pastor of the Oliver Street Baptist Church. He entered Columbia College at the age of fourteen, and graduated in 1822, after which he studied law with Peter A. Jay, nephew of the former Chief Justice of the United States and one of the most eminent lawyers of his day. Mr. Williams was admitted to the bar in 1826 and became Mr. Jay's partner in business. His father died in 1825 and his mother in 1826. He so took to heart this double affliction that his sorrow impaired his health, and he spent the year 1827 in Europe. After his return he practiced law alone for a time; then

conviction of duty led him into the Christian ministry, and in June, 1832, he commenced preaching in the Broadway Hall, to the congregation afterwards known as the Amity Street Church. This body came from the Oliver Street Church, and was constituted with 43 members December 17th, 1832. Dr. Francis Wayland preached his ordination sermon in the Oliver Street Meeting-house, Dr. Cone being then pastor of that Church. The old Church lovingly provided its former pastor's son with lots for a new Church edifice in Amity Street, which building was completed in the following year. At that time Mr. Williams's health was firm, his voice full and sound, and the house was constantly crowded by a refined congregation. His discourses abounded in vast wealth of thought, deep spirituality and rare literary beauty. After a few years his voice failed, and in consequence of its feebleness it was difficult to hear him, so that while his congregation retained its high character for intelligence it became small. Yet Dr. Williams reached that super-eminent distinction as a preacher which never decreased, but rather increased to the close of his life. His ideal standard of literary excellence was so high that he looked upon the best of his own productions with suspicion, and most reluctantly put them to the press.

Probably the first manuscript which he consented to print was a brief memoir of his father, written in 1825, and published anonymously in an Appendix to the Memoir of Dr. Stanford; by Dr. Sommers, in 1835. It covers but 23 pages, and is one of the simplest, sweetest and most perfect pieces of biography to be met with. Its style differs entirely from that of the doctor's later years, is less ornate and most sweetly tender, the tribute of a loving son to the memory of his loving father. It is as direct as a sunbeam, and does not contain a sentence to recall the movement of Addison or Steele, much less that of Foster or Hall. Neither the head nor heart of that man is to be envied who can, unmoved, read this lucid story of his holy father written with tears in every line. Dr. Williams's resources in literature, philosophy, history and theology appeared to be unlimited, and his memory was so capacious and exact that the researches of an industrious life came at command. Many thought, after the failure of his voice, that his great moulding influence on the young could best be felt in the chair of a College or Theological Seminary, and high positions of this order were frequently tendered to him; but he was never willing to leave his pastorate, and died as pastor of the Church of which he was ordained, having filled his office for more than 51 years. He was a close student, and his mental powers grew to the close of life. His library was selected with the greatest care, numbering about 20,000 volumes. His pen was never at rest. The notes which he made on His reading alone numbered eight volumes. His first known publication was an address delivered at Madison University, in 1843, on the 'Conservative Principle in our Literature.' It excited universal attention by its affluence of thought and expression, and was republished in England. This was followed by his 'Miscellanies,' in 1850, and in 1851 by two volumes, His 'Religious Progress' and his 'Lectures on the Lord's Prayer.' At a later date he published 'God's Rescues,' an exposition of Luke 15; his 'Lectures on Baptist History,' in 1876; and his last work, 'Heros and Characters in History.' His scattered discourses, introductions to the publications of others, his contributions to reviews, and other articles, are very numerous; besides, he has left a large number of manuscripts, amongst them several courses of lectures, ready for publication. All his writings are so thoroughly marked by a glowing diction and a profundity of thought that his image is left on every page. At times a play of humor or a stroke of sarcasm is indulged, indicating great power of invective had he chosen to use it freely but, best of all, he breathes that atmosphere of holiness which only comes of a close walk with God. Dr. Williams died in great peace in the bosom of his family April 1st, 1885, leaving a widow, the daughter of the

late John Bowen, and two sons; all of whom are specially devoted to Christian toil in the Amity Street Church, to whose interests their father and husband gave his singularly valuable and honored life. When our Churches were first awakened to the missionary appeal, Luther Rice, Dr. Staughton and others took it into their heads that the Triennial Convention could unite a great institution of learning at Washington with Foreign Mission work, and so high education could go hand in hand with high evangelization. Hence, in May, 1817, the Convention resolved 'to institute a classical and theological seminary,' to train young men for the ministry. The first idea of Luther Rice was, that as the Burman missionaries must translate the Scriptures from the originals such an institution would give them the necessary training. Dr. Judson was a graduate of Brown University, and with Mr. Rice, had received his theological education at Andover, under the tuition of Moses Stuart. But soon the purpose enlarged its proportions under the enthusiasm of the measure, in the hands of its friends. They did not foresee that this enterprise must necessarily divert the body from the intention of its founders. Yet for a time great interest was elicited throughout the Middle and Southern States in this two-fold object, until it was discovered that the cause of education threatened to undermine interest in missions. The scheme was to obtain a charter which should provide that the President of the United States, or the heads of Departments, nominate a College Board for election by the Convention, and in due time the college would become such a grand concern as to bring much money into the treasury for various other missionary uses, while the Churches would support the missionaries. These fathers had not the remotest idea of uniting Caesar and Christ in the work of missions, but the scheme was looked upon as specially happy, for utilizing the influence of Caesar in the cause of Christ without being dictated to by him. This notion floated up and down our ranks from 1817 to 1824, and the vision of abundant young Baptist ministers and missionaries filled many eyes. They were to become students at Washington, to study oratory at the feet of the great Senators of those days, and many predicted that, as pulpit orators, they would eclipse the orators of Greece and Rome, and a new race of Baptist Ciceroes and Demostheneses were to arise who should do wonders. The Seminary was formally opened in 1818, in Philadelphia, under the charge of Dr. William Staughton and Professor Ira Chase. At first the number of students was two, but it soon increased to twenty, and in April, 1821, the first class, numbering five, was graduated. The same year the institution was removed to Washington, where it became the theological department of the Columbian University, which had received a charter from Congress in 1821. As some leading minds in the country hoped that the college would become a great rational Baptist University, Luther Rice as zealously solicited funds on its behalf as for the support of missionaries in Burma. Dr. Staughton, the very soul of eloquence, left his pastorate in Philadelphia to take the presidency, other names as immortal were to sustain him as professors, and Professor Knowles became the editor of the Columbian Star, with the promise of making it the great Baptist paper of the Continent. Of course, the whole expectation proved futile. It became evident, at the meeting of the Convention in 1820, that it had undertaken too much, and that the educational interest had detracted from the interest in the missionary cause. In the spring of 1826 the Triennial Convention met with the Oliver Street Church, in New York, and took the entire situation into grave consideration. A host of masters in Israel were present: Cone and Kendrick, Malcom and Maclay, Knowles and Galusha, Semple and Ryland, Staughton and Stow, Chonles and Mercer, Rice and Jeter, Wayland and Sommers, with many more. But strong lines of partisanship began to be drawn, and they were divided about the college. There were several vacancies in the Board of Trustees which the President of the United States, John Quincy Adams,

had failed to fill by nominations, and so the hands of the Convention were tied as to the election of trustees. In this strait, Rev. Gustavus F. Davis, of Hartford, Conn., a vigorous young man of about thirty, who could travel day and night by stage, was sent off at full speed to Washington to get the President's nominations. The Convention plunged into discussion, and Mr. Rice was charged with bad management of the whole affair. The leading men of the denomination were drawn into the controversy on one side or the other. Luther Rice was as honest as the daylight, but he knew nothing of book-keeping, so that the missionary and college accounts were mixed up in a perfect tumble. He was the most disinterested of men, had scarcely allowed himself enough for his daily bread, but no straightforward accounting could be had; nor did it enter the minds of the Convention generally that the whole proceeding was an effort at concentration which was very questionable for Baptists to attempt, looked at from any practical point whatever.

Professor Knowles was one of the clearest-headed and most far-sighted men in that Convention, and soon saw that something was radically askew. Others came to his help, in the hope that this confused state of affairs might be straightened; but little could be done. At last, Mr. Rice also saw that, with all his self-sacrifice, he had made serious blunders of judgment, and with an assertion of honesty of purpose, which every one believed, he threw himself and all his golden visions upon the tender mercies of his brethren. After several had taken part in the debate, which lasted for a long time, Rev. Francis Wayland, then about thirty years of age, and a professor in Union College, took the floor. One who was present describes him then as of a 'large, bony frame, which had not acquired the breadth of muscle of after life, giving him a gaunt, stooping appearance. He was of a dark complexion, black eyes, with a sharp, steady radiance which darted from under the jutting cliffs of eyebrows that protruded a little beyond the facial line. He had a Websterian structure, was majestic rather than elegant, being strong in person and in will, and conscientious. His voice was not smoothly sonorous nor sustained in its volume of sound, but falling at times very low, with an occasional hesitancy of speech.' He accorded the highest honor to all concerned in the complicated affairs of the college and of the mission, and admitted that they had been indefatigable in their labors of love. But he exploded the idea that two such institutions could co-exist under one management, any more than that two ships could be managed by one crew when chained together in a tempestuous sea; one going down must take the other with it to the bottom. He showed that education in America and missions in Burma were so different in their nature that they must be treated separately; for, instead of the one helping the other, they were mutual hinderances, and he demanded that the union between the two be forever dissolved. His speech was so lucid and convincing that the dream vanished and the Convention ended the complication at once, with all its outcoming perplexities. In 1827 the Faculty resigned, and for a time instruction was suspended. In after years, however, the institution received the benefactions of distinguished men.. Mr. Adams was one of its firm friends, and as a college standing upon its own merits it maintained an existence against great difficulties. The gifts of Hon. W. W. Corcoran, of Washington, were munificent, beginning as early as 1864; but it was not until 1873, under the presidency of Dr. Wellings, that Columbia College received the pledge of Mr. Corcoran, that if its friends would secure $100,000 for its endowment he would contribute $200,000 more for the same object. This condition was met, and now, in point of endowment, its existence is permanently assured. At this time Mr. Corcoran's donations have amounted to $300,000, and although this philanthropist is an Episcopalian he made them with great heartiness, saying: 'I know that I am giving to Baptists, but I have confidence in them.' His beloved sister was the wife of Dr. S. P. Hill,

pastor of the First Baptist Church, Baltimore, so that he well understood their sentiments and appreciated their work. Much has already been said of the establishment of Brown, Madison and other universities, and it would be especially interesting to trace the rise and progress of' each Baptist College in America, but space will not permit. It is, however, most highly promising for the cause of Baptist education in the United States that at present we have 19 institutions for the colored and Indian races, 14 seminaries and high-schools for the co-education of male and female, 27 institutions for female education exclusively, and 6 theological seminaries for the education of our ministry, making in all, weak and strong, old and new, an aggregate of 125 institutions. In these the present statistics show, of male instructors, 556; of female instructors 440; of pupils, 16,426; of students for the ministry, 1,503; the moneyed value of libraries and apparatus, $777,911; the value of grounds and buildings, $7,713,713; the amount of endowments, $7,236,270; the total income, $1,165,786; the amount of gifts to all in 1885, $330,303, and the number of books in their libraries, 412,120.

Dr. Sprague, in the historical introduction to the 'Annals of the American Baptist Pulpit,' states that 'the Baptists as a denomination have always attached little importance to human learning as a qualification for the ministry, in comparison with higher, though not miraculous, spiritual gifts, which they believe it the province of the Holy Spirit to impart; and some of them, it must be acknowledged, have gone to the extreme of looking upon high intellectual culture in a minister as rather a hinderance than a help to the success of his labors. But, if I mistake not, many of the sketches in this column will show that the Baptists have had less credit as the friends and patrons of learning than they have deserved.' All true Baptists are grateful to say that there has been a great change for the better since Dr. Sprague penned these words, and its stimulant has been drawn largely from the example of the olden times, as well as from the necessities of later days. It should not be forgotten that it was Thomas Hollis, a Baptist of London, in 1719, who founded two professorships and ten scholarships for 'poor students,' in Harvard College. The Philadelphia Association, in 1722, proposed that the Churches make inquiry for young men 'hopeful for the ministry and inclinable to learning,' and notified Abel Morgan thereof, that he might recommend them to Mr. Hollis for these scholarships. A Baptist Education Society was formed at Charleston, S. C., in 1775, by Rev. Oliver Hart, and in 1789 the Philadelphia Association gathered a fund 'for the education of young men preparing for the Gospel ministry;' the Warren Association did the same in 1793. The American Baptists had three classical schools in 1775, that at Hopewell, N. Y.; that at Wrentham, Mass.; and that at Bordentown, N.J. It was customary at that time for older pastors to instruct students for the ministry, especially in doctrinal and homiletic studies. For example, Dr. Sharp spent considerable time in study with Dr. Staughton; Dr. Bolles studied three years with Dr. Stillman, 'uniting study with observation and labors in the social meetings.' The nucleus of Waterville College was formed in the students whom Dr. Chaplin took with him there from Danvers, where they had studied with him. The efforts that were made in Rhode Island and New York in behalf of general and theological education have already been traced. When the War of Independence closed, Rhode Island College had existed twelve years, and had graduated seven classes. Small sums had been contributed for its support, by numerous friends in England and America; but, in 1804, Nicholas Brown gave $5,000 to establish a professorship of oratory and belles-lettres, and, in recognition of his timely gift, its name was changed to Brown University. He died in 1841, at which time he had given about $100,000 to the institution. Its line of presidents and instructors has formed for it an illustrious history. Manning, Maxey, Messer, Wayland, Sears,

Caswell and Robinson, have honored its presidency and made its influence world-wide. Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D., one of the great educators of our country, has left a name and influence which must ever stimulate the American student, and call forth the thanksgiving of the denomination to which he was united. Judge Durfee pronounces him: 'A mind of extraordinary calibre, foremost in every good cause, educational, industrial, philanthropical or reformatory, and prompt to answer every call upon him for counsel or instruction in every crisis or exigency.'

FRANCIS WAYLAND was born in New York, March 11, 1796, and was the son of Francis Wayland, a Baptist minister, who preached in several cities on the Hudson and became pastor of the Church at Saratoga Springs in 1819. His son graduated at Union College at the age of seventeen, and commenced the study of medicine, but before his medical studies were completed he believed that the Spirit of God had called him to the Gospel ministry, and entered Andover Theological Seminary in 1816. At the end of a year, however, he became a tutor in Union College, where he remained for four years, when, in 1821, he was called to the pastorate of the First Church in Boston. Here he became known as a man of clear and positive convictions and great moral force. A sermon preached in 1823, on the Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise, and another in 1825, on the Duties of an American Citizen, attracted almost universal attention from the weight of their thought and the charms of their expression. He returned to Union College in 1826, as professor; but in 1827 accepted the presidency of Brown University. At that time Brown was not in a very flourishing condition, either in its finances or reputation for discipline, but Dr. Wayland soon restored it to a better state, raised its instruction to a new and higher level, and by his stimulating and suggestive methods sought to make it fullfil the ends of a University abreast of any institution in the land. To him is due the inception of the idea that a liberal education should include more than drill in the classics and in mathematics, as modern life demanded more of the liberally educated man than an entry into the learned professions through the traditional curriculum. He thought a system of elective studies necessary, in which the tastes of the student should be consulted while intellectual discipline should be secured, and that the true conception of an American University demanded this. These views were slowly matured, for they were not fully elaborated and wrought into the life of the College until 1850. But the standard of scholarship was slowly raised, the endowment was increased, and he sent forth men with what was better even than scholarship--with the high character that can best be imparted by personal contact with a morally strong, resolute and sympathetic Christian manhood. Dr. Wayland's influence on his students was so familiar, dignified and paternal, and withal so thoroughly Christ-like, that he left his imprint upon each mind, and, whether they became Christians or not while passing through their college course, each one honored the president as a noble specimen of Christ's best disciples, and was convinced that his heart's wish was that all of them might even be better Christians than he esteemed himself to be.

Dr. Wayland, with all his solidity, was of a very mirthful character, and constantly kept his classroom and social surroundings alive with strokes of wit. But his greatest characteristic was his deep and glowing spirituality. Dr. Stockbridge, who supplied the pulpit of the First Church at Providence while Dr. Wayland's pastor was abroad, says of him that one day a leading Deacon in the city noticed an aged man bowed down in a place of worship and Dr. Wayland leaning over him in close conversation. He drew near, and found the venerable Judge P. overwhelmed with sorrow for sin. He was expressing his fear that, as one who had lived so many scores of years without

God in the world, there was no hope in his case. The Doctor was tenderly pointing him to the boundless mercy of God in Christ Jesus, and the eminent jurist found peace in believing on him. In 1853 Dr. Wayland said to Dr. Stockbridge: 'If you can secure the presence of the Holy Spirit in your ministrations, a battalion of soldiers would not be able to keep the people from crowding the sanctuary.' This great educator died August 19th, 1874, but is still preaching by his books in all parts of the civilized world. His published writings of note number seventy-two, the most prominent of which are his 'Moral Science,' 'Political Economy,' 'Intellectual Philosophy,' 'University Sermons,' 'Memoir of Dr. Judson,' 'Limitations to Human Responsibility,' and 'Principles and Practices of the Baptist Churches.'

REUBEN A. GUILD, LL.D., the present Librarian of Brown, has been longer associated with the University than any person now filling an important position in its service, for his labor runs through the terms of its last three presidents and well back into that of Dr. Wayland's, he having filled his office for thirty-eight years. Dr. Guild was born at West Dedham, Mass.; in 1832. From a child he evinced strong literary tastes, and prepared for college at Day's Academy, Wrentham, and at the Worcester High School, entering Brown University in 1843. He was a diligent and faithful student, and graduated in 1847 with the sixth honors of his class. In 1848 he succeeded Professor Jewett as Librarian, and has filled the position with marked success down to this time. Under his administration the library has increased from 17,000 to 63,000 bound volumes, and 20,000 unbound pamphlets; which collection is kept in a substantial and elegant fire-proof building; constructed after his own plan. No man is fit for a Librarian who will not take off his hat in the presence of a good book. Dr. Guild possesses this ability, together with his other great qualifications. The day after this new building was finished he began to remove the books into it from Manning Hall. Dr. Guild devoutly uncovered his head, took a splendid copy of Bagster's 'Polyglot Bible,' and accompanied by his corps of assistants, led by the late Rev. Prof. J. L. Diman, carried it alone and placed it as No. 1, in alcove 1, on shelf 1, pronouncing it: 'The Book of books, the embodiment of all true wisdom, the fountain-head of real culture, the corner-stone of a true library, the source of all true civilization and moral improvement.' There it stands today, the ripe sheaf of Jehovah, and all the other books must do it reverence if they wish the good-will of the Librarian. The library is a model in its arrangement and management, brought as nearly to perfection as such a collection of books can be. Dr. Guild is one of the best Baptist writers of the times; he is clear, terse, accurate. In 1858 he published the 'Librarian's Manual' and the 'Life of President Manning,' in 1864 the 'History of Brown University,' in 1867 the 'Life of Roger Williams,' and in 1885 the 'Life of Hezekiah Smith, D.D.,' and he has edited a number of books besides. At present he is preparing a complete edition of the 'Works of Roger Williams,' with a Memoir, which altogether will comprise two volumes, large 8vo, with copious indexes. In addition to his vast amount of literary work, Dr. Guild has long acted as a private tutor, for seven years he served as a member of the Common Council of Providence, and for fifteen years as a member of the Common School Committee of that city. He has visited and examined many of the libraries of Europe, and rendered great service to the cause of education in many capacities. Dr. Guild was baptized by the lute Dr. Stow, of Boston ; he received his honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Shurtleff College, he is as genial and thorough a Baptist as Rhode Island affords, and is an honor to his denomination. Justice demands that something be said here of another noble educator, who possesses many of the elements which marked Dr. Wayland, and on whom, in an important sense, his mantle has fallen.

MARTIN B. ANDERSON, LL.D., ranks with the most successful educators in our country, he was born in Maine, 1815, and graduated with high honor from Waterville College in 1840, when he entered the Theological Seminary at Newton. In a year from that time he was chosen Professor of Latin, Greek and Mathematics, in Waterville, and in 1843 filled the chair of Rhetoric also in the same institution. He continued there as a broad, earnest and accomplished teacher, until 1850, when he became the proprietor and editor of the 'New York Recorder,' a weakly religious paper of large influence. In 1853 he accepted the presidency of Rochester University, where he has done his great life-work. His entire mastery of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Ancient History and Political Economy, not only opened to him a wide range of practical usefulness as an educator and a scientific explorer, in their correlated branches, but he has done most valuable work for the State as a publicist, especially in adjusting its public charities and educational plans. He has cheerfully placed his facile pen, his store of literary attainments, and his executive ability, under perpetual contribution to the public good. As an orator, a tutor, an essayist and a philanthropist he has served his fellow-men, and all his work bears the stamp of incisive originality. Few men have so constantly met American wants by articles of every sort, in journals, reviews, encyclopedias and reports on difficult questions, as President Anderson. Yet, few of these productions have been purely speculative. Always he keeps in view, and succeeds in commanding, that vigor of thought and directness of action which produce practical results in others, and especially on social and religious subjects. His whole being is organized on that economic plan which infuses himself into others, and stimulates the best impulses of all around him to emulate his examples and walk in his footsteps. In latter years, no man amongst American Baptists has done more to enlist its energies in our higher educational aims or has sacrificed so much to put them on a firm basis. God has blessed him with a mind and heart of the largest order, with a strong physical frame full of endurance, and with a vital ambition to bless men; nor has he spared himself at any point to secure this end. As the first President of Rochester University, his career has been wonderfully successful. He went to it in its weakness, and now its grounds and buildings are valued at $379,189, and its endowment amounts to $442,757, with a promising future; for he has enstamped its character with high attributes, and interwoven his influence with its coming history as effectively as with that which is past. His weight and worth, as a public benefactor who dares to bless others at great cost to himself, will stimulate coming generations through these who have sat at Ins feet as well as through his invigorating literary productions.

JOHN A. BROADUS, D.D. Born in Culpeper County, Va., January 24th, 1827. He is an alumnus of the University of Virginia, having taken his Master's Degree in 1850. He served as tutor of Latin and Greek in that institution in 1851-52, after which he passed eight years as pastor of the Baptist Church at Charlottesville. In 1854 he was elected professor of Homiletics and New Testament interpretation in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, then located at Greenville, S. C., which high position he still fills in the same school; now located at Louisville, Ky. Dr. Broadus is quite as much wedded to the pulpit as to the class-room. While at Greenville he preached to several small Churches in that vicinity, as their pastor. He is a thorough scholar, a delightful preacher and a finished writer. So deliberate are his methods of work. whether in the study, the seminary, or the pulpit, that all forms of labor appear easy to him. Yet his nature is intense, his convictions lay hold of all his powers, and his entire being is thrown into whatever he does. His quiet manner carries the impression to cultured minds that it springs from the behest of high intellect, answering the command of a mellow spirituality, and so it gives double force to his

teaching and preaching. The severe drill of his life speaks without the least pretension. His works on preaching are plain, clear and profound, laying bare that art of splendid pulpit work of which he is so fine an example himself. His 'Treatise on Homiletics,' now a text-book on both sides of the Atlantic, stands side by side with his 'Lectures on the History of Preaching,' and makes him a teacher of teachers. To his other attainments he has added the benefits of travel in Europe and Asia, and his letters demonstrate his keen sense of discrimination. In private life he is winsome and unostentatious to a proverb, full of unaffected kindness and playful amiability. Children and sages equally love to gather around him, that they may listen to his humor and pathos; and the more eager are they, because he never indulges these at the sacrifice of common sense or the solid simplicities of truth. Publicly and privately, out of the abundance of a true heart, he speaks in the freedom of truth unmixed with guile, or with the least tendency to that petty detraction which fatally blights many otherwise noble spirits in the Gospel ministry. This chapter may be appropriately closed by a sketch of WILLIAM CATHCART, D.D. He has made the denomination his debtor by his patient investigations and literary contributions. His scholarly attainments and tireless industry have fitted him to do an order of literary work which no Baptist had done, in giving the world his 'Baptist Encyclopaedia.' Endowed with a thoroughly analytical mind, his studies have laid bare to him the radical extremes of Gospel interpretation used by the Roman Catholic and the Baptist. He has given the result in his 'Papal System' and 'Baptism of the Ages.' Having explored the philosophy of the Romish system fully in the one, he gives its direct opposite in the other. Dr. Cathcart was born in Londonderry, Ireland, November 8th, 1826, and was brought up a Presbyterian. Surrounded by the religious contests of his nation and times, Ireland forced its contrasts upon his attention from childhood. He was fitted for college by private classical tutors, but took his literary course in the University of Glasgow. On becoming a Christian, the difference between the Presbyterians and Baptists was forced on his attention when at the age of twenty, and his convictions led him to forsake th e religion of his fathers. He was baptized on the confession of Christ, at Tubbermore, by Rev. R. H., son of Dr. Alexander Carson. His theological course was taken at Horton College, under the presidency of the late Dr. Ackworth. In 1850 he was ordained pastor of the Baptist Church at Barnsley, but was so uneasy under the English yoke of Church and State that in 1853 he left a prosperous pastorate to settle in America. The first pastoral charge which he took here was at Mystic, Conn., where he remained till 1857, when he became pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Philadelphia.

He remained in this Church for eight-and-twenty years; doing such an excess of work that at last a constitution of uncommon strength began to break under the load, and he was obliged to retire to prevent utter prostration. Not only did his congregation in Philadelphia double in size, but it became necessary to build a large aid beautiful sanctuary in a new location to accommodate the increase. His people loved him almost to idolization, and gave him up with the utmost reluctance. In 1872 he published his 'Papal System;' in 1876, His 'Baptists and the American Revolution;' a monograph, on that subject, without a rival; in 1878, his 'Baptism of the Ages,' and his 'Encyclopaedia' in 1881. Having known. Dr. Cathcart in intimate friendship for a full generation, his habits of study, his unflagging perseverance, and his uncompromising integrity, the writer is free to express the belief that no truer man lives in our Baptist brotherhood. As an eloquent preacher, a true friend, an honest man and a careful scholar, those who know him best regret the most his retirement in the prime of his manhood, as a serious loss in our effective ranks, he is but another example amongst us of the common sacrifice which our ministry makes to the strain of overwork.

It is a re-assuring consideration that these Christian leaders, in company with the great body of Baptist ministers in America, hold fast to the old Gospel faith. The Philadelphia Association was troubled at its New York session, held there October 5th and 7th, 1790, by a question from the Church at Stamford, asking whether or not it should fellowship those who held the 'new system of divinity.' The Association answered in the negative, denouncing 'these fine-spun theories' in detail. Then the body passed this minute: 'This Association lament they have occasion again to call the attention of that part of Zion we represent to another awful instance of departure from the faith once delivered unto the saints; Mr. Nicholas Cox, late a brother in the ministry, having espoused, and artfully as well as strenuously endeavored to propagate, the fatal notion of the universal restoration of bad men and devils from hell. As such, we caution our Churches, those of our sister Associations and Christian brethren of every denomination, to be aware of him.'

Happily our ministry is too seriously engaged in saving men from ' the wrath to come' to give much attention at present to the restoration of lost men and demons from perdition. When they get to heaven they may find time to speculate as to what can be done for those ' in prison,' if God shall call them there to that order of thought. But while they are filling their present pastorates amongst the lost sons of Adam's race, their chief duty to their Master and to 'bad men' is to cry 'Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world!' As ministers of Christ, sent to save wicked men, 'pulling them out of the fire,' as Jude expresses himself, it is quite as absurd to spend their strength in this controversy as it would be for twin chicks in one shell to fight over the question whether the outside world is all yolk or all white. It is simply shameful that a man entrusted with the care of immortal souls should be obliged to say to his Master, of one of them,' As thy servant was busy here and there, arguing that if he should be consigned to perdition he will finally be rescued, lo! he was gone!'

16 Theological Seminaries?Literature?Revivals

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS XVI. THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES-LITERATURE-REVIVALS

Perhaps sufficient has been said already about the early efforts of the Baptists to provide facilities for general and theological education, but there is a disposition to linger and contemplate the great contrast presented between the firmly laid foundations and the present state of the structure. As early as 1813 a charter was obtained for the Maine Literary and Theological Institution, and in 1818 a school was opened at Waterville, under the charge of Jeremiah Chaplin, D.D., who for several years had been giving theological instruction to a few young men who had removed with him to Waterville from his pastorate at Danvers, Mass. In 1820 this school was incorporated as a college, with both a collegiate and a theological department, but when Newton Institution was opened, instruction in divinity was discontinued and the institution grew into what is now Colby University. The spread of Baptist principles in this country is nowhere more strongly seen than by our present educational statistics. The State of New York is a fair example. In 1817 there were only three educated Baptist ministers in that State, west of the Hudson. Thirteen men met at the house of Deacon Jonathan Olmstead, in Hamilton, September 24th, 1817, and contributed $13 to the cause of theological education in founding what has now become Madison University, and the first class which graduated from the infant institution numbered but six members. Today, 1886, the property and endowments of the Baptist institutions of learning in New York are estimated at $2,133,000. The Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution was opened on May 1st, 1820. Its first Professor was Rev. Daniel Hascall, and in the following fall, Elder Nathanael Kendrick, of Eaton, was employed to visit the school and lecture on moral philosophy and theology three times a week. The first regular class in Divinity was organized under In’s instruction, in June, 1822. Two members of this class were Jonathan Wade and Eugenio Kincaid, both of whom went on missions to Burma.

Gradually, the length of the course of study was extended and its variety enlarged, until in 1839 the restriction to candidates for the ministry was widened, granting the privileges of the institution to ’students of good moral character not having the ministry in view.’ This enlargement, however, was accompanied by the provisions that: ’No change should be made in the course of instruction to favor such students, that they should in no case exceed the number of those preparing for the ministry, and that in no other way should the privileges of the latter be abridged by reason of this arrangement.’ The institution was supported by contributions from the Churches and by the help of the Education Society. By degrees which it is not necessary to trace here, it became the Madison University of today, having had a rare succession of Professors and graduates. Dr. Kendrick, who had been its head till 1836, was at that time formally elected its President, in which capacity he continued until 1848. Stephen W. Taylor, LL.D., became its second President in 1851, but died in 1856. Dr. Taylor was a layman of very high character. He graduated at Hamilton College, Clinton Co., N. Y., and had devoted his life to teaching. For two years he acted as principal of the academy connected with the University, but left in 1836, after which he founded the Lewisburg

University, in Pennsylvania, and returned as President of Madison. Rev. George W. Eaton, D.D., LL.D., was the third President of this renowned institution. He was a graduate of Union College and had devoted his life to teaching, his first professorship being that of Ancient Languages, at Georgetown, Ky. He became Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, at Hamilton, in 1833, was elected to the chair of Ecclesiastical and Civil History, in 1837; in 1850 he became Professor of Systematic Theology and President of Madison University, in 1856 Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and in 1861 he was chosen President of Hamilton Seminary and Professor of Homiletics. He died August 3d, 1872, at the age of 68 years, having been connected with the Institution in one capacity or another for forty years, in prosperity and adversity, until its interests and history became a part of himself and the chief end of his existence. Dr. Eaton would have been a man of mark in any sphere of life. In body, intellect and soul, he possessed a uniform greatness, which, without exaggeration, entitle him to the appellation of a threefold giant. He knew nothing of cowardice, moral or otherwise, but met every issue which arose in the affairs of the denomination and the times, on the high and broad plane of Christian manliness. His first and last question on all subjects was, 'Is this right?' When that question was determined in his own mind his position was taken, whether he stood alone or with the multitude. His memory was what he would have called 'prodigious,' his eloquence massive, his hospitality warm, and his convictions of duty as deep as his nature. Withal, his sympathy with the weak, the wronged and the suffering, was extraordinary. He was as artless as a child, and his unsuspecting nature was often imposed upon, while he gave his strong arm to help every one. He was too impulsive for a thorough disciplinarian and too pure for any one to despise.

EBENEZER DODGE, D.D., LL.D., the fourth President of Madison University, is a native of Massachusetts, born at Salem, April 21, 1819. He is an alumnus of Brown University and studied theology at Newton. He served as pastor of the Baptist Church in New London, N. H., for seven years, with marked power, but was called from his pastorate to the chair of Christian Theology in 1853. In 1868 he was elected President of Madison University and in 1871 President of Hamilton Theological Seminary. He is a ripe scholar and a profound theologian. Under his administration the career of the University has been one unbroken progress; for it has enjoyed the greatest prosperity in its history in all its departments, so that it never occupied the commanding position which it does at this time. Dr. Dodge has contributed to the standards of Theology in his work on the 'Evidences of Christianity;' and his 'Theological Lectures,' now confined to the use of his students, exhibit the hand of a master in deep thought and ripe scholarship. He has many valuable manuscripts ready for the press, which, it is believed, will stand side by side with his present publications, and, as they are the results of his life-long experience, may even excel them in their advanced value. The Newton Theological Institution has a most interesting history. At a large meeting of ministers and laymen held in Boston, May 25th, 1825, it was resolved that a Baptist Theological Institution in the vicinity of Boston was a necessity, and the Massachusetts Baptist Educational Society was requested to take steps in that direction. Its executive committee fixed upon Newton Center for a location, and selected Rev. Irah Chase to begin instruction. The foundations of the school were laid with great difficulty and in much faith and prayer. Students increased faster than the necessary provisions for their reception, and heavy debts were incurred. It was many years before its permanent endowment was secured with corresponding success. All connected with the undertaking made great sacrifices, and Dr. Chase gave twenty years of his valuable life to the enterprise with an unselfishness that has laid the Baptists of New England

under a debt which they will never be able to discharge. The course of instruction was to cover three years, and to be specially adapted to college graduates familiar with the Latin and the Greek. Dr. Chase commenced his work in the autumn of 1825, and in the next year Prof. Henry J. Ripley was added. Prof. James D. Knowles came to their aid in 1834, Rev. Barnas Sears in 1836, and in 1838, upon the death of Prof. Knowles, Prof. Hackett left his chair in Brown University to take his place in the corps of tutors. Not far from 800 students have gone forth from its hallowed bosom to fill places of high trust, and under its present faculty it is doing, if possible, better work than ever and promises a splendid future.

ALVAH HOVEY, D.D., LL.D., its President, is a native of Greene, Chenango Co., N. Y., and was born March 5th, 1820. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1844, and spent three years at Newton as a theological student. After preaching for a year, in 1849 he first became a tutor in Hebrew, at Newton; and then in succession, Professor of Church History, Theology, and Christian Ethics, and President; so, that, for thirty-seven years he has consecrated all his energies to the training of young ministers in this renowned seminary. This long experience, governed by a sacred regard for divine truth and by a remarkably sound judgment in expounding its principles, has made his tuition far-reaching, and given to our Churches a fullness of doctrine and devotion which has been strong and abiding. Dr. Hovey is distinguished for his clear perception of Gospel doctrines, to which he cleaves simply because they are divinely true. First of all he is just, which renders his aims high and unselfish, besides making his counsels sensible and sound. His pen has been ever busy; he is the author of about a dozen volumes, amongst which are his 'Person and Work of Christ,' the 'Miracles,' his 'Higher Christian Life,' and his 'Memoirs of Dr. Backus,' all valuable productions. This veteran educator is beloved and trusted by the Churches everywhere, as far as he is known, and his present vigor promises to bless them for many years to come. The third Theological Seminary founded by the American Baptists was that at Rochester, N. Y. About 1847 many friends of Madison University thought its usefulness would be greatly increased, by its removal from the village of Hamilton to a more populous center. After considerable controversy, and some litigation, the question of its removal was abandoned. The University of Rochester was founded in 1850, and in the following November a Theological Seminary was organized, distinct, however, in its property and government. From the first, its list of instructors has comprised the names of very eminent scholars. Its first two professors were Thomas J. Conant, D.D., and John S. Maginnis, D.D.; Ezekiel G. Robinson, D.D., LL.D., became its President in 1868, after most valuable service as professor from 1853. In 1872 he was elected President of Brown University, when Rev. Augustus H. Strong, D.D., was chosen to fill his position both as President and Professor of Biblical Theology at Rochester. This school has been liberally endowed and has given to the Churches a succession of pastors of the highest stamp for excellency in every respect. Its German Department was early enriched by the library of Neander, and its buildings have been provided by the munificence of J. B. Trevor, Esq., of New York, and John D. Rockefeller, Esq., of Cleveland. Hon. R. S. Burrows, of Albion; John M. Brnce, J. A. Bostwick and William Rockefeller, Esqs., of New York, have given large sums to replenish its library, and a host of other friends have carried its interests to a high state of prosperity by their Christian benefactions.

DR. STRONG, its President, was born at Rochester, August 3d, 1836, and graduated from Yale College in 1857. While a student at Yale he was brought to Christ, and united with the First Baptist

Church in Rochester; but after his graduation he first entered the Theological Seminary in that city, and then completed his studies in the German universities. On his return from Europe, in 1861, he was ordained pastor of the Baptist Church at Haverhill, Mass., which he left in 1865 to become pastor of the First Church, Cleveland, OH., from whence he went to take his present place, after seven years of successful pastoral toil. Although Dr. Strong is the youngest of our theological presidents, the classes which come from under his hand evince his care in training and his wisdom in impressing them with that robust impress of Biblical theology which betokens their reverence for the heavenly vision. Endowed himself with insight into spiritual things, with keen faith and high sanctity, they catch his spirit, and their ministry evidences their love for that Lord whose they are and whom they serve. He is the author of numerous notable articles on theological subjects, but his most elaborate and weighty book is his 'Systematic Theology' recently published. It is a work of great research, indicating the strength and solidity, as well as the logical and analytical power, of the author's mind.

Having already spoken of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, it is not necessary to treat of its interests here, further than to speak of its President, who is in all respects the peer of his presidential brethren.

JAMES P. BOYCE, D.D., .LL.D., was born in Charleston, S. C. January 11th, 1827. In 1847 he graduated from Brown University, and, having been converted while in college, he was baptized in 1848 by the Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller. From 1848 to 1851 he studied theology at Princeton, N. J. He threw all his energies into his theological studies, and when he was examined for ordination to the ministry, Dr. Curtis, moderator of the examining council, asked him whether he intended to give his life to the preaching of the Gospel. He replied: 'Provided I don't become a professor of theology.' In 1851 he became pastor of the Church at Columbia, S. C., but took the chair of theology in Furman University in 1855. He accepted a professorship in the Theological Seminary at Greenville, S. C., however, in 1858. The seminary being located but temporarily there, in 1873 it was resolved to remove it to Louisville, its friends in Kentucky having offered $300,000 for its permanent establishment there, provided that $200,000 could be added from other sources. When financial embarrassment threatened the ruin of this great scheme, Dr. Boyce, who at that time was wealthy, borrowed large sums of money on his own responsibility, and threw his surprising financial talents into the enterprise. For about seven years it seemed as if the godly project must fail, and gloom, almost despair, settled upon the hopes of its friends. But Dr. Boyce by his patience and business skill re-inspired the energies of his brethren, and more than any other person led the movement to complete success. He is a refined and dignified gentleman, whose modest polish of manner, generous culture and varied accomplishments clothe him with a delightful influence in all spheres in which he moves, so that he is pre-eminently fitted to mold his pupils in the proprieties demanded by their calling. Clearly, it must be the fault of the pupil if he goes forth to his work without that refinement of manner, together with that mental and heart culture, which are demanded in the acceptable minister of our Lord Jesus. The Baptist Union Theological Seminary at Morgan Park, Illinois, was organized in 1867. Up to about the year 1860 the West had been wholly dependent upon the East for theological education; but in 1859 a convention of delegates representing the West and Northwest gathered in Chicago to consult respecting the establishment of a new seminary in that part of our country. The difference of opinion as to location was so striking that general agreement was not then reached. At length a preliminary organization was

effected, in 1860, under the lead of W. W. Everts, D.D.. J. B. Oleott, and J. A. Smith, and in 1863 a corporation was formed and officers chosen; Hon. R. S. Thomas being President, Luther Stone, Secretary, and Edward Goodman, Treasurer. In 1865 the Legislature of Illinois granted it a charter. A temporary arrangement was made with Dr. Nathanael Culver to commence theological tuition, but a regular faculty was selected in 1866, and in the autumn of that year the work of instruction began in earnest. Since that time reliable endowments have been received, the faculty has been very effective, the seminary has been removed to Morgan Park, and is in a high state of prosperity. It has already graduated about 500 students. Its beautiful property at Morgan Park, and an endowment of $200,000, with a library of 25,000 volumes, promise much, with its able body of tutors, for the culture of the rising ministry in the West.

GEORGE W. NORTHRUP, D.D., LL.D., its President, was born in Jefferson County, K. Y., October 15th, 1826, and when but sixteen years of age became a member of the Baptist Church at Antwerp. His early educational advantages were slight, but from childhood he possessed that quenchless thirst for knowledge and culture that refuses to submit to any obstructions which assume to be insurmountable. He plodded on in the study of Latin, Greek and mathematics with such private aids only as he could command, until he was able to enter Williams College. In 1854 he graduated from that institution with the highest honors, and in 1857 finished a theological course at the Rochester Seminary. There, also, he served with distinguished ability as Professor of Church History for ten years. He accepted the chair of theology and the presidency in the seminary, which he has done so much to establish, in 1867, and in contending with the difficulties incident to the founding of a new institution he has displayed the qualities of a forceful leader and organizer. His wise methods and strength of will have braved all storms, and commanded that signal success which has given the West as strong and well-conducted a theological seminary as any in the East, in view of its youth. As a metaphysician, pulpit orator and theologian, Dr. Northrup is an honor to his denomination. The youngest of the six theological schools is the Crozer Theological Seminary, located at Chester, in Pennsylvania, and organized in 1868. The late John P. Crozer, Esq., was deeply interested in ministerial education, and had largely aided therein through the Lewisburg University. After his death his family took up the work where he left it, to give it an enlarged and more permanent form. Led by his eldest son, Mr. Samuel A. Crozer, his other sons and daughters established this seminary as a devout monument to his name, and all generations will therefor call them blessed. The buildings and grounds are spacious, valued at $150,000; the endowment amounts to about $350,000, and the library and apparatus are ample for present use, although the library building is planned to contain about 50,000 volumes. William Bucknell, son-in-law to Mr. John P. Crozer, made a donation of about $30,000 for the purchase of books, and a further sum of $10,000 was presented from another source for the same purpose. Its average number of pupils is about fifty per year, its faculty is one of the best in the denomination, and it has sent about 300 men into the Christian ministry; many of whom are now filling places of great influence and responsibility.

HENRY G. WESTON, D.D., has been president of this institution from its foundation, and has contributed greatly to its up-building. He is a native of Lynn, Mass., and was born September 11th, 1820. He graduated at Brown University and Newton Theological Institution, and after sustaining himself for three years as a missionary in Illinois, became pastor of the Baptist Church in Peoria in 1846, where he was prospered for thirteen years. In 1859 he removed to New York city, to take

charge of the Oliver Street Baptist Church, in which congregation he remained, first in Oliver Street, and then in Madison Avenue when it removed, until the year 1868, when he took the presidency of Crozer Seminary. His double aim was to give a complete theological training to the alumni of our colleges, who could study the Scriptures in the Greek and pursue the Hebrew; and also to take men who were somewhat advanced in life, but could not command a classical course; to aid them in the knowledge of the Scriptures and in theological studies, that they might be measurably qualified, at least, for their pastoral work. A peculiar order of ability was needed in the president who than well lay the foundations of such a school, not only must he be a true scholar, and a clear, sound and experienced theologian, broad in his views, simple in his habits, kind in his disposition, and devout in his piety; but quite as much he needed unflinching courage in his convictions. In a word, all the ripe qualities of manly experience were needed, with the forbearance and tenderness of a woman. Even then, the tact of a general was required, who knew the wants of the place and had the genius to meet them. Many men were scanned as to this fitness, but, with singular unanimity, Dr. Weston was hailed as the one man for the post. A ripe scholar and a pulpit master, it was believed that he could equally develop the immature and perfect the accomplished. The result has so far exceeded sanguine expectation, that all true Baptist hearts thank him for his work and praise his Master for the gift of the workman. For nearly a score of years he has been filling the pulpits of our land with men who are blessing it everywhere. The Baptist denomination, having possessed such a succession of men in the presidency of its seminaries, should be grateful indeed, for not one of them, from the establishment of the first school, has ever brought a stain upon its fair fame. And not only in view of the past, but in the necessities of the present, it is to be congratulated; happy are the Baptists of the United States in the possession of six such presidents of their theological schools.

American Baptists have lately paid much attention to female education, and have twenty-seven institutions devoted to this object. A Ladies' Institute was founded at Granville, Oh., in 1832, which was followed by the Judson Female Institute, at Marion, Ala., in 1839; by Baylor Female College, at Independence, Tex., in 1845; and by the Female Seminary at Georgetown, Ky., in 1846. Mary Sharp College was established, on a somewhat larger scale, at Winchester, Term., in 1851. But the largest and most thoroughly endowed Baptist institution for females is Vassar College, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. It was founded by Matthew Vassar, in 1865, at a cost of $700,000. He excluded sectarian teaching, but put it under Baptist control, forbidding that its training should ever be 'intrusted to the skeptical, the irreligious or the immoral.' Its endowment is $430,000, and it exerts a great influence on the higher education of women. Its presidents have been John H. Raymond, LL.D.; S. L. Caldwell, D.D.; J. R. Kendrick, D.D.; and its present head, James M. Taylor, D.D., son of the late Dr. E. E. I. Taylor. The growth of a distinctively DENOMINATIONAL LITERATURE in America has been closely kindred to the growth of the denomination and of its schools for education. From the antecedents of Baptist European life, under all its persecutions and disabilities, it was scarcely to be expected that Baptists would take any very prominent part in literature here. Still, it is one of the marvels of English literary history that the two men of the seventeenth century whom Macaulay pronounces 'creative minds' were decided Baptists in their religious convictions. He writes: 'We are not afraid to say that though there were many clever men in England during the latter part of the seventeenth century, there were only two great creative minds. One of these produced "Paradise Lost," and the other "Pilgrim's Progress."' Milton spent his strength in his two most extensive prose works in proving that those principles which

distinguish the Baptists are drawn from the Scriptures; while Bunyan was a Baptist preacher, imprisoned for preaching at Baptist conventicles. As might have been expected, the writings of Baptists, both in the Old and New World, took a decidedly controversial tone. Roger Williams possessed high literary art, viewed in the ponderous style of his day, and advocated principles which are now universally conceded in the United States. His success in obtaining the charter, and the friendly admonition from England to the authorities of Massachusetts that they should be less severe with him, are justly attributed to the favorable impressions as to his purposes and spirit created in England by his writings, especially those in regard to the Indians. The occasion for the composition of the important works by which he is best known was furnished by the principle which he maintained against Mr. Cotton. Five volumes, of which the 'Bloody Tenet' is the most noted, were published in London between the years 1644 and 1652; after the death of Cotton, Williams ceased to write upon these subjects. But the battle which he fought has long since been decided. Despite the grudging reluctance of those who hate his memory for his religious principles, and the tardy acknowledgment of his great power by those who hold those principles themselves yet accuse him of inconsistency in their maintenance, the fact is clear that the tenets for which he contended so manfully against Cotton have incorporated themselves into all American institutions. Clarke, the founder of Newport, published a small volume on the persecutions in New England, but, so far as is known, the first Baptist theological work printed in America was a Catechism by John Watts, of Pennepec Church, in 1700. The next bears the following title, with an address to the reader, dated 'Providence, the 17th of February, 1718-19' -

'REPLY to the Most Principal Arguments contained in a Book, Entitled "The Baptism of the Holy Spirit without Elementary Water, Demonstratively proved to be the true Baptism of Christ." Signed, William Wilkinson. In which REPLY his arguments are fairly Refuted; and both WATER BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER plainly proved to be the commands of JESUS CHRIST, and to continue in force until His Second Personal Coming. By Joseph Jenks. Printed in the year 1719.'

Valentine Wightman published a volume on Baptism in 1728, which was the outcome of a debate on that subject. In 1730, a 'Concordance to the Bible' in the Welsh language was published by Rev. Abel Morgan, which was largely used in the vicinity of Philadelphia. The historical discourse of John Callender, pastor of the Church at Newport, delivered in 1738, a hundred years after the founding of that city, has become a classic authority upon Providence and Rhode Island matters. Probably the first sermon published by a Southern Baptist was Isaac Chanler's, with the title: 'The Doctrines of Glorious Grace enforced, defended, and practically improved.' Boston, 1744. Having already spoken of the writings of Abel Morgan and Samuel Stillman, it is not necessary to mention them here. The history of 'New England Baptists,' by Dr. Backus, has become a standard, and is thoroughly reliable in its general treatment of facts. Its author himself had been actively engaged in the advancement of religious liberty, and especially in awakening a public sentiment to be expressed in legislation against the privileges and immunities accorded to the State Church. Since its first publication it has passed through a number of revisions and in its present form it is indispensable to a full and true history of New England. The works of Backus and Morgan Edwards were used largely by David Benedict, who published the first edition of his 'History of the Baptists' in 1812, a work which he enlarged in 1848 to embrace a sketch of the Baptists not only in every State of the Union but in all parts of the world. This book has passed through many editions, and remains a noble monument to the untiring toil and patience of its author.

During the first half of our national existence the books written by Baptists were, for the most part, intended to instruct Church members in the doctrines and duties of Christianity. The authors and titles of a few of them may be mentioned. Dr. Samuel Jones wrote a 'Treatise of Discipline;' Dr. William Rogers published a work on 'Justification;' Dr. Jeese Mercer, on 'Various Christian Duties,' and on the 'Unity and Interdependence of the Churches.' President Maxcy wrote largely on the Atonement, one production in which the 'governmental' theory of the Atonement is treated of. Dr. Baldwin's discourse on the 'Deity of Christ,' published in 1812, during the Unitarian Controversy, passed through many editions, as did, also, Dr. Judson's Sermon preached in Calcutta, in 1812, and republished in America in 1817, in which he defended his course in becoming a Baptist. Numerous tracts, sermons and pamphlets, have been published on Baptism and Communion, and, perhaps, none of them have been more widely circulated or useful than these of the late Rev. Stephen Remington. We greatly need a work on Baptist Bibliography, and another on Baptist hymnology. So far as is now known, the first Baptist periodical published in America was the 'Analytical Repository,' in Savannah, Ga., by Rev. Henry Holcombe, their pastor of the Church there. Its first issue was for the months of May and June, 1802, and its publication is said to have continued for two years, though the second volume is not known to be extant. The first volume consists of six numbers, the sixth being for March and April, 1803. It was a 12mo, each number containing 48 pages. Its historic value lies chiefly in its account of the general proceedings which led to the organization of the Georgia Baptist State Convention; in its detail of the first efforts toward mitigating the hardship of the Penal Code, petty larceny being at that time a capital crime; in an account of the Savannah Female Orphan Asylum, which was established by Dr. Holcombe, and still exists; in a narrative concerning the founding of the Baptist Church in Savannah, and in a sketch of the colored Baptists in that city, also of several Churches in its vicinity. On the 20th of May, 1802, John Rice was executed in Savannah for stealing a gun, and on the day of his execution Dr. Holcombe took his children to his own house to cherish and comfort them; he then prepared a memorial to the Legislature of Georgia, and procured a milder and more enlightened system of punishment.

Nothing is more honorable to Dr. Henry Holcombe Tucker, the grandson of Dr. Holcombe, and to the Georgia Baptists, than their protest against all legal disregard of marital relations amongst slaves. At the meeting of the Georgia Association, held at Pine Grove, October 8th, 1864, Dr. Tucker offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted first by that body and afterward by various Associations in the State : 'Resolved, That it is the firm belief and conviction of this body that the institution of marriage was ordained by Almighty God for the benefit of the whole human race, without regard to color; that it ought to be maintained in its original purity among all classes of people, in all countries and in all ages, till the end of time; and that, consequently, the law of Georgia, in its failure to recognize and protect this relationship between our slaves, is essentially defective and ought to be amended.' The interest awakened in foreign missions in 1814 naturally found expression in the establishment of a periodical to maintain and foster their interests by spreading information and appeals. The first missionary periodical published by the American Baptists was known as the 'Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine,' issued by the Massachusetts Missionary Society in September, 1803, a year after the organization of the society. It was edited by Dr. Baldwin, first as a semi-annual of thirty-two pages, filled with letters and reports from missionaries. In 1817 its numbers were issued once in two months, and in 1825 it was changed to a monthly, and has since been conducted in the interests

of Foreign Missions. 'The Macedonian' was started in 1842 for the diffusion of Foreign Mission news. In 1849 the 'Home Mission Record' was started to promote Home Missions, items relating to the subject having before appeared in various religions papers. Its name was changed to the 'Home Evangelist' in 1863. and in 1867, by arrangement with the Missionary Union, it appeared under the title, 'The Macedonian and Record,' the first leaf containing home and the second foreign missionary intelligence; but, in 1878, the 'Baptist Home Mission Monthly' was commenced, a quarto of sixteen pages which has since been enlarged to twenty-four, and it now reports the work of the Woman's Home Mission Societies. The following newspapers are mentioned after the dates of their establishment: The oldest Baptist weekly in America is 'The Watchman,' of Boston, established in 1819, with the title, the 'Christian Watchman,' and edited by Deacon James Loring. The question of slavery becoming a subject of warm discussion, the 'Christian Reflector' was begun at Worcester, Mass., edited by Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor. This paper was removed to Boston in 1844, under the editorship of Rev. H. A. Graves, where it obtained a large circulation; but, Mr. Graves's health failing, Rev. J. W. Olmstead became its editor, March, 1846, and in 1848 the two papers were united, under the name, 'The Watchman and Reflector,' Dr. Olmstead remaining as editor. The 'Christian Era' was commenced in Lowell in 1852, but was removed to Boston after several years, and conducted by Dr. Amos Webster, and was merged into 'The Watchman and Reflector' in 1875. when the name of the united papers became 'The Watchman.' Dr. Olmstead resided in New York for a short time, but returned as editor-in-chief of 'The Watchman' in 1882, and now ranks as the senior Baptist editor in the country, having conducted this paper, with a brief interval, for more than forty years. The influence of this journal is very healthful and deservedly wide-spread in New England. The Connecticut Baptist Missionary Society started the 'Christian Secretary' in 1822, with Elisha Cushman as editor. A succession of editors conducted it until 1858, when Elisha Cushman, Jr., assumed charge, continuing it till his death in 1876. Then S. D. Phelps, D.D., who had filled the pastorate of the First Baptist Church at New Haven, under the shadow of Yale College, for thirty years, became its editor, and bus done a most forceful work in making it an indispensable exponent of the principles and progress of the Connecticut Baptists. The 'Christian Index,' now published at Atlanta, Ga., had its origin in the 'Columbian Star,' a weekly folio sheet, originated at Washington, D. C., about the year 1822, by Luther Rice, assisted by Dr. Staughton and O. B. Brown; it was devoted principally to the advocacy of foreign missions and education through the Columbian College. It appears to have been first edited by John S. Meehan, assisted by the gentlemen already named, Mr. Brown editing in the same office a monthly called the 'Latter-Day Luminary.' Afterwards, the celebrated Professor J. D. Knowles, then a student in Washington, became its editor, and was succeeded by Baron Stow, then a student also. About the years 1826-28 it was removed to Philadelphia, put under the management of Dr. W. T. Brantly, and issued as a quarto, under the name of 'The Columbian Star and Christian Index.' Late in 1832 or early in 1833 it became the property of Jesse Mercer, who removed it to Georgia and edited it till 1840, when he presented it to the Baptist Convention of that State. William Stokes, who had assisted him, became editor-in-chief and remained in the chair till 1843, when he was followed by Dr. J. S. Baker till 1849. He had several successors, and Rev. Joseph Walker took charge in 1857. Under his careful toil it rose from about 1,000 paying subscribers to nearly 6,000, and yielded $1,000 annually above its expenses. In 1801 it was sold to Rev. S. Boykin, and Dr. Shaver conducted it from 1867 to 1874. Then Rev. Dr. E. Butler became its editor, serving until 1878, when Dr. Tucker; its present learned chief, took the editorial

chair. As a Baptist organ, it has always been unflinching in its maintenance of Baptist doctrine and practice. It retains the flavor imparted to it by Knowles, Brantly and Mercer, and is conducted with as much ability as it has commanded at any time in its hoary history of four-and-sixty years. The 'Religious Herald,' of Richmond, Va., was established by William Sands, a layman and an expert printer, in 1828. Like most other things that become of any account, it began its life in the day of small things. Mr. Sands lived in Baltimore, and, on the suggestion of William Crane, went to Richmond to establish a Baptist paper, aided by money furnished by Mr. Crane. For several years Mr. Sands was printer and financial manager, with Rev. Henry Keeling for editor, but the struggle to establish the Journal was severe. Dr. Shaver put his strong hand to the enterprise in 1857, and the paper soon took that high position amongst religious periodicals which it has sustained ever since. William Sands died in 1868, lamented as a most devout Christian, possessed of the soundest judgment, and beloved by all who knew him for his amiable disposition. The establishment of Sands and Shaver was consumed by fire in 1865, and they sold the 'good will' of the paper to Messrs. Jeter and Dickinson. Dr. Jeter devoted fourteen of the ripest years of his life to its up-building, and not in vain. He has left a hallowed influence about its very name, and, under its present energetic management, its weekly blessings help to make bright homes for thousands of Christian families, North and South.

'Zion's Advocate,' published at Portland, Me., was begun in 1828 with Rev. Adam Wilson as editor, who held this relation to it until 1848, with a short interval. Afterwards it was edited by various men of large capacity, amongst whom were Dr. W. H. Shailer. In 1873 the paper was purchased by Rev. Henry S. Burrage, its present editor, under whose direction its reputation and influence have been greatly enlarged. It has also been changed by him to its present enlarged size, and kept abreast of the demands of the times, not only in the advocacy of our denominational principles and practices, but in awakening new enthusiasm in the cause of education amongst our Churches in Maine. The sound judgment and careful scholarship with which it is conducted render it worthy of its high place in our periodical press. The 'Journal And Messenger,' published at Cincinnati, Oh., originated in the 'Baptist Weekly Journal' of the Mississippi Valley, in 1831. In 1834 the 'Cross,' a Baptist paper of Kentucky, was united with it, and seven years later it was removed to Columbus, Oh., with Messrs. Cole, Randall and Batchelor as editors. The 'Christian Messenger' was united with it in 1850, under the name of the 'Journal and Messenger.' It then changed owners and editors several times, until it was purchased, in 1876, by G. W. Lasher, D.D., by whom it has been edited since in a vigorous manner; its circulation has become large, and it well cultivates its important field. 'The Western Recorder.' Various attempts were made to establish a Baptist paper in Kentucky, but failed until the 'Baptist Banner' originated at Shelbyville in 1835. At that time it was a fortnightly; but in 1835 Rev. John N. Waller became its editor; when it was removed to Louisville and issued as a weekly. Soon it was united with the 'Baptist,' which was published at Nashville, Tenn., and with the 'Western Pioneer,' of Illinois, becoming the 'Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer.' In 1841 Mr. Waller ceased to be its editor, and was succeeded by Rev. W. C. Buck; but in 1850 Mr. Waller returned to the paper, aided by Rev. S. II. Ford, and in 1851 its name was changed to the 'Western Recorder.' Dr. Waller died in 1854, and Mr. Ford became its sole editor and proprietor; but, after a time, it passed into other hands until 1858. During a part of the civil war its issue was suspended, but it was resumed in 1863, when it was owned and edited by various persons till about 1872; then A. C. Caperton, D.D., became its solo owner and editor. It had never fully paid its way until that time, but he changed its form from a quarto to an octavo, and

enlarged its size about one third, he also employed paid contributors and a field editor, and it steadily grew in power, popularity and financial value, until it is now regarded as one of the leading journals of the South.

'The Tennessee Baptist' was established under the name 'The Baptist,' at Nashville, Tenn., in the year 1835; two or three years after that it was consolidated with the 'Western Baptist and Pioneer,' and was edited by the late Dr. Howell and others; but its circulation barely crept up to 1,000 copies until, in 1846, it fell into the hands of Dr. J. R. Graves, its present editor. It then assumed its present name, and, under his persevering and energetic management, its circulation increased rapidly and became very large. During the civil war its publication was suspended. At its close the paper was removed to Memphis, the word 'Tennessee' dropped from its name, and its circulation, as a quarto of sixteen pages, has again readied a high figure. Dr. Graves is endowed with marked qualifications for an editor. As a writer and speaker he is remarkably direct and copious, like all men in downright earnest, infusing his spirit and principles into the minds of his constant readers and hearers. Restless and aggressive, his pen is ever busy, not only as an editor, leaving his own stamp upon his paper, but as an author his works teem from the press perpetually in the form of books and pamphlets. His life has been devoted with quenchless zeal to the cause of higher education, and the literature of the Southern Baptist Sunday-School Union and Publication Society has been built up chiefly under his untiring labors. In the South and South-west the 'Baptist' is an indisputable power in the advocacy of the most pronounced Baptist principles and practices. After the war its publishing-house was burned, and its assets, to the amount of $100,000, destroyed, yet, without a dollar to begin with, Dr. Graves re-established his paper at Memphis. He has been its vigorous editor in an unbroken connection for forty years, and stands at his post, at nearly three-score-and-ten, the unfaltering advocate of the old landmarks of Baptist life, decided and distinct in all its denominational trends and interests.

'The Examiner,' a New York Baptist weekly, has probably the largest circulation of any Baptist paper in the world, and has a most interesting history. The 'Baptist Advocate' was commenced in 1839, by the late William H. Wyckoff, LL.D., who remained its editor till 1845, when it changed ownership and name, being called the 'New York Recorder.' In 1850 Dr. M. B. Anderson became its owner and editor, and remained so till 1853. It was consolidated in 1855 with the 'Baptist Register,' a weekly then published at Utica, N. Y. As far back as 1808, Daniel Hascall, John Lawton and John Peck commenced the 'Western Baptist Magazine' in Central New York, as an organ of the Hamilton Missionary Society; this again was merged into the 'Baptist Register,' and, in 18S5, Alexander M. Beebee, LL.D., a gentleman of genuine ability, high literary taste and the soundest of judgment, became its editor. Under his wisdom and management it soon attained a large circulation and influence, and he remained editor almost to the time of his death, in 1856. Only in the previous year the 'Register' had been combined with the 'Recorder,' with the further change of name to the 'Examiner,' under the editorship of Edward Bright, D.D., who had for some years been the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Union, and for a longer period one of the publishers of the 'Baptist Register.' In 1850 the 'New York Chronicle' was commenced by Messrs. O. B. Judd and Hon. William B. Maclay. It soon attained a wide influence. In 1857 it passed into the hands of Pharcellus Church, D.D., who continued its editor till 1865, when it was united with the 'Examiner' under the name of the 'Examiner and Chronicle'; but recently the older title has been resumed, and it is now known simply as 'The Examiner.' Dr. Bright has edited it for

more than a generation with very marked ability and success, and has made it one of the most influential religious organs in our country.

'The Baptist Weekly,' published in New York, was formerly the organ of the Free Mission Society, which was organized in 1840. It was first known as the 'American Baptist,' and was edited by Rev. Warham Walker. The 'Christian Contributor ' and the 'Western Christian were merged into this paper, which was located at Utica until 1857, and after its removal to New York it was edited by the late Dr. Nathan Brown, missionary first to Assam and then to Japan. Dr. A. S. Patton became its owner and editor in 1872, and still manages all its interests. From that time until recently Dr. Middleditch acted as associate editor, but has now retired to found a new journal, a monthly, known as the 'Gospel Age.' The 'Weekly' has a large circulation, and is characterized for its kind spirit and firm maintenance of all that concerns the advancement of true Baptist interests in the world.

'The Michigan Christian Herald,' of Detroit, was established by the Baptist Convention of Michigan, in 1842. At first it was a monthly, then a semi-monthly, but in 1845 it became a weekly. Some years after, the Convention sold it to Rev. Marvin Ahen, when it was edited by Rev. Miles Sanford and others till 1861. Then it fell under the editorial direction of Dr. Olney, who more than maintained its high literary character; but seeing that it was published at a financial loss, it was sold to the proprietors of the 'Christian Times and Witness,' of Illinois, in 1867. The Michigan Baptists, however, so felt the need of a State paper that the present proprietor of the 'Christian Herald,' Rev. L. II. Trowbridge, began its publication in 1870, in the interests of educational work, chiefly through Kalamazoo College. So healthy was its influence that the State Convention adopted it as its official organ, and it has become indispensable to the support of denominational enterprise in the State. It is conducted with great care and ability, and circulates largely amongst the 30,000 Baptists of Michigan.

'The Standard,' of Chicago, Ill., dates from August 31, 1853. It was started as a new paper by a committee of the Fox River Baptist Association, of which Rev. J. C. Burroughs was chairman, under the name of 'The Christian Times,' and was the successor of the 'Watchman of the Prairies.' The following November, Rev. Leroy Church and Rev. Justin A. Smith assumed the control of the paper, and about three years later Edward Goodman, who had been connected with it from its inception, became one of the proprietors. In January, 1875, Dr. J. S. Dickerson purchased the interest of Rev. Leroy Church. When Dr. Dickerson died, in 1876, Mrs. Dickerson, with her son, J. Spencer Dickerson, continued His interest in the paper. The circulation of the 'Standard' is large and its character very high; the rank which it sustains being all the testimonial needed by its managers to their enterprise and the manly maintenance of their religious convictions.

'The National Baptist.' Toward the close of 1864 our Churches in Philadelphia and its vicinity felt the need of a well-sustained paper to sustain denominational interests, especially in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The sum of $17,000 was presented to the Baptist Publication Society for that purpose, and the first number was issued January 1st, 1865, under the editorial supervision of George W. Anderson, D.D. For three years Dr. Kendall Brooks acted as editor, but, becoming President of Kalamazoo College, Dr. Moss served as its editor until chosen professor in Crozer Theological Seminary. Dr. H, L. Wayland, the present editor, took charge of the paper in 1872, and in 1883 it became his property. Its editorial department has always been in able hands, and as a

weekly paper it has become a power in the denomination, its present circulation being greatly in excess of that at any previous period in its history. Dr. Wayland leaves the marks of a clear and powerful mind upon its columns, and conducts it in that spirit of open fairness which challenges the admiration of his brethren, who uniformly rejoice in his editorial success. The 'Christian Review,' a quarterly, was commenced in 1836, with Prof. Knowles as its first editor, but his sudden death in that year transferred his position to Dr. Barnas Sears, who brought it to the close of vol. vi. Dr. S. F. Smith then edited it to the close of vol. xiii, and Rev. E. G. Scars edited vol. xiv. Drs. Cutting, Turnbull, Murdock, Woolsey, Franklin Wilson, G. B. Taylor and E. G. Robinson, carried it to the end of vol. xxviii, in 1863, at which time its publication terminated. In 1867 the Baptist Publication Society began the issue of the 'Baptist Quarterly,' with Dr. L. E. Smith as editor-in-chief, and Drs. Hovey, Robinson, Arnold and Gregory as associates. At the end of vol. ii, Dr. Weston took the editorial chair, and eight volumes were issued, when its publication was discontinued. Dr. Barnes, of Cincinnati, begun the publication of the 'Baptist Review.' a quarterly, in 1878, but sold it in 1885, when its name was changed to the 'Baptist Quarterly,' and it is now under the editorial control of Dr. McArthur and Henry C. Vedder, Esq., New York. Many of the successive editors named performed their duties with remarkable ability, and won for the 'Review' a recognition in the religious literature of the land. The contributors, also, were amongst the best scholars and thinkers of America, but our Churches had not readied an appreciation of its learned discussions and withheld their support. The present editors of the 'Quarterly' have somewhat popularized the character of the articles, and it bids fair to maintain its existence. The number of educated and scholarly persons in our Churches is constantly increasing, and the best thought of the tiniest minds in them is likely to receive generous encouragement in such a desirable enterprise.

Besides the literary works which have been so abundantly mentioned in this work, in association with the many eminent Baptists treated of therein, it may be well to mention a few others which have done honor to their authors. Amongst an immense list we have Prof. Ripley on the Gospels, the Acts and the Epistle to the Hebrews; Dr. Malcom's 'Dictionary of Names, Objects and Terms found in the Holy Scriptures;' 'Christ in History;' by Dr. Turnbull; the 'Creative Week,' the 'Epiphanies of the Risen Lord,' and the 'Mountain Instruction,' by Dr. Boardman. On Baptism, we have the 'Act of Baptism,' by Dr. Burrage; 'The Mould of Doctrine;' by Dr. Jesse B. Thomas; 'Baptism in the Christian System,' by Dr. Tucker; and the great work of Dr. Conant, on Baptizein. On missions we have Dr. Gammell's 'History,' Dr. Edward Judson's life of his father, and the 'Story of Baptist Mission?,' by Rev. O. W. Hervey. The Baptist press abounds in biographies of the great and the good, and in general literature. Several volumes have come from the pen of Dr. Mathews; Abraham Mills has given us his great work on 'English Literature and Literary Men;' Mr. Hill and Mr. Bancroft have given us valuable works on rhetoric. Drs. Kendrick, J. L. Lincoln, Albert Harkness and J. E. Boise, have published editions of the Latin and Greek classics, which have been. extensively used in schools and colleges. Dr. J. R. Loomis is the author of a series of Text books on Geology, Anatomy, and Physiology; and Dr. Edward Olney, of a complete series of mathematical text-books. In language, Dr. Hackett has translated Winer's 'Chaldee Grammar,' and Dr. Conant's edition of 'Gesenius's. Hebrew Grammar 'is the standard authority in the schools of America and Europe. This list might be doubled in length as an exhibition of literary activity of which we may be proud when we take into account that all these authors have been toilers either in the professor's chair or the pulpit, so that the ordinary duties of life were laborious if not exhausting; yet, out of their sound discipline, clear insight and good taste, they have been able to

enrich almost every department of learning.

Besides this, an immense popular and cheap literature has been created on special denominational topics, in the shape of tracts, pamphlets and small books, by the American Baptist Publication Society. Twenty-five Baptists met in Washington, D. C., on the 20th of February, 1824, to consider the need of a tract society for the American Baptists. Rev. Noah Davis proposed that such a society should be formed, which idea was zealously favored by Messrs. Knowles, Staughton and Rice, and the body was organized at once. Its receipts for the first year were but $373 80, with which it issued 696,000 pages of tracts. Two years later its headquarters were removed to Philadelphia, where it began to issue bound volumes. In 1840 it commenced to employ colporteurs to circulate its publications and to perform itinerant missionary work in destitute regions, and the name of the society was changed in 1845 to its present form. It undertook Sunday-school missionary work: in 1867, so that besides serving as a publishing house it preaches the Gospel from house to house by colporteurs, supplies families by gift or sale with Bibles and Baptist literature, and fosters the formation and aid of Sundayschools. By a law of its own, a Sunday-school planted in a destitute region soon gives the nucleus of a Church, and a new literature adapted to youth, having this aim in view, has made its appearance. The 'Young Reaper,' commenced in 1856, reported a circulation for 1881-85 of 2,616,304 copies, and of the 'Bible Lesson Monthly,' in weekly parts, 5,448,000 copies. Within four years 900,000 copies of a popular Sunday-school song book were sold in the schools. A fair conception of the influence of the Society on the interest of Sunday-schools may be obtained, when it is stated, that in the current year for the Society's operations for 1884-85, 5,284,000 copies of Bible Lessons and 1,046,000 Advanced Quarterlies were sold, devoted to the exposition of the Bible Lesson for the Sabbath. These, besides an endless number of bound volumes, for library and gift-books in the schools, present some idea of this new literature created by the American Baptists within a score of years. The many notable things which have been spoken of in the rapid growth of the Denomination might be supplemented by many others, but only two can be named: the endowment of our Churches with marvelous love for the salvation of men, and their zeal in promoting general revivals of religion; together with the new feeling of appreciation toward them by their brethren of other Christian denominations. In the South and Southwest there were many in the early part of this century who were too creed-bound, in all that related to the divine purposes and decrees, to labor for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of multitudes of sinners. Indeed, in North Carolina, some of the early Baptists were actually infected with the superstition of Baptismal Regeneration. When they were first visited by Gano, Miller and Vanhorn, they confessed to those men that they had been immersed without faith, believing that this would save them; and some of their pastors confessed that they themselves were not converted, but were so anxious to baptize others that Burkitt and Read say, in the 'History of the Kehukee Association,' that they often baptized their candidates by fire-light in the night, lest they should change their minds before morning. This state of things gave rise to that Antinomianism which blighted many of the Southern Churches for a time, till the more intelligent and evangelical shook off this 'bondage, and began to use the truths and measures set forth by Whitefield with such blessed results that they reaped rich harvests for Christ, especially in Virginia, Georgia and Kentucky; the North soon caught the same spirit.

About 1830 a general awakening was seen in our Churches, and what were called 'two days' meetings' began to be held, to pray and labor for the conversion of sinners . These were so marked in their effects that the time was prolonged to four-days, and last of all to 'protracted meetings,' without regard to length of time. Then the system of modern evangelical labor was introduced, as some pastors left their pastorates to go from Church to Church, helping other pastors. Amongst the first of these was the Rev. Jacob Knapp, who resigned his pastoral duties at Watertown, N. Y, and devoted himself to that form of labor for more than forty years. His educational advantages had been light, but his mind was strong and His doctrines sound, enforced by an uncommon knowledge of Scripture. His statements of truth were devoid of all attempt at rhetorical finish, but he was unusually fervent and fluent. His mind was marked by strong logical tendencies and his sermons were full of homely illustrations, apt passages from the Bible, and close knowledge of human nature. In person he was short, squarely and stoutly built, his voice was deeply sepulchral and his manner self-possessed; he was full of expedient and his will was indomitable. Crowds followed him, whole communities were moved by his labors and great numbers were added to the Churches. Dr. Reuben Jeffery edited his sermons and Autobiography, which were published in 1868, and gave a lively picture of his style and labors. Mr. Knapp says that he kept an account of the number converted under his ministry for the first twenty years' work as an evangelist, but gave up the attempt after the count readied 100,000. Of course, he met with much opposition, and often he was charged with a love of money; but he says that, aside from His traveling expenses, he received from the Churches only about 500 per annum. The writer heard him preach many times, and judged him, as he is apt to judge men, more by his prayers than his sermons, for he was a man of much prayer. His appearance in the pulpit was very striking, His face pale, his skin dark, his mouth wide, with a singular cast in one eye bordering on a squint; he was full of native wit, almost gestureless, and vehement in denunciation, yet so cool in his deliberation that with the greatest ease he gave every trying circumstance its appropriate but unexpected turn.

Other evangelists soon entered the field, many of them meeting with good success. Amongst these may be mentioned T. J. Fisher, of Kentucky, with Messrs. Raymond, Swan, Earle, DeWitt and Gravlis. Many of our pastors have been noted for the culture of revival influences in their Churches. Borne of them through a long course of years; as in the case of the late Lyman Wright, and of the two honored men who have held the same pastorates with great power for more than forty years: Dr. George C. Baldwin, of Troy, N. Y., and Dr. Daniel J. Corey, of Utica, N. Y. These are mentioned simply as examples of many others in our ministry. And it has been specially delightful in latter years to find numbers of the Presidents and Professors in our colleges and universities laboring with great energy for the salvation as well as for the education of their students, some of them reaping a large harvest. So that, taking the denomination as a whole, during the present century there has been an increase of zeal wisely used in this direction. The natural tendency of things in the olden times of harsh and hard controversy on infant baptism, when our fathers were obliged to struggle all the time for the right to be, was, to look with comparative indifference, if not suspicion, on the conversion of youth in very tender age.

Happily, that unreasonable and unlovely state of things is passing away, and our Churches are learning the holy art of winning very young children to Jesus, as soon as they can understand his claims upon them and are able to love and serve him. Inasmuch as we reject the fraud of

practicing upon them a rite which leaves them no choice in casting their own religious life, we are under double obligation to teach, and draw, and watch, and influence them to the service of our precious Master. We have come to look upon the neglect of these duties as sheer and downright wickedness, and instead of leaving our children to run wild until their hearts are all gnarled and scarified, like a knotted oak-tree, we are bringing our little ones to Jesus, that he may lay his hands on them and bless them. The better understanding which has arisen between Baptists and other Christians is a matter for gratitude, and especially because our Churches have in no wise compromised their honor or consistency to secure this result. The candor and grasp of German scholarship and the independence of English High Churchmen has had much to do with this change. In the German and English controversies on baptism, especially in the Tractarian movement of the latter, the concession has been made without reluctance that the classical and ecclesiastical literature of the New Testament period and the early Christian centuries sustain the Baptist position. Then, in purification of the change which early took place in the ordinances, instead of forcing all sorts of unnatural interpretations upon the facts and teachings of the Bible, the open avowal is very commonly made, that the Church had the right to change Christ's ordinances as convenience required. A noted example in point is that of the late Dean of Westminster, who, when visiting America in 1878, replied to an address of welcome from the Baptist ministers of New York and Brooklyn on November 4th; thus:

'You have alluded to me in your address as an ecclesiastical historian, and have referred to the undoubted antiquity of your principal ceremony--that of immersion. I feel that here, also, we ought to be grateful to you for having, almost alone in the Western Church, preserved intact this singular and interesting relic of primitive and Apostolic times, which we, you will forgive me for saying so--which we, at least in our practice, have wisely discarded. For wise reasons the Primitive Baptism was set aside. The spirit which lives and moves in human society can override even the most sacred ordinances.'

Here, a manly honesty meets an issue of stubborn facts not with a flat and false denial of its existence, but with the real reason for setting aside a Divine institution. The frankness of this statement is characteristic of the man; he boldly tells us that these who have ceased to immerse have 'discarded' the practice of 'Apostolic times,' and thinks that they have done so 'wisely,' without any authority from the Lord of the Apostles for rejecting one of his 'singular and interesting' institutions. The Dean had an affection for modern methods of religious substitution in things which he regarded as of secondary consequence, and he could not see how a man's conscience and convictions of duty should bind him to what the Dean could not understand as important. Hence, while he acknowledged that he 'ought to be grateful' to the Baptists, for having cleaved to the Apostolic practice 'almost alone' in Western Christendom, it was hard for him to see exactly why they should not 'discard' it as well as others did. Great as was his tolerance in thought, when he looked at any religious point even through his affections he betrayed a tinge of intolerance. His most courteous allowance in such cases was mingled with a touch of scorn for what he could not fully comprehend; therefore, brave as he held the Baptists to be for unswerving fidelity to the Bible form of baptism, he saw no need for this constancy, but candidly said, 'We have altered all that long ago,' without the slightest attempt at popular equivocation.

Possibly no Baptist writer of our times awakened less asperity in Pedobaptist minds than the late Dr. William E. Williams, yet on this very point no man more completely covers the right

interpretation of true Baptist conviction. He says:

'We read in the ordinance as the Sovereign bequeathed it, in the yielding waters that bury and then restore the loyal disciple, the cenotaph of our great Leader, the persistent tomb perpetually erected by which he would have his death set forth to the end of the world, and his exulting triumph over death, and His jubilant entrance into Paradise as well. And if it would be thought temerity for a follower of Michael Angelo or of Christopher Wren to pull down the tomb of either of these great architects on the plea of substituting a better, is it less temerity to innovate on the design in the gate of His own Church, reared by The Great Architect? Bury us into the tomb he occupied. Plant us into the new emerging life that he there displayed, nor think it shame to stand loyally by the ways that he has opened, and that none in all the world may better.'

He deprecates all change from Christ's appointment either in the subject or act of bap

17 Bible Translation and Bible Societies

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS XVII. BIBLE TRANSLATION AND BIBLE SOCIETIES

Early in the Nineteenth Century, local Bible Societies sprang up in various American towns and cities. So far as is known, the first of these was formed in Philadelphia, in December, 1808, primarily under the wisdom and zeal of Dr. Staughton, who was its first recording secretary and wrote its appeals for aid. In February, 1809, a similar society was organized in New York, called the 'Young Men's Bible Society,' and on this wise. William Colgate, a young Englishman, sacredly cherished a Bible which had been presented to him by his father, which was kept in his pew in the First Baptist meeting-house; but it was stolen, and thinking that Bibles must be very scarce or they would not be taken by theft, he conversed with others, and they resolved to form a society to meet the want. This society comprehended the purpose of translation as well as of circulation, and incorporated the following into its Constitution as its defining article:

'The object of this Society is to distribute the Bible only--and that without notes--amongst such persons as may not be able to purchase it; and also, as far as may be practicable, to translate or assist in causing it to be translated into other languages.'

Soon other societies were formed in different places, and the universal want of a General Society began to be felt. At length, May 11, 1816, thirty-five local societies in different parts of the country sent delegates to a Bible Convention which assembled in New York, and organized the American Bible Society for 'The dissemination of the Scriptures in the received versions where they exist, and in the most faithful where they may be required.' Most of the local societies either disbanded or were made auxilliary to the General Society. The Baptists became at once its earnest and liberal supporters. As early as 1830 it made an appropriation of $1,200 for Judson's 'Burman Bible,' through the Baptist Triennial Convention, with the full knowledge that he had translated the family of words relating to baptism by words which meant immerse and immersion, and down to 1835 the Society had appropriated $18,500 for the same purpose. The Triennial Convention had instructed its missionaries in April, 1833, thus:

'Resolved, That the Board feel it to be their duty to adopt all prudent measures to give to the heathen the pure word of God in their own languages, and to furnish their missionaries with all the means in their power to make their translation as exact a representation of the mind of the Holy Spirit as may be possible. Resolved, That all the missionaries of the Board who are, or who shall be, engaged in translating the Scriptures, be instructed to endeavor, by earnest prayer and diligent study, to ascertain the precise meaning of the original text, to express that meaning as exactly as the nature of the languages into which they shall translate the Bible will permit, and to transfer no words which are capable of being literally translated.' In 1835 Mr. Pearce asked the Society to aid in printing the 'Bengali New Testament,' which was translated upon the same principle as Judson's Bible. The committee which considered the application reported as follows: 'That the committee do not deem it expedient to recommend an appropriation, until the Board settle a

principle in relation to the Greek word baptiso.' Then the whole subject was referred to a committee of seven, who, November 19, 1835, presented the following reports:

'The Committee to whom was recommitted the determining of a principle upon which the American Bible Society will aid in printing and distributing the Bible in foreign languages, beg leave to report,

'That they are of the opinion that it is expedient to withdraw their former report on the particular case, and to present the following one on the general principle:

'By the Constitution of the American Bible Society, its Managers are, in the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, restricted to such copies as are without note or comment, and in the English language, to the version in common use. The design of these restrictions clearly seems to have been to simplify and mark out the duties of the Society; so that all the religious denominations of which it is composed might harmoniously unite in performing those duties.

'As the Managers are now called to aid extensively in circulating the Sacred Scriptures in languages other than the English, they deem it their duty, in conformity with the obvious spirit of their compact, to adopt the following resolution as the rule of their conduct in making appropriations for the circulation of the Scriptures in all foreign tongues:

Resolved 1. That in appropriating money for the translating, printing or distributing of the Sacred Scriptures in Foreign languages, the Managers feel at liberty to encourage only such versions as conform in the principle of their translation to the common English version, at least so far as that all the religious denominations represented in this Society, can consistently use and circulate said versions in their several schools and communities.

'Resolved, 2. That a copy of the above preamble and resolution be sent to each of the Missionary Boards accustomed to receive pecuniary grants from the Society, with a request that the same may be transmitted to their respective mission stations, where the Scriptures are in process of translation, and also that the several Mission Boards be informed that their application for aid must be accompanied with a declaration that the versions which they propose to circulate are executed in accordance with the above resolution.

THOMAS MACAULEY; Chairman, WM. H. VANVLECK, JAMES MILNOR, FRANCES HALL, THOMAS DEWITT, THOMAS COCK.'

COUNTER REPORT.

'The subscriber, as a member of the Committee to whom was referred the application of Messrs. Pearce and Yates, for aid in the circulation of the Bengali New Testament, begs leave to submit the following considerations:

'1. The Baptist Board of Foreign Missions have not been under the impression that the American Bible Society was organized upon the central principle that baptizo and its cognates were never to be translated, but always transferred, in all versions of the Scriptures patronized by them. Had this principle been candidly stated and uniformly acted upon by the Society in the appropriation of its funds for foreign distribution, the Baptists never could have been guilty of the folly or duplicity of soliciting aid for translations made by their missionaries.

’2. As there is now a large balance in the treasury of the American Bible Society, as many liberal bequests and donations have been made by Baptists, and as these were made in the full confidence that the Society could constitutionally assist their own denomination, as well as the other evangelical denominations comprising the Institution, in giving the Bible to the heathen world, therefore,

’Resolved, That $-- be appropriated and paid to the Baptist General Convention of the United States for Foreign Missions, to aid them in the work of supplying the perishing millions of the East with the Sacred Scriptures. SPENCER H. CONE.’

It must stand to the everlasting honor of the Triennial Convention that they regarded the Author of the Bible as the only being to be consulted in this matter. They disallowed any voice to the translator in making his translation, but virtually said to him: ’The parchment which you hold in your hand is God’s word, all that you have to do is to re-utter the Divine voice. The right of Jehovah to a hearing as he will is the only consideration in this case. You are to inquire of him by earnest prayer, you are to use the most diligent study to ascertain the precise meaning of the original text, then you are to make your translation as exact a representation of the mind of the Holy Spirit as may be possible, so far as the nature of the language into which you translate will permit.’ In contrast with this, the Bible Society said: ’’You are to take the common English version and conform your version to the principle on which it was made, so that all denominations" represented in this Society can use it in their schools and communities." A version, and that quite imperfect, was to be made the standard by which all versions should be made, and the voice of all the denominations in the Society was to be consulted instead of the mind of the Holy Spirit. Such an untenable position settled the question of further co-operation with the Society in the making and circulation of foreign versions, for a more dangerous position could not be taken. Up to that time, including a large legacy which John F. Marsh had made, the Baptists had contributed to the treasury of the Bible Society at least $170,000, and had received for their missionary versions less than $30,000. On May 12, 1836, the Bible Society approved the attitude of its Board, and $5,000 was voted for the versions made by the Baptist missionaries to be used on the new principle which had been adopted. The Baptist members of the Board presented a clear, calm and dignified Protest, but were not allowed even to read it to the Board. Amongst many other grave considerations they submitted these: ’The Baptists cannot, consistently with their religious principles, in any case where they are permitted to choose, consent to use or circulate any version in which any important portion of divine truth is concealed or obscured, either by non-translation or by ambiguity of expression. . . . This resolution exposes the Society, almost unavoidably, to the charge or suspicion of sectarian motives. For, without pretending, in the least, to impeach the accuracy of the versions against which it is directed, the principal reason offered by its advocates when urging its adoption was, "That Pedobaptists might have an opportunity of prosecuting their missionary operations without let or hinderance, where the translations of the Baptists are in circulation." And surely, a version that purposely withholds the truth, either by non-translation or by ambiguity of expression, for the sake of accommodating Pedobaptists, is as really sectarian as one that adds to the truth from the same motive. . . . The imperfection and injustice of the resolution are strikingly manifested in the continued circulation of Roman Catholic versions, which are neither conformed in the principle of their translation to the common English version, nor can they be consistently used by the different denominations represented in the American Bible

Society. They are characterized by the numerous absurd and heretical dogmas of the Catholic sect, and yet the rule in question cordially approves of their extensive distribution, while the translations of pious, faithful and learned Baptist ministers are rejected.' The Board of the Triennial Convention met at Hartford, Conn., on the 7th of April, 1836, and at once 'respectfully informed' the Board of the American Bible Society that they could not 'consistently and conscientiously comply with the conditions' on which their appropriation was made, and that they could not, 'therefore, accept the sum appropriated.' Here, then, the sharp issue was drawn between the question of denominational 'use' and 'the mind of the Holy Spirit,' in the holy work of Bible translation. Not only was the Baptist position sustained, but the manly and Christian stand taken by its representatives in the Board was approved by our Churches, and an almost unanimous determination was readied to support the faithful versions made by our missionaries. Action was taken in Churches, associations and conventions, and an almost universal demand was made for a new Bible Society. Powerful pens were also wielded outside the Baptist body to defend their course, amongst them that of the late Joshua Leavitt, a distinguished Congregationalist, who said:

'The Baptist Board had instructed their missionaries on the subject, "to make their translations as exact a representation of the mind of the Holy Spirit as may be possible;" and "to transfer no words which are capable of being literally translated." This instruction was a transcript of the principle which underlies the Baptist Churches, to wit, in settled and conscientious belief that the word baptizo means "immerse" and nothing else. It was plainly impossible that Baptist missionaries should honestly translate in any other way. Then the debate turned, in effect, upon the question whether the Bible Society should recognize such men as Judson and his associates as trustworthy translators of the word of God for a people who had been taught the Gospel by them, and for whose use there was, and could be, no other version. . . . The effect of the resolution was to make the Bible Society, in its actual administration, a Pedobaptist or sectarian institution. It was a virtual exclusion of the Baptists from their past rights as the equal associates of their brethren by the solemn compact of the constitution. It left them no alternative but to withdraw, and take measures of their own to supply the millions of Burma with the Scriptures in the only version which could be had, and the only one which they would receive. It was a public exemplification of bad faith in adherence to the constitution of a religious benevolent society. That it attracted so little public attention at the time must be attributed to the general absorption of the public mind with other pursuits and questions and, more than all, to the fact that it was a minority which suffered injustice, while a large majority were more gratified than otherwise at their discomfiture. But the greatest injury was done to the cause of Christian union and to the unity of the Protestant hosts in the conflict with Rome. And this evil is now just about to develop itself in its full extent. The Bible Society, in its original construction, and by its natural and proper influence, ought to be able to present itself before all the world as the representative and exponent of the Protestantism of this nation, instead of which it is only the instrument of sectarian exclusiveness and injustice. One of the largest, most zealous and evangelical and highly progressive Protestant bodies is cut off and set aside, and the Society stands before the world as a one-sided thing, and capable of persistent injustice in favor of a denominational dogma.

'This publication is made under the influence of a strong belief of the imperative necessity which now presses upon us to RIGHT THIS WRONG, that we may be prepared for the grand enterprise, the earnest efforts, the glorious results for the kingdom of Christ, which are just opening before us.

We must close up our ranks, we-must reunite all hearts and all liands, in the only way possible, by falling back upon the original constitution of the Society, in letter and spirit, BY THE SIMPLE REPEAL OF THE RESOLUTION.'

Many Baptists from various parts of the country attended the annual meeting of the Bible Society in New York, on the 12th of May, 1836, and when it deliberately adopted the policy of the board as its own permanent plan, about 120 of these held a meeting for deliberation on the 13th, in the Oliver Street Baptist meeting-house, with Dr. Nathaniel Kendrick in the chair. The Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, which met at Hartford, April 27th, had anticipated the possible result, and resolved that in this event it would 'be the duty of the Baptist denomination in the United States to form a distinct organization for Bible translation and distribution in foreign tongues,' and had resolved on the need of a Convention of Churches, at Philadelphia, in April, 1837, 'to adopt such measures as circumstances, in the providence of God may require.' But the meeting in Oliver Street thought it wise to form a new Bible Society at once, and on that day organized the American and Foreign Bible Society provisionally, subject to the decision of the Convention to be held in Philadelphia. This society was formed 'to promote a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures, in the most faithful versions that can be procured.' In three months it sent $13,000 for the circulation of Asiatic Scriptures, and moved forward with great enthusiasm.

After a year's deliberation the great Bible Convention met in the meetinghouse of the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, April 26th, 1837. It consisted of 390 members, sent from Churches, Associations, State Conventions, Education Societies and other bodies, in twentythree States and in the District of Columbia. Rev. Charles Gr. Sommers, Lucius Bolles and Jonathan Going, the committee on 'credentials.' reported that 'in nearly all the letters and minutes where particular instructions are given to the delegates, your committee find a very decided sentiment in favor of a distinct and unfettered organization for Bible translation and distribution.' The official record says that the business of the Convention was 'to consider and decide upon the duty of the denomination, in existing circumstances, respecting the translation and distribution of the sacred Scriptures. Eufas Babcock, of Pennsylvania, was chosen president of the body; with Abiel Sherwood, of Georgia, and Baron Stow, of Massachusetts, as secretaries. Amongst its members there were present: From Maine, John S. Maginnis; New Hampshire, E. E. Cummings; Vermont, Elijah Hutchinson; Massachusetts, George B. Ide, Heman Lincoln, Daniel Sharp, Wm. Hague and James D. Knowles; and from Rhode Island, Francis Wayland, David Benedict and John Blain. Connecticut sent James L. Hodge, Rollin H. Neale, Irah Chase and Lucius Bolles. From New York we have diaries G. Sommers, Wm. Colgate, Edward Kingsford, Alexander M. Beebee, Daniel Haskall, Nathaniel Kendrick, John Peck, Wm. H. Williams, Wm. Parkinson, Duncan Dunbar, Spencer H. Cone, John Dowling and B. T. Welch. New Jersey was represented by Samuel Aaron, Thomas Swaim, Daniel Dodge, Peter P. Bunyon, Simon J. Drake, M. J. Rhees and Charles J. Hopkins. Pennsylvania sent Horatio G. Jones, Joseph Taylor, Win. T. Brantly, J. H. Kennard, J. M. Linnard, Wm. Shadrach, A. D. Gillette and Rufus Babcock. Then from Maryland we find Wm. Crane and Stephen P. Hill; and from Virginia, Thomas Hume, J. B. Taylor, J. B. Jeter and Thomas D. Toy. These were there, with others of equal weight of character and name. When such momentous issues were pending, our fathers found themselves differing widely in opinion. Some thought a new Bible Society indispensable; others deprecated such a step; some wished to confine the work of the new society to foreign versions; others thought not only that its work should

be unrestricted as to field, but that consistency and fidelity to God required it to apply to the English and all other versions the principle which was to be applied to versions in heathen lands, thus making it faithful to God's truth for all lands. The discussion ran through three days, and was participated in by the ablest minds of the denomination, being specially keen, searching and thorough. Professor Knowles says:

'Much feeling was occasionally exhibited, and some undesirable remarks were made. But, with little exception, an excellent spirit reigned throughout the meeting. It was, we believe, the largest and most intelligent assembly of Baptist ministers and laymen that has ever been held. There was a display of talent, eloquence and piety which, we venture to say, no other ecclesiastical body in our country could surpass. Our own estimate of the ability and sound principles of our brethren was greatly elevated. We saw, too, increased evidence that our Churches were firmly united. While there was an independence of opinion which was worthy of Christians and freemen, there was a kind spirit of conciliation. Each man who spoke declared his views with entire frankness; but when the question was taken, the vast body of delegates voted almost in solid column. They all, we believe, with a few exceptions, are satisfied with the results of the meeting as far as regards the present position of the society. The question respecting the range of its operations remains to be decided. We hope that it will be discussed in a calm and fraternal spirit. Let each man be willing to hear his brother's opinion, and to yield his own wishes to those of the majority. We see no reason why any one should be pertinacious. If it should be determined to give to the society an unrestricted range, no man will be obliged to sustain it unless he choose. He who may still prefer to send his money to the American Bible Society can do so. Let us maintain peace among ourselves. Our own union is of more importance than any particular measures which we could adopt, no benefits which would ensue from the operations of any society would compensate for the loss of harmony in our Churches.' So far the words of Prof. Knowles.

[Note: We see in the final sentence of Prof. Knowles' statement the error which is so common to denominational leaders. Denominational unity is exalted above practically all other factors. While we do not despise harmony among true believers and sound churches, the fact remains that the apostles left no example for the establishment of denominations and organized ecclesiastical associations. These, therefore, are built upon the foundation of man-made tradition and pragmatism rather than upon Scriptural authority. It is upon precisely this basis that our Baptist forefathers condemned the Protestants for their unscriptural practices of infant baptism, etc. In their turn, though, they were willing to depart from the apostolic pattern in the matter of establishing ecclesiastical unions. It is important to note that even in those days there were Baptist churches which did not participate in the denominational structures. Armitage, Benedict, and other historians mention these in passing, but they do not focus on them for the simple fact that they were themselves committed to the denominational machine. D.W. Cloud] The final decisions of this great Convention are found in the following resolutions, which it adopted 'almost in solid column;' namely:

'1. Resolved, That under existing circumstances it is the indispensable duty of the Baptist denomination in the United States to organize a distinct society for the purpose of aiding in the translation, printing and circulation of the sacred Scriptures.

’2. Resolved, That this organization be known by the name of the American and Foreign Bible Society.

’3. Resolved, That the society confine its efforts during the ensuing year to the circulation of the Word of God in foreign tongues.

’4. Resolved, That the Baptist denomination in the United States be affectionately requested to send to the Society, at its annual meeting during the last week ’in April, 1838, their views as to the duty of the Society to engage in the work of home distribution.

’5. Resolved. That a committee of one from each State and district represented in this convention be appointed to draft a constitution and nominate a board of officers for the ensuing year.’ A constitution was then adopted and officers chosen by the Convention itself. It elected Spencer H. Cone for President. Charles G. Sommers for Corresponding Secretary, William Colgate for Treasurer and John West for Recording Secretary; together with thirty-six managers, who, according to the eighth article of the constitution, were ’brethren in good standing in Baptist Churches.’ The convention also instructed its officers to issue a circular to the Baptist Churches throughout the United States, commending its work to their co-operation and confidence, and especially soliciting them to send to the new Society an expression of their wishes as to its duty in the matter of home circulation. This request was very generally complied with, and so earnest was the wish to make it a ’society for the world,’ that at its annual meeting in 1838 its constitution was so amended as to read: ’It shall be the object of this Society to aid in the wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures in all lands.’ Thus the Baptists took the high and holy ground that they were called to conserve fidelity to God in translating the Bible, and that if they failed to do this on principle, they would fail to honor him altogether in this matter; because the Society which they had founded was the only Bible organization then established which had no fellowship with compromises in Bible translation. From the first, many in the new Society, led by Dr. Gone, desired to proceed at once to a revision of the English Scriptures, under the guidance of the principles applied to the Asiatic versions made by the Baptist missionaries. But in deference to the opposition of some who approved of the Society in all other respects, at its annual meeting in 1838 it ’Resolved, That in the distribution of the Scriptures in the English language, they will use the commonly received version until otherwise directed by the Society.’ Whatever difference of opinion existed amongst the founders of that Society about the immediate expediency of applying the principle of its constitution to the English version, its ultimate application became but a question of time, and this action was postponed for fourteen years. Meanwhile, this measure was pressed in various directions, in addresses at its anniversaries, in essays published by various persons, and in the Society’s correspondence. In 1842 Rev. Messrs. David Bernard and Samuel Aaron issued a very able treatise on the need of ’Revising and Amending King James’ Version of the Holy Scriptures.’ They also procured and published in that year, through the publishing house of J. B. Lippincott, of Philadelphia, a revised version of the Old and New Testaments, ’carefully revised and amended by several Biblical scholars.’ This they say they did ’in accordance with the advice of many distinguished brethren, the services of a number of professors, some of whom rank among the first in our country for their knowledge of the original languages and Biblical interpretation and criticism, have been secured to prepare this work.’ Amongst these were the late Prof. Whiting, Prof. A. C. Kendrick and other leading scholars who still live and have labored on other revisions. The American and Foreign Bible Society held its annual meeting in New York May 11th, 1849, and, on

the motion of Hon. Isaac Davis, of Massachusetts, after considerable discussion, it was 'Resolved, That the restriction laid by the Society upon the Board of Managers in 1838, to use only the commonly received version in the distribution of the Scriptures in the English language, be removed.' This restriction being removed, the new board referred the question of revision to a committee of five. After long consideration that committee presented three reports: one with three signatures and two minority reports. The third, from the pen of Warren Carter, Esq., was long and labored as an argument against altering the common version at all. In January, 1850, the majority report was unanimously adopted in these words:

'Resolved, That, in the opinion of this board, the sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament ought to be faithfully and accurately translated into every living language.' 'Resolved, That wherever, in versions now in use, known and obvious errors exist, and wherever the meaning of the original is concealed or obscured, suitable measures ought to be prosecuted to correct those versions, so as to render the truth clear and intelligible to the ordinary reader. 'Resolved, That, in regard to the expediency of this board undertaking the correction of the English version, a decided difference of opinion exists, and, therefore, that it be judged most prudent to await the instructions of the Society.' On the publication of these resolutions the greatest excitement spread through the denomination. Most of its journals were flooded with communications, pro and con, sermons were preached in a number of pulpits denouncing the movement, and public meetings were held in several cities to the same end, notable amongst them one at the Oliver Street Church, in New York, April 4th, 1850. This feeling was greatly increased by the two following facts: Mr. Carter, an intelligent layman, but neither a scholar nor an able thinker, having submitted a learned and elaborate paper as his minority report, which occupied an hour in the reading, and believing that it was inspired by an astute author in New York who had opposed the Society from the first, and was then a member of the Board of the American Bible Society, Dr. Cone and William H. Wyckoff, President and Secretary of the American and Foreign Bible Society, published a pamphlet over their names in defense of the action of the board, under the title, 'The Bible Translated.' The second fact arose from the demand of Mr. Carter that those in favor of a revision of the English Scriptures should issue, in the form of a small edition of the New Testament, a specimen of the character of the emendations which they desired, in regard to obsolete words, to words and phrases that failed to express the meaning of the original Greek, or the addition of words by the translators, errors in grammar, profane expressions and sectarian renderings. Deacon William Colgate, the Treasurer, said that he approved of this suggestion, and that if Brethren Cone and Wyckoff would procure and issue such an edition as a personal enterprise, he, as a friend of revision, would personally pay the cost of the plates and printing. This was done, and in their preface they stated that by the aid of 'eminent scholars,' who had 'kindly co-operated and given their hearty approval to the proposed corrections,' they submitted their work, not for acceptance by the Society, but as a specimen of some changes which might be properly made, and that the plates would be presented to the Society if they were desired. This was sufficient to fan the fire to a huge flame; much stormy and uncalled for severity was invoked, and a large attendance was called for at the annual meeting to 'rebuke this metropolitan power' and crush the movement forever.

Men of the highest ability took sides and published their views, some demanding revision at once, others admitting its necessity but hesitating as to what might be the proper method to procure it,

and still others full of fiery denunciation of Cone, Wyckoff and Colgate, and their sympathizers; as if they were guilty of the basest crime for desiring as good a version for the English speaking people as the Baptists were giving to the East Indians. Many others also talked as much at random as if they feared that the book which they hinted had come down from heaven in about its present shape, printed and bound, was now to be taken from them by force. From the abundant material before the writer a large volume might be submitted of the sayings and doings of many persons, of whom some are still living, and some have gone to their account with God; but as no good end can be secured at present by their reproduction they are passed in silence. It is much more grateful to refer to those more calm and thoughtful minds who stood unmoved in the storm, and, although they did not at that time see their way clear to aid the work of revision, yet spoke in a manner worthy of themselves as men of God in handling a great and grave subject, worthy of the Master whom they served, showing their consistency as defenders of our missionary versions. Pre-eminent amongst these was the late Dr. Hackett, who thus expressed himself May 2d, 1850:

'It is admitted that the received English version of the Scriptures is susceptible of improvement. During the more than 200 years which have passed since it was made, our means for the explanation, both of the text and the subjects of the Bible, have been greatly increased. The original languages in which it was written have continued to occupy the attention of scholars, and are now more perfectly understood. Much light has been thrown upon the meaning of words.

Many of them are seen to have been incorrectly defined, and many more to have been rendered with less precision than is now attainable. The various collateral branches of knowledge have been advanced to a more perfect state. History, geography, antiquities, the monuments and customs of the countries where the sacred writers lived, and where the scenes which they describe took place, have been investigated with untiring zeal, and have yielded, at length, results which afford advantages to the translator of the Scriptures at the present day, which no preceding age has enjoyed. It is eminently desirable that we then have in our language a translation of the Bible conformed to the present state of critical learning.' The Society met for its thirteenth anniversary in New York on the morning of May 22d, 1850. The crowd of life members, life directors and other delegates was very large, and the excitement rose as high as it well could. From the first it was manifest that calm, deliberate discussion and conference were not to be had, but that measures adverse to all revision were to be carried with a high hand. It had been customary to elect officers and managers before the public services; but, before this could be done Rev. Isaac Westcott moved: 'That this Society, in the issues of circulation of the English Scriptures, be restricted to the commonly received version, without note or comment;' and further moved that, as probably all minds were made up on the question, the vote than be taken without debate. Determined resistance to this summary process secured the postponement of the question to the afternoon, and other business was attended to. At that session each speaker was confined to fifteen minutes. Then in the heat of the Society it so far forgot the object of its organization as to vote down by an overwhelming majority the very principle on which it was organized. In the hope that, if revision could not be entertained, at least a great principle might be conserved as a general basis of agreement thereafter, the revisionists, on consultation, submitted the following: 'Resolved, That it is the duty of the Society to circulate the sacred Scriptures in the most faithful versions that can be procured.' When the Society had rejected this, and thus stultified itself, and denied not only its paternity but its right to exist by rejecting that fundamental principle, it

was seen at a glance that all hope of its unity was gone. Yet, as a last hope that it might be saved, the following conciliatory resolution was submitted, but was not even entertained, namely:

'Whereas, Numerous criticisms of the learned of all denominations of Christians demonstrate the susceptibility of many improvements in the commonly received version of the English Scriptures; and whereas, it is deemed inexpedient for one denomination of Christians alone to attempt these improvements, provided the cooperation of others can be secured; therefore 'Resolved, That a committee of -- pious, faithful, and learned men, in the United States of America or elsewhere, be appointed for the purpose of opening a correspondence with the Christian and learned world, on all points necessarily involved in the question of revising the English Scriptures; that said committee be requested to present to the Society at the next annual meeting a report of their investigations and correspondence, with a statement of their views as to what revision of the English Scriptures it would be proper to make, if any; that until such report and statement shall have been acted upon by the Society the Board of Managers shall be restricted in their English issues to the commonly received version; and that all necessary expenses attendant upon this correspondence and investigation be paid by the Society.' On the 23d, the following, offered by Rev. Dr. Turnbull, of Connecticut, was adopted: 'Resolved, That it is not the province and duty of the American and Foreign Bible Society to attempt, on their own part, or procure from others, a revision of the commonly received English version of the Scriptures.' This action was followed by the election of the officers and the board by ballot, when Dr. Cone was re-elected President; but the Secretary, William H. Wyckoff, and the venerable Deacon Colgate, were proscribed, together with ten of the old managers, all known revisionists, no person then present can wish to witness another such scene in a Baptist body to the close of life.

Dr. Cone, at that time in his sixty-sixth year, rose like a patriarch, his hair as white as snow. As soon as the seething multitude in the Mulberry Street Tabernacle could be stilled, he said, with a stifled and almost clicked utterance: 'Brethren, I believe my work in this Society is done. Allow me to tender you my resignation. I did not withdraw my name in advance, because of the seeming egotism of such a step. I thank you, my brethren, for the kindly manner in which you have been pleased to tender me once more the office of President of your Society. But I cannot serve you longer. I am crushed.' The Society at first refused to receive his resignation, but, remaining firm in his purpose, it was accepted. When Messrs. Cone, Colgate and Wyckoff rose to leave the house in company, Dr. Cone invited Dr. Sommers, the first Vice-President, to the 'chair, remarking that God had a work for him to do which he was not permitted to do in that Society; and bowing, like a prince in Israel uncrowned for his fidelity, he said, amid the sobbing of the audience: I bid you, my brethren, an affectionate farewell as President of a Society that I have loved, which has cost me money, with much labor, prayer and tears. I hope that God will direct your future course in mercy; that we may do as much good as such creatures as we are able to accomplish. May the Lord Jesus bless you all.' Dr. Bartholomew T. Welch was chosen President, and Dr. Cutting Secretary of the American and Foreign Bible Society; then the body adjourned.

Spencer H. Cone, D.D., was, by nature, a man of mark, and would have been a leader in any sphere of life. He was born at Princeton, N J., April 13, 1785. His father and mother were members of the Hopewell Baptist Church. His father was high-spirited and fearless, noted for his gentlemanly and finished manners. He was an unflinching Whig, and fought with great bravery in the Revolution. Mrs. Cone was the daughter of Col. Joab Houghton. She possessed a vigorous

intellect, great personal beauty, and an indomitable moral courage. Late in life, Dr. Cone loved to speak of the earnest and enlightened piety of his parents. When about fifty years of age he said in a sermon: 'My mother was baptized when I was a few months old, and soon after her baptism, as I was sleeping on her lap, she was much drawn out in prayer for her babe and supposed she received an answer, with the assurance that the child should live to preach the Gospel of Christ. The assurance never left her; and it induced her to make the most persevering efforts to send me to Princeton--a course, at first, much against my father's will. This she told me after my conversion; it had been a comfort to her in the darkest hour of domestic trial; for she had never doubted that her hope would be sooner or later fulfilled.' At the age of twelve he entered Princeton College as a Freshman, but at fourteen he was obliged to leave, when in his Sophomore year, in consequence of the mental derangement of his father and the reduction of the family to a penniless condition; they went through a hard struggle for many years. Yet the lad of fourteen took upon him the support of his father and mother, four sisters and a younger brother, and never lost heart or hope. He spent seven years as a teacher, first in the Bordentown Academy, having charge of the Latin and Greek department, and then he became assistant in the Philadelphia Academy under Dr. Abercrombie.

Prompted largely by the desire to support his mother and sisters more liberally, he next devoted seven years to theatrical life. He says: 'In a moment of desperation I adopted the profession of an actor. It was inimical to the wishes of my mother, and in direct, opposition to my own feelings and principles. But it was the only way by which I had a hope of extricating myself from my pecuniary embarrassments.' he played chiefly in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Alexandria, and succeeded much better than he expected, but at times had serious misgivings about the morality of his associations and was greatly troubled about his personal salvation. In 1813 he left the stage, to take charge of the books of the 'Baltimore American.' A year later, he became one of the proprietors and conductors of the 'Baltimore Whig,' a paper devoted to the politics of Jefferson and Madison. At that moment the country had come to war with England, and he went to the field as captain of the Baltimore Artillery Company, under William Pinckney. He stood bravely at his post during the battles at Northpoint, Bladensburg and Baltimore, when shells tore up the earth at his feet and mangled his men at his side. During the war he married, intending to spend his time in secular life, but neglected the house of God. One day his eye dropped upon an advertisement of a sale of books, which he attended, and he bought the works of John Newton. On reading the 'Life of Newton,' his mind was deeply affected; he passed through agony of soul on account of his sins, which, for a time, disqualified him for business. His young wife thought him deranged, and having sought relief in various ways, at last he flew to the Bible for direction. He says:

'One evening after the family had all retired, I went up into a vacant garret and walked backwards and forwards in great agony of mind. I kneeled down, the instance of Hezekiah occurred to me, like him I turned my face to the wall and cried for mercy. An answer seemed to be vouchsafed in an impression that just as many years as I had passed in rebellion against God, so many years I must now endure, before deliverance could be granted. I clasped my hands and cried out, "Yes, dear Lord, a thousand years of such anguish as I now feel, if I may only be saved at last." . . . I felt that as a sinner I was condemned and justly exposed to immediate and everlasting destruction. I saw distinctly that in Christ alone I must be saved, if saved at all; and the view I had at that moment of Christ's method of saving sinners, I do still most heartily entertain after thirty years'

experience of his love.' Not long after this he began to preach in Washington, and so amazing was his popularity that in 1815-16 he was elected Chaplain to Congress. For a time he was pastor at Alexandria, Va., when he became assistant pastor in Oliver Street, New York, where he rose to the highest distinction as a preacher. The death of its minister, Rev. John Williams, left him sole pastor of that Church for about eighteen years, when he accepted the pastorate of the First Baptist Church, New York. For about forty years he was a leader in Home and Foreign mission work, and in the great modern movement for a purely translated Bible. In establishing our missions, many pleaded for the living teacher and cared little for the faithfully translated Bible, but he sympathized with Mr. Thomas, who, in a moment of heart-sorrow, exclaimed: 'If I had 100,000 I would give it all for a Bengali Bible.' he did much for the cause of education, but never took much interest in the scheme which associated Columbia College with the missionary field. In a letter to Dr. Bolles dated December 27, 1830, he wrote:

'The value of education I certainly appreciate, and think a preacher of the Gospel cannot know too much, although it sometimes unhappily occurs, to use the language of L. Richmond, that Christ is crucified in the pulpit between the classics and mathematics. Those missionaries destined, like Judson, to translate the word of God should be ripe scholars before this branch of their work is performed; but I am still of opinion that the learning of Dr. Gill himself would have aided him but little had he been a missionary to our American Indians.'

He was elected President of the Triennial Convention in 1832, and continued to fill that chair till 1841, when he declined a re-election. He had much to do with adjusting the working plans, first of the Triennial Convention and then of the Missionary Union. When the disruption took place between the Southern and Northern Baptists, in 1845, no one contributed more to overcome the friction and difficulties which were engendered by the new state of things and in forming the new constitution. Dr. Stow says:

'Concessions were made on all sides; but it was plain to all that the greatest was made by Mr. Cone. The next day the constitution was reported as the unanimous product of the committee. Mr. Cone made the requisite explanations, and defended every article and every provision as earnestly as if the entire instrument had been his own favorite offspring. The committee, knowing his preference for something different, were filled with admiration at the Christian magnanimity which he there exhibited. I believe he never altered his opinion that something else would have been better, but I never knew of his uttering a syllable to the disparagement of the constitution to whose unanimous adoption he contributed more largely than any other man.' As a moderator, as an orator, as a Christian gentleman, he was of the highest order; he knew nothing of personal bitterness; he read human nature at a glance, and was one of the noblest and best abused men of his day. Like his brethren, he believed that the word 'baptize' in the Bible meant to immerse and that it was his duty to God so to preach it; but, unlike them, he believed that if it was his duty so to preach it, it was as clearly his duty so to print it; and therefor many accounted him a sinner above all who dwelt in Jerusalem. Of course, as is usual in all similar cases of detraction heaven has hallowed his memory, for his life was moved by the very highest and purest motives. On the 27th of May, 1850, twenty-four revisionists met in the parlor of Deacon Colgate's house, No. 128 Chambers Street, to take into consideration what present duty demanded at their hands. They were: Spencer H. Cone, Stephen Remington, Herman J. Eddy, Thomas Armitage, Wm. S. Clapp, Orrin B. Judd, Henry P. See, A. C. Wheat, Wm. Colgate, John B. Wells, Wm. D. Murphy, Jas. H.

Townsend, Sylvester Pier, Jas. B. Colgate, Alex. McDonald, Geo. W. Abbe, Jas. Farquharson, and E. S. Whitney, of New York city; John Richardson, of Maine; Samuel R. Kelly and Wm. H. Wykcoff, of Brooklyn; E. Gilbert, Lewis Bedell and James Edmunds, from the interior of New York. Dr. Cone presided, E. S. Whitney served as secretary, and Deacon Colgate led in prayer. For a time this company bowed before God in silence, then this man of God poured out one of the most tender and earnest petitions before the throne of grace that can well be conceived. T. Armitage offered the following, which, after full discussion, were adopted:

'Whereas, The word and will of God, as conveyed in the inspired originals of the Old and New Testaments, are the only infallible standards of faith and practice, and therefore it is of unspeakable importance that the sacred Scriptures should be faithfully and accurately translated into every living language; and,

'Whereas, A Bible Society is bound by imperative duty to employ all the means in its power to insure that the books which it circulates as the revealed will of God to man, should be as free from error and obscurity as possible; and,

'Whereas, There is not now any general Bible Society in the country which has not more or less restricted itself by its own enactments from the discharge of this duty; therefore,

'Resolved. That it is our duty to form a voluntary association for the purpose of procuring and circulating the most faithful version of the sacred Scriptures in all languages.

'Resolved. That in such an association we will welcome all persons to co-operate with us, who embrace the principles upon which we propose to organize, without regard to their denominational principles in other respects.' On the 10th of June, 1850, a very large meeting was held at the Baptist Tabernacle in Mulberry Street, New York, at which the American Bible Union was organized, under a constitution which was then adopted, and an address explaining its purposes was given to the public. Dr. Cone was elected President of the Union, Wm. H. Wyckoff, Corresponding Secretary; Deacon Colgate, Treasurer; E. S. Whitney, Recording Secretary, and Sylvester Pier, Auditor, together with a board of twenty-four managers. The second article of the constitution defined the object of the Union thus:

'Its object shall be to procure and circulate the most faithful versions of the sacred Scriptures in all languages throughout the world.' The address gave the broad aims of the Society more fully, and, among other things, said:

'The more accurately a version is brought to the true standard, the more accurately will it express the mind and will of God. And this is the real foundation of the sacredness of the Bible. Any regard for it founded upon the defects or faults of translation is superstition. In the consideration of this subject some have endeavored to poise the whole question of revision upon the retention or displacement of the word "baptize." But this does great injustice to our views and aims. For although we insist upon the observance of a uniform principle in the full and faithful translation of God's Word, so as to express in plain English, without ambiguity or vagueness, the exact meaning of baptize, as well as of all other words relating to the Christian ordinances, yet this is but one of numerous errors, which, in our estimation, demand correction. And such are our views and principles in the prosecution of this work that, if there were no such word as "baptizo" or baptize in the Scriptures, the necessity of revising our English version would appear to us no less real and

imperative.'

While many men of learning and nerve espoused the movement, a storm of opposition was raised against it from one end of the land to the other. It expressed itself chiefly in harsh words, ridicule, denunciation, appeals to ignorance, prejudice and ill temper, with now and then an attempt at scholarly refutation in a spirit much more worthy of the subject itself and the respective writers. Every consideration was presented on the subject but the main thought: that the Author of the inspired originals had the infinite right to a hearing, and that man was in duty bound to listen to his utterances, all human preference or expediency to the contrary notwithstanding. After considerable correspondence with scholars in this country and in Europe, the following general rules for the direction of translators and revisers were adopted, and many scholars on both sides of the Atlantic commenced their work on a preliminary revision of the New Testament.

Dr. Conant proceeded with the revision of the English Old Testament, aided in the Hebrew text by Dr. Rodiger, of Halle, Germany. The following were the general rules of the Union:

'1. The exact meaning of the inspired text, as that text expressed it to those who understood the original Scriptures at the time they were first written, must be translated by corresponding words and phrases, so far as they can be found in the vernacular tongue of these for whom the version is designed, with the least possible obscurity or indefiniteness.

'2. Whenever there is a version in common use it shall be made the basis of revision, and all unnecessary interference with the established phraseology shall be avoided, and only such alteration shall be made as the exact meaning of the inspired text and the existing state of the language may require.

'3. Translations or revisions of the New Testament shall be made from the received Greek text, critically edited, with known errors corrected.' The following were the 'Special Instructions to the--Revisers of the English New Testament:'

'1. The common English version must be the basis of the revision; the Greek text, Bagster & Son's octavo edition of 1851.

'2. Whenever an alteration from that version is made on any authority additional to that of the reviser, such authority must be cited in the manuscript, either on the same page or in an appendix.

'3. Every Greek word or phrase, in the translation of which the phraseology of the common version is changed, must be carefully examined in every other place in which it occurs in the New Testament, and the views of the reviser given as to its proper translation in each place.

'4. As soon as the revision of any one book of the New Testament is finished, it shall be sent to the Secretary of the Bible Union, or such other person as shall be designated by the Committee on Versions, in order that copies may be taken and furnished to the revisers of the other books, to be returned with their suggestions to the reviser or revisers of that book. After being re-revised, with the aid of these suggestions, a carefully prepared copy shall be forwarded to the Secretary.'

Amongst the scholars who worked on the preliminary revision in Europe were Revs. Wm. Peechey, A.M.; Jos. Angus, M.A., M.R.A.S.; T. J. Gray, D.D., Ph.D.; T. Boys, A.M.; A. S. Thelwall, M.A.; Francis Clowes, M.A.; F. W. Gotch, A.M., and Jas. Patterson, D.D. Amongst the American

revisers were Drs. J. L. Dagg, John Lilhe, O. B. Judd, Philip Schaff, Joseph Muenscher, John Forsyth, W. P. Strickland and James Shannon; Profs. E. S. Gallup, E. Adkins, M. K. Pendleton, N. H. Whiting, with Messrs. Alexander Campbell, Edward Maturin, Esq., E. Lord and S. E. Shepard. The final revision of the New Testament was committed to Drs. Conant, Hackett, Schaff and Kendrick, and was published 1865. The revisers held ecclesiastical connections in the Church of England, Old School Presbyterians, Disciples, Associate Reformed Presbyterians, Seventh-Day Baptists, American Protestant Episcopalians, Regular Baptists and German Reformed Church. Of the Old Testament books; the Union published Genesis, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Job, Psalms and Proverbs, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, remaining in manuscript, with a portion of Isaiah. It also prepared an Italian and Spanish New Testament, the latter being prepared by Don Juan De Calderon, of the Spanish Academy. Also a New Testament in the Chinese written character, and another in the colloquial for Ningpo; one in the Siamese, and another in the Sqau Karen, besides sending a large amount of money for versions amongst the heathen, through the missionaries and missionary societies. It is estimated that about 750,000 copies of the newly translated or revised versions of the Scriptures, mostly of the New Testament, were circulated by the Union. Its tracts, pamphlets, addresses, reports and revisions so completely revolutionized public opinion on the subject of revision that a new literature was created on the subject, both in England and America, and a general demand for revision culminated in action on that subject by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1870. As early as 1856 great alarm was awakened at the prospect that the American Bible Union would translate the Greek word ’baptize’ into English, instead of transferring it, and the ’London Times’ of that year remarked that there were already ’several distinct movements in favor of a revision of the authorized version’ of 1611. The ’Edinburgh Review’ and many similar periodicals took strong ground for its revision, and in 1858, Dr. Trench, then Dean of Westminster, issued an elaborate treatise showing the imperfect state of the commonly received version, and the urgent need of its revision, in which he said: ’Indications of the interest which it is awakening reach us from every side. America is sending us the installments--it must be owned not very encouraging ones--of a new version as fast as she can. . . . I am persuaded that a revision ought to come. I am convinced that it will come. The wish for a revision has for a considerable time been working among dissenters here; by the voice of one of these it has lately made itself known in Parliament, and by the mouth of a Regius Professor in Convocation.’ The revision of the Bible Union was a sore thorn in his side; and in submitting a plan of revision in the last chapter, in which he proposed to invite the Biblical scholars of ’the land to assist with their suggestions here, even though they might not belong to the church,’ of course they would be asked as scholars, not as dissenters, he adds: ’Setting aside, then, the so-called Baptists, who, of course, could not be invited, seeing that they demand not ’a translation of the Scripture but an interpretation, and that in their own sense.’ Some Baptist writer had denied in the ’Freeman’ of November 17, 1858, that the Baptists desired to disturb the word ’baptize’ in the English version, but the Dean was so alarmed about their putting an ’interpretation’ into the text instead of a transfer, that he said in a second edition, in 1859 (page 210): ’I find it hard to reconcile this with the fact that in their revision (Bible Union) baptizo is always changed into immerse, and baptism into immersion.’ The pressure of public sentiment, however, compelled him to call for revision, for he said: ’However we may be disposed to let the subject alone, it will not let us alone. It has been too effectually stirred ever again to go to sleep; and the difficulties, be they few or many, will have one day to be encountered. The time will come when the inconveniences of

remaining where we are will be so manifestly greater than the inconveniences of action, that this last will become inevitable.' The whole subject came up before the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in February, 1870, when one of the most memorable discussions took place that ever agitated the Church of England, in which those who conceded the desirableness of revision took ground; and amongst them the Bishop of Lincoln, that the American movement necessitated the need of prompt action on the part of the Church of England. In May of the same year the Convocation resolved: 'That it is desirable that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong.' The chief rules on which the revision was to be made were the first and fifth, namely:

'1. To introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the authorized version consistently with faithfulness. 5. To make or retain no change in the text on the second final revision by each company, except two thirds of these present approve of the same, but on the first revision to decide by simple majorities.' The revisers commenced their work in June, 1870, and submitted the New Testament complete May 17th, 1881, the work being done chiefly by seventeen Episcopalians, two of the Scotch Church, two dissenting Presbyterians, one Unitarian, one Independent and one Baptist. A board of American scholars had co-operated, and submitted 'a list of readings and renderings ' which they preferred to those finally adopted by their English brethren; a list comprising fourteen separate classes of passages, running through the entire New Testament, besides several hundred separate words and phrases. The Bible Union's New Testament was published nearly six years before the Canterbury revision was begun, and nearly seventeen years before it was given to the world. Although Dr. Trench had pronounced the 'installments' of the American Bible Union's New Testament 'not very encouraging,' yet the greatest care was had to supply the English translators with that version. During the ten and a half years consumed in their work, they met in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster each month for ten months of every year, each meeting lasting four days, each day from eleven o'clock to six; and the Bible Union's New Testament lay on their table all that time, being most carefully consulted before changes from the common version were agreed upon. One of the best scholars in the corps of English revisers said to the writer: 'We never make an important change without consulting the Union's version. Its changes are more numerous than ours, but four out of five changes are in exact harmony with it, and I am mortified to say that the pride of English scholarship will not allow us to give due credit to that superior version for its aid.' This was before the Canterbury version was completed, but when it was finished it was found that the changes in sense from the common version were more numerous than those of the Union's version, and that the renderings in that version are verbatim in hundreds of cases with those of the Union's version. In the March 'Contemporary Review,' 1882, Canon Farrar cites twenty-tour cases in which the Canterbury version renders the 'aorist' Greek tense more accurately and in purer English than does the common version. He happily denominates all these cases 'baptismal aorists,' because they refer to the initiatory Christian rite in its relations to Christ's burial and resurrection. Yet, seventeen years before the Canterbury revisers finished their work, the Bible Union's version contained nineteen of these renderings as they are found in the Canterbury version, without the variation of a letter, while three others vary but slightly, and in the last case, which reads in the common version 'have obeyed,' and in the Canterbury 'became obedient,' it is rendered more tersely, in the Union's version, simply 'obeyed.'

Much as Dr. Trench was disquieted about the word 'immerse' being 'an interpretation' and 'not a translation of' baptizo, he was not content to let the word 'baptize' rest quietly and undisturbed in the English version, when compelled to act on honest scholarship, but inserted the preposition 'in' as a marginal 'interpretation' of its bearings, baptized 'in water.' Dr. Eadie, one of his fellow-revisers, who died in 1876, six years after the commencement of his work, complained bitterly of the American translation, which he was perpetually consulting in the Jerusalem Chamber. He also published two volumes on the 'Need of Revising the English New Testament,' and says (ii, p. 360): 'The Baptist translation of the American Bible Union is more than faithful to anti-Paedobaptist opinions. It professedly makes the Bible the book of a sect,' because it supplanted the word baptize by the word immerse. Yet, Dr. Scott, still another of the revisers, so well known in connection with 'Liddell and Scott's Lexicon,' worked side by side with both of them, and said in that lexicon that 'baptiso' meant 'to dip under water,' and Dean Stanley, still a third reviser, and the compeer of both, said: 'On philological grounds it is quite correct to translate John the Baptist by John the Immerser;' while the board of seventeen American revisers, representing the various religious bodies, united in recommending that the preposition 'in water' be introduced into the text, instead of 'with.'

[Note: The information Armitage gives on this debate is very important, but he fails to give the whole picture of the battle over the Bible in the 19th century. The debate over whether to translate or to transliterate the Greek word "baptizo" in the English Bible was an interesting sideline of that battle, but it was only one small part of the overall struggle. He fails to discuss the serious textual side of the issue. The English Revision of 1881 did not merely make a few changes and corrections to the Authorized Version to update the language and correct any obvious mistakes, it replaced the Received Greek New Testament with the Westcott-Hort New Testament founded upon the Griesbach-type principles of rationalistic modern textual criticism. The American Bible Union version also incorporated innovations from the critical Greek text. A more detailed history of these events is found in the following book: For Love of the Bible: The Defense of the King James Bible and the Received Text from 1800 to Present by D.W. Cloud, Way of Life Literature, 1701 Harns Rd., Oak Harbor, WA 98277.]

After the separation between the American and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Union, the former continued to do a great and good work in Bible circulation and in aiding the translation of missionary versions. Dr. Welsh continued to act as its president for many years. For holy boldness, thrilling originality, artless simplicity and seraphic fervor, he was one of the marvelous preachers of his day, so that it was a heavenly inspiration to listen to his words. Both these societies continued their operations till 1883, with greatly diminished receipts, from various causes, and the Bible Union was much embarrassed by debt, when it was believed that the time had come for the Baptists of America to heal their divisions on the Bible question, to reunite their efforts

18 Baptists in British America and Australia

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS By Thomas Armitage THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS XVIII. BAPTISTS IN BRITISH AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA In tracing the progress of Baptist principles through the provinces which now form the Dominion of Canada, we may begin with NOVA SCOTIA, which came under the British flag in 1713. English settlers, mostly Episcopalians, founded Halifax about 1749; Lunenburg was settled, principally by French and Germans, in 1753; and in 1759, after the expulsion of the Acadians, the influx from the New England colonies began. In a quarter of a century after that, Horton, Cornwallis, Yarmouth, Truro, Granville, Annapolis, Pictou and many other towns were settled by New Englanders. Many Lutherans settled in Lunenburg, and many Presbyterians from Scotland and the North of Ireland in Londonderry, Truro and Pictou, while the great body of emigrants from the American colonies were Congregationalists. The first House of Assembly, 1758, passed an act which made the Church of England the Established Church, but granting liberty of conscience to all other denominations, Roman Catholics excepted; marriage, however, could be celebrated only by the ministers of the Established Church. Many years and struggles were passed before this distinction was wiped from the statute-book. Shubael Dimock, of Mansfield, Conn., had become a 'Separatist,' and held religious meetings apart from the Standing Order, for which he was whipped and thrown into prison; his son Daniel had renounced infant baptism. They settled in Newport, N. S., in 1760, where Daniel was immersed by Mr. Sutton in 1763, and he immersed his own father some years later. Several other converts to Baptist views resided in Newport, but they did not organize a Baptist Church there at that time. Rev. John Sutton was from New Jersey, and soon returned thither. In 1761 Rev. Ebenezer Moulton, of South Brimfield, Mass., settled in Yarmouth with other emigrants. After preaching there for two years, he visited Horton and labored in that vicinity, but seems to have formed no Church. These are the first Baptists of whom we have any records in Nova Scotia. So far as can be ascertained, the first Baptist Church in British America was planted in New Brunswick in 1763, and was an offshoot of the Second Church in Swansea, Mass., and of two or three neighboring Churches. A company of thirteen Baptists formed themselves into a Church, with Nathan Mason as their pastor, and, leaving Swansea, settled in what is now Sackville, where they continued to reside for nearly eight years, during which time their Church increased to about sixty members. But, owing to some dissatisfaction with their new location, the pastor and the original founders of the Church returned to Massachusetts in 1771, and, so far as appears, the Church at Sackville was scattered. Some think that Mr. Moulton formed a Church at Horton, but Dr. Cramp says: 'There was no Baptist Church till after the appearance of Henry Alline. . . . While Mr. Button remained here he preached and baptized; the Dimocks and Mr. Moulton did the same, but separate action as Baptists was deferred till a more favorable conjunction of circumstances.' The Congregationalists had established Churches in various places, and the Baptists seem to have united with these, for, about the year 1776, there were two or three Churches in Nova Scotia made up of Baptists and Congregationalists, while a number of unorganized Baptists were found in various localities. At this juncture Henry Alline, a 'New Light' preacher of extraordinary power, appeared in the province and left a lasting impression upon its

religious institutions. He was born at Newport, R.I., in 1748, and removed to Falmouth, N. S., in 1760. He was converted when twenty-seven years of age, and after some unsuccessful attempts at securing an education he began to preach. He was very successful, traveling from place to place for nearly eight years, until New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were astir with religious revivals, the souls of the people being thrilled by his homely but pungent eloquence. He was a Congregationalist, but held the questions of Church order and ordinances as secondary matters. He seldom administered baptism, yet was willing that his converts should be immersed, if they chose, after thorough conversion. In fervency, power and doctrine he seems to have been of the Whitefield stamp. At the age of thirty-six years he died in Northampton, 1784. The ministry of this New Light apostle affected the progress of Baptist doctrines in two diverse ways. It infused a new and spiritual life into the languishing Churches, and his lax views on Church order and discipline told powerfully against all rigid and tyrannical organization. His converts were generally formed into Congregational Churches, some being baptized and others not, until in due time numbers of them appear to have seen the need of greater conformity to Gospel faith and practice, and at first resolved themselves into Baptist Churches, naturally enough of the open-communion order. Most of the Canadian Churches practiced open communion till the commencement of this century, and many of them till a later period. Some of the strongest Churches of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia came out of this Alline movement, all of them observing strict communion today. The Horton Church was one of these. It seems to have oscillated for a few years, but in 1809 it took the full Baptist ground. In this respect the Cornwallis, Chester, Argyle, First Halifax and other Churches differ little from the Horton Church, having gradually made their way to their present stand. The first Association of Baptist Churches in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was projected in 1797 and was fully organized in 1800, at Granville, Annapolis County. In the main its work differed slightly from that of present associations.

It threw strong guards around the fundamental independence of the individual Church, stating that it ’pretends to no other powers than those of an advisory council, utterly disclaiming all superiority, jurisdiction, coercion, right or infallibility.’ For more than a quarter of a century, however, it examined and ordained candidates for the ministry. But, gradually, its leading minds became convinced that the New Testament rested the power of ordination in the independent and self-governing Church. ’Father Manning’ stated the principle quaintly in an address to the Association thus: ’I have observed that representative bodies, the world over, are very much inclined to take to themselves horns, and to so use them as to destroy the liberties of the people. An Association, therefore, must not put on horns.’ After 1827 the Association ceased to ordain pastors, missionaries and evangelists, leaving that matter where it belongs, in the hands of the individual churches. The question of communion was also much debated, and in 1809 the Association resolved that in the future no open-communion Church should belong to that body. Four Churches withdrew on this account, and from that time restricted communion has been the rule. In 1821 the Association, for convenience, divided into the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Associations, one for each province, and in 1850 the Nova Scotia portion subdivided into the Eastern, Central and Western Associations, as at this time. The New Brunswick Association also divided into the Eastern and Western in 1847, but in 1868 there was yet another new departure. Up to this time the Prince Edward Island Churches had been in the Eastern Nova Scotia Association, but they now organized one of their own, with thirteen Churches. The Southern Baptist Association of New Brunswick was formed in 1850, and in 1885 these seven Associations,

from these small beginnings, numbered 352 Churches; with 40,984 members. Some of the fathers who laid these broad foundations were most remarkable men. As pioneers they were marked by breadth of view, singleness and steadfastness of purpose and a Christ-like self-denial. The names of Thomas H. Chipman, Theodore and Harris Harding, Edward and James Manning and Joseph Dimock will ever be worthy of the highest honor. These and many more were all of one spirit and endowed with a great diversity of gifts, but, by universal consent, probably Edward Manning would rank amongst the first. He was converted under the preaching of Henry Alline, and in coming to the light passed through a 'horror of great darkness.' He traveled through these provinces in evangelistic labors, often on snow shoes in the depth of winter, to preach Jesus and the resurrection. His first pastorate, 1795, was over the mixed Church in Cornwallis, and for three years after his ordination he was greatly agitated on the subject of baptism, but at last he went to Annapolis and was immersed by T. H. Chipman. Soon after he renounced open communion, and with seven members of his Church separated from the main body. He continued in his pastorate till his death in 1851, and amongst his last words were these: 'Oh! the infinite greatness and grandeur of God.' He was imbued with deep piety and fervency of spirit; he was a champion of religious liberty, and possibly surpassed all his brethren in profundity and logical power. As a 'dissenting' preacher, he met with stern opposition and persecution from those of the Established Church, meeting the harsher intolerance of New Brunswick with the firmness of a man born to rule his own spirit.

Theodore Seth Harding was another Gospel warrior of these days. His first religious impressions were received under the ministry of Mr. Alline, when at the age of eight, but he was converted under the powerful preaching of Rev. Freeborn Garretson, a Methodist missionary from the United States, who was sent to Nova Scotia in 1787. Mr. Harding was ordained as pastor of the Horton Baptist Church in 1796, and remained its pastor until his death, in 1855. But like Manning and others, he extended his labors in every direction, even to the United States. In intellect he was not the peer of Manning, but far surpassed him in fluency and other elements of oratorical power, so that as a preacher he had few equals anywhere.

Joseph Dimock was the son of Daniel, who baptized his father when he fled for refuge from Connecticut. Joseph was ordained as pastor at Chester, in 1793, and although he made long missionary tours in all directions, he remained its pastor till his death, in 1847. He met with great opposition in his work. At Lunenberg infuriated mobs, maddened with liquor, determined to inflict personal violence upon him, but his firmness awed them and his gentleness disarmed their wrath. These are selected as types out of a large body of powerful and self-denying men, who have left the marvelous record of their work in these provinces. The Baptist press of Canada had its inception in the Nova Scotia Association, in 1825, which voted to 'Request the Baptist Association of New Brunswick to unite with us in the publication of a Religious Periodical Magazine.' From this action sprang the 'Baptist Missionary Magazine,' of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in 1827. It was a quarterly, published at St. John, N. B., and edited by Rev. Charles Tupper, and was continued until January, 1837, when it gave place to the 'Christian Messenger,' a weekly, published at Halifax, N. S. From that time it has rendered noble service to all our denominational interests, and still exists in combination with the 'Christian Visitor,' at St. John, N. B. The 'Christian Visitor' was established in 1848, and was conducted by Rev. E. D. Very, who was drowned in the Bay of Minas, in 1852, when returning from a geological excursion, in company with Professor

Chipman and four students of Acadia College, all of whom perished. For a time the paper was conducted by Messrs. Samuel Robinson and I. E. Bill. After a time, Rev. Dr. Bill assumed full charge as proprietor and editor, and conducted this journal with marked ability, but in 1885 the two papers were purchased by a company, and united under the editorship of Rev. Calvin Goodspeed as the 'Messenger and Visitor,' published at St. John, N. B. The first regular Missionary Society of the Nova Scotia Baptists began in 1815, when the Association, meeting at Cornwallis, 'Voted, that the Association is considered a Missionary Society, and with them is left the whole management of the mission business.' A contribution of $118,60 was made at this session for sending a missionary eastward of Halifax. From time to time the Association sent out missionaries, and in 1820 the first Home Mission Board was appointed in New Brunswick. 'Mite Societies' were formed in the Churches which were of great utility. The Female Mite Society of the Germain Street Church, in St. John, contributed $60, that year, a degree of liberality which, if attained by all the Churches at this time, would fill the mission treasury to repletion. The first Nova Scotia 'Society for the maintenance of Foreign Missions' was formed at the Chester meeting of the Association, 1838, and a Foreign Mission Board was appointed soon after in New Brunswick. Burma was chosen as the field of labor, and the first missionary sent out was Rev. R. E. Burpee, in 1845; he died in 1850. After his death the Provincial Board sent money annually to support native preachers, under the care of Rev. A. R. R. Crawley, of Henthada. Dr. Tupper was for many years the Secretary of the Foreign Board. His life was a wonderful triumph of energy and industry. His schooling was limited to ten weeks after he was ten years of age, and yet by dint of self-education he became proficient in many languages: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, English, German, Italian, Syriac and one or two others, and it is said that he read the New Testament in the first three of these at least one hundred times. At the Jubilee of his ordination Dr. Tupper stated, that as a minister he had traveled in fifty years 146,000 miles, principally on horseback, had preached 6,750 sermons, attended and generally taken part in 3,430 other meetings, had made 11,520 family visits, married 238 couples, had conducted 542 funerals, and baptized 522 converts. Surely, if works save men, Brother Tupper's chance should be better than that of some Canadian brethren, however it may be with those of the United States. Dr. S. T. Rand's name forms an important leaf in the Indian missionary history of the Maritime Provinces, especially amongst the Micmacs. He has pursued this work during the greater part of his life, with indomitable perseverance and chiefly at his own charges. Our brethren have also done an immense work in these Provinces by their educational institutions. Their fathers, generally, knew nothing of the learning of the schools, yet their interest in laying the foundations of these schools was unique rather than remarkable. They early saw that if the denomination was to do its Master's work in the most efficient manner, they must make early provision for the Christian education of the Churches, especially for an educated ministry. The venerable 'Father Munro' gave this terse expression to their common conviction: 'The man who successfully succeeds me in the pastoral office must stand on my shoulders.' It is probable that the first suggestion of a Baptist institution of learning for these Provinces was made by Edward Manning, and when the subject came up for discussion he pondered every point, and corresponded largely with the brethren in the United States on the matter. The way was dark, the Baptists were a feeble folk to undertake such a work, yet a series of events occurred between 1820-50 which facilitated the project. The founding of the Granville Street Church at Halifax by a number of members seceding from the Church of England gave force to the movement. The Crawley family and others amongst them were educated, and were ready to give their influence in

this direction. The remarkable revival of 1828 brought a number of educated men into the Baptist Churches and ministry, who became active workers in the cause of education--such men as John Pryor, E. A. Crawley, William Chipman, Ingraham E. Bill and others. The Granville Street Church was admitted into the Association in 1828, at its meeting in Horton, at which time the Prospectus of the Nova Scotia Baptist Education Society was drawn up and submitted by the Halifax messengers of the Church there. The Society aimed to establish a seminary of learning, and to aid indigent young men in studying for the ministry. Their action will appear sufficiently courageous when it is taken into the account that twenty-nine little Churches, numbering in all 1,7T2 members, formed their entire strength. The first result was the establishment of the Academy at Horton, with Rev. William Pryor as Principal. This school has continued ever since, and is perpetually fitting men for College life and all the various fields of usefulness. The Baptists of New Brunswick numbered but about 2,000 in 1834, when they followed the example of their Nova Scotia brethren and opened a 'Seminary' in Fredericton. In 1842 the Rev. Charles Spurden, of Hereford, England, was appointed principal, which position he held for twenty-five years. Dr. Spurden was greatly endeared to his students and his brethren generally by his literary attainments and lovable qualities of character; he died in 1876, after a short pastorate in the Fredericton Church. The Seminary did good service under other principals, but it was closed after many years of financial struggle, and within a few years another has been opened at St. John, under more favorable conditions; from its opening it has had a female department. A female seminary wag opened in 1861, in connection with the Horton (Wolfville) School, and is still in vigorous operation. The intolerance of the dominant Church had much to do with the founding of denominational schools and colleges. Early in the history of Nova Scotia, King's College was founded at Windsor, under the aegis of the English Church, which admitted no student except on subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles. Dalhousie College was founded in 1820, with public funds, ostensibly as a non-sectarian University for the Province. But when it was opened the classical chair was refused to Rev. E. A. Crawley, for the sole reason, as Dr. Bill states: 'That these in charge felt bound, as they said, to connect the college exclusively with the Kirk of Scotland.' Thus mocked, the friends of Baptist education found it time to bestir themselves, and the result was a determination to found a college of their own, hence the origin of Acadia College. In addition to the great burden of raising the necessary funds by so feeble a folk, their task was increased by the difficulty of obtaining the requisite charter. Their foes raised a popular cry against the multiplication of feeble colleges, until the spirit of the Baptists was thoroughly aroused, when they resolved to maintain their right to possess such an institution if they paid for it with their own money. The Committee of their Educational Society went to Halifax in a body, and Mr. Crawley eloquently pleaded the justice of their cause at the bar of the House, which refused the charter by a majority of one. The seat of war was then transferred to public platforms and the newspapers, with such effect, that in 1840 the House was flooded with petitions for the charter. After a determined and bitter contest the Assembly granted it by a majority of twelve, the champion of the Baptists being Hon. J. W. Johnstone, a member of the Upper House; it also passed the Legislative Council. The second struggle arose on a more questionable point. Large appropriations were made by the Legislature in aid of King's and Dalhousie Colleges, and the Baptists thought it but common justice that they should share in the public fund set apart for higher education; some few of them, however, holding that this position compromised the principle of voluntary support. This demand re-opened the whole question of college policy for the Province, the leading liberal politicians favoring the plan of

one central university. The Baptists boldly entered the political arena, made Hon. J. W. Johnstone their candidate, elected him to the Legislature by an overwhelming majority and pressed their claim successfully. He was a gentleman of the highest character, of fine culture and splendid abilities. Afterwards, for many years, he was Attorney General and Premier of the Province; he also filled the chair of Chief Justice with distinction, and declined the governorship of the Province shortly before his death. In 1863 an unsuccessful attempt was made to rehabilitate Dalhonsie as the Provincial University. Failing in that, a larger scheme was proposed, under which denominational colleges should each receive an annual grant for a term of years, on condition that they surrendered or held in reserve their powers to grant degrees. These powers were to be transferred to a Provincial University to be established at Halifax. This was not to be a teaching institution, but simply an examining body empowered to confer degrees and to prescribe the curricula for all the affiliated colleges. After an animated debate at the Baptist Convention, held at Sackville, 1876, the proposition to affiliate Acadia College with the Halifax University was negatived by a large majority. This college has had a perpetual struggle with financial difficulties consequent on its small and by no means wealthy constituency, but it has made constant progress, and its influence on the ministry and Churches is seen everywhere in their liberal culture, their intellectual and spiritual development. The first effort to raise an endowment was made in 1852, and by various other efforts the amount has been increased to about $100,000. In 1849 it was adopted as the College of the Baptists in the three Maritime Provinces. Many of its students have attained considerable distinction, and hold responsible positions in the Dominion and the United States. Dr. Crawley, who did so much to establish it and was its first president, felt compelled to resign that office in 1856, to attend to certain private business affairs which, for the time being, demanded his entire attention. But after their arrangement, in 1865, he returned to his work as an educator, accepting the chair of Classics, and for a time he also served as Principal in the Theological Department. He still retains his connection with the Institution as Professor Emeritus. Acadia College was never in a more prosperous condition than at present. The venerable J. M. Cramp, D.D., whose name will ever be associated with the College as its second President, was the son of Rev. Thomas Cramp, a Baptist minister in the Isle of Thanet, was born in 1796, baptized in 1812, and was educated at Stepney College. He was ordained in 1818 as pastor of the Bean Street Baptist Church, Southwark, London. Subsequently, for fourteen years, he assisted his father in the pastorate of St. Peter's. Church, in his native town. In 1840 he became pastor of the Church at Hastings, Sussex. Four years later he was sent by the Committee of the Canada Baptist Missionary Society to take charge of the Montreal Baptist College; and in 1857 he became President and Professor of Moral Philosophy in Acadia College. He continued in active service till the infirmities of age compelled him to retire, in 1869, when he was made Professor Emeritus; his death occurred a few years later. Dr. Cramp's attainments were extensive; he was a good Hebrew scholar, a sound theologian, and thoroughly versed in Ecclesiastical History, as is seen in his 'Baptist History.' He was a true friend of a pure Bible, always insisting on fidelity to God in the translation of his Word. His character was sweet and unselfish, his aims were high, and his life stainless and full of affability. As a writer he is well known by his 'Text Book of Popery,' which is regarded as authoritative, also by his 'Paul and Christ,' and numerous other publications.

Rev. A. W. Sawyer, D.D., the present President of Acadia College, is a native of Vermont, and a graduate of Dartmouth College, of the class of 1847. He completed his theological course at

Newton, and was ordained in 1853. He was appointed to the chair of Classics in Acadia in 1855, which chair he resigned in 1860. He then served as pastor of the Church at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., and as Principal of the New London Academy, N. H., but in 1869 he accepted the Presidency of Acadia, with the chair of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy. While Dr. Sawyer is very unassuming and quiet, he is one of the foremost educators in the Dominion. He is accurate and extensive in his scholarship, keen in his perception, close and logical in his habit of thought. In the class-room he has few equals in throwing the student back upon his own resources and compelling him to make his best intellectual efforts. The efficient staff of tutors, with himself, are making the Institution a blessing to the Denomination, as one of the agencies which are doing so much to make the Baptists more and more powerful in the Maritime Provinces. THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, formerly Lower Canada, is another interesting field of Baptist labor. The first Baptist Church in this Province, of which we find any record, was formed in 1794 at Caldwell's Manor, not far from the Vermont border. For many years this neighborhood had been occupied by Loyalist Refugees, mostly from Connecticut. Rev. John Hubbard and Ariel Kendrick, missionaries of the Woodstock (Vt.) Baptist Association, visited and preached in this settlement; their labors were greatly blessed; Rev. Elisha Andrews, of Fairfax, baptized about thirty converts and formed them into a Church. Two years later some of its members removed to a new township called Eaton, south of the St. Lawrence, in the district. of Three Rivers, and were organized into a Church. Several others were formed in this part of Lower Canada under the labors of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society. Benedict speaks of three of these as members of the Fairfield Association in 1812, namely, these of St. Armand, Stanbridge and Dunham. A somewhat similar movement took place in Upper Canada, now Ontario, in I794. Reuben Crandall, then a licentiate, settled at Hallowell, in what is now the County of Prince Edward, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and in the following year he organized a Church. Another licentiate, T. Finch, organized a Church in Thurlow, now Haldimand, about 1804, which seems to have been known as the Charlotteville Church, and in a comparatively few years eight Churches were set off from this body. Other laborers established Churches about the same time in Cramahe, Rawdon, and neighboring places.

About 1803 the first Association in this district was formed, called the Thurlow, but afterwards the Haldimand Association, and this was a center of Baptist influence until this region of Canada became dotted with Baptist Churches gathered into several Associations.

Thus it is seen that the pioneer Churches of Quebec and Ontario, as well as those of the Maritime Provinces, were planted by missionaries from the United States, excepting the elder Churches embraced in what is now the Ottawa Association. The members who first composed its Churches, with their pastors, were largely emigrants from Scotland. The eldest of these, Breadalbane, was organized in 1817 with thirteen members, all Scotch, their first elders being Duncan Campbell and Donald McLaurin. Next in order was the Clarence Church, 1817, formed of seven members. John Edwards, who was instrumental in its formation, was converted in Edinburgh under the ministry of the Haldanes. Other Churches in the valley of the Ottawa, as Dalesville and Osgoode, have a similar origin and history. The first Baptist Church of Montreal was not organized till 1830, but it naturally took a leading part in originating and shaping the missionary and educational work in this part of Canada. Rev. John Gilmour, of Aberdeen, was its first pastor, a zealous leader in denominational work for many years.

These and most of the other Churches in the eastern part of Canada, during the first quarter of the present century, practiced open communion, a subject which for many years kept them in grievous friction with those of the western part. The eastern Churches held with right good Scotch grip all the orthodox doctrines, as well as to the immersion of believers on their trust in Christ. But they regarded the edification of the brethren and the observance of the Supper as the chief ends of the Gospel Church, losing sight of its aggressive character. They believed that evangelists should be supported while preaching, but gave no remuneration to the elders of their own Churches. They made the plurality of elders, the weekly celebration of the Supper, the liberty of the unordained to administer ordinances, and exhortations on the Lord's day, binding as duties on the whole brotherhood. Unanimity was required in all their decisions, and if a minority dissented the majority took their reasons for dissent into consideration. If these were found valid the majority altered their decision; if not, they exhorted the minority to repentance, but if they repented not they were excommunicated. They held that the exercise of discipline on the Lord's day was a part of divine worship, and they never neglected the duty of purging out the 'old leaven,' but rather enjoyed the exercise. Down to 1834, including the Montreal and Breadalbane Churches, they numbered but four Churches and three ministers. In the years 1834-35 a memorable revival of religion gave new life to the Baptist cause in Eastern Canada. It began in Montreal and extended through the Churches of the valley, the immediate result being that the Churches came nearer to each other, and formed the Ottawa Association. A second revival, under the labors of Messrs. McPhail, Fyfe, and other ardent young missionaries, was enjoyed three or four years later. Its center was in Osgoode and vicinity, and it gave a fresh impulse to the spread of Baptist principles. The growth of the denomination in the West was more rapid. The fertile regions bordering on the Upper St. Lawrence and lakes Ontario and Erie invited a large influx of population. The Haldimand Association included the Churches in the London district, but the Upper Canada Association, which held its first meeting in 1819, embraced the neighborhood which includes Toronto and Brantford. In 1839 there were five Regular and one 'Irregular,' or open communion, Baptist Association, their statistics being: Churches, 172; members, 3,722. Nine or ten Churches, with a membership of about 560, were not connected with any association, making in all about 4,282 members. The following statistics for 1885 indicate the growth of the denomination in the entire Dominion--Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and Northwest Territory: Churches, 370; members, 28,987. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island: Churches, 352; members, 40,989. The total for British America being: Of Churches, 122; and of members, 69,971. At the first meeting of the Ottawa Association, in 1836, it resolved unanimously to send a deputation to Great Britain to solicit aid in the proclamation of the Gospel in Canada, and to establish an academy for the training of young men for the ministry. The academy was commenced in that year, Rev. Newton Bosworth taking charge of the instruction. Rev. John Gilmour visited England and Scotland as the agent of the Association, and received collections there of about $5,000 for erecting a proper building, and a society was formed in London known as the Baptist Canadian Missionary Society. On Mr. Gilmour's return a similar society was formed in Canada, having for its aim the support of home missionaries and the promotion of theological education. It accomplished an excellent work. The 'Canada Baptist Magazine and Missionary Register' was published as a monthly for two or three years under its supervision; but it was discontinued about the year 1842, when a weekly paper appeared known as the 'Montreal Register.' A root of bitterness in the communion question sprang up, which finally led to the extinction of the Missionary Society in Canada, and this

controversy between the Eastern and Western Baptists became more pronounced year by year. The Society disclaimed that it was an open communion body, and avowed that the Churches which it assisted were mainly strict communion bodies. Distrust abounded, and about the year 1854 the Western Canada Baptist Home Missionary Society was formed, under the auspices of the Strict Communionists, and the Montreal Society soon died. In 1843 the Canada Baptist Union had been formed, somewhat after the model of the English Union, its general objects being to promote the unity and prosperity of the denomination, 'especially to watch over our religious rights and privileges; to secure their permanence and promote their extension.' Ample scope was afforded for the exercise of its vigilance and wisdom. At that time the great doctrines of religious equality and freedom of conscience were not well understood in Canada, so that it fell to the lot of the Baptists to bring them and their defense to the front. They had to meet the Clergy Reserves Question, the outgrowth of a provision in the Constitutional Act of 1791, whereby an allotment equal in value to one seventh of all grants of public lands in Upper Canada was to be set apart for the support of a 'Protestant clergy.' These reserves soon became valuable, while the ambiguity of the phrase 'Protestant clergy' made it a subject of contention amongst the Protestant denominations for many years. Some claimed that the word Protestant was merely the antithesis of 'Catholic,' and so, that the reserves were for the benefit of all sects which abjured the tenets of the Roman Catholics. Others maintained as stoutly that the word 'clergy' designated only the ministers of the Church of England, and it had never been applied in any British statute to any ministers but these of that Church and of Rome. The Baptists, true to their principles, refused to apply for any portion of these funds, but insisted on their secularization and use for legitimate State purposes. Messrs. Davies, Cramp, Gilmour, Girdwood and Fyfe, their leaders, denied the right of the State to vote lands or money to any Church, and demanded religions equality before the law, leaving all denominations to support themselves. The same principles were involved and the same ground was taken in regard to university endowment. In 1797 the English Government had authorized the Legislative Council and House of Assembly in Upper Canada to set apart the land of ten townships, equal to half a million of acres, as a foundation for four Grammar-Schools and a University. At this period the Executive, the Legislature and the Councils were, almost without exception, members of the dominant Church, and cast their influence so solidly for the Episcopal High Church party that it became known as the 'Family Compact.' Arch-deacon, afterwards Bishop Strachan, a crafty, resolute and not over-scrupulous politician, was at their head. Backed by powerful friends and using many machinations he secured from the Imperial Parliament the fund for the establishment of an Episcopal University and the postponement of the erection of the Grammar Schools. The Executive Government was also to be created a permanent, commission, with power to dispose of the lands and manage the revenues, and so to remove them beyond the reach of popular control. This high-handed attempt to saddle an Established Church and an exclusively Episcopal University upon the infant province was resisted by the Baptists at every step. They petitioned the Government and remonstrated strenuously, and after much other action their Union, in 1845, gave the following as their voice on the subject:

'That in our estimation the most just, and ultimately the most satisfactory settlement of the socalled University Question, would be founded on the following general principles: To confine the funds of the University exclusively to the Faculties of Arts, Sciences, Law and Medicine, giving no support whatever to Theological Professors of any denomination, but leaving each sect to support out of its own resources its teachers in divinity.' This was followed in 1853 with an utterance through their

Missionary Society, in words declaring:

'In the most emphatic and decided manner its determination never to rest satisfied until the Clergy Reserves are secularized by the Government,' and the 'fixed resolution of the Churches throughout the entire Province of Canada, to resist by every lawful and available means any and every attempt which may be made by the Government, or otherwise, to induce the Baptist denomination, in particular, and the other religious denominations in Canada, to accept of any partition of the Clergy Reserves Fund, for any purpose whatever.'

Partition had been pressed in some quarters as a basis of settlement, but, true to their ancient faith, the Baptists would have none of it; they finally triumphed, and as the result Canada now enjoys the same religious liberty that is secured to all in the United States. In regard to Baptist periodicals in Canada West, it may be well to say, that after one or two futile attempts, the 'Christian Messenger' began its publication at Brantford, in 1853, but in 1859 it was removed to Toronto, and its name was afterwards changed to the 'Canadian Baptist,' which is still published as the leading organ of Baptist opinion. A few years since, it was purchased by a company of which the Hon. William McMaster is the principal stockholder. The constitution of the company makes the various denominational Societies the joint beneficiaries of the net profits of the paper. But with his characteristic liberality, Mr. McMaster announced in October, 1886, his readiness to hand over the paid-up stock held by him, amounting to $40,000, to those Societies, which are now quite numerous.

During the last thirty-four years, the Baptist Home Mission Society of Ontario, has planted seventy self-sustaining Churches, and more than seven thousand converts have been baptized on its field, west of the city of Kingston. During the last year it helped to support sixty-two feeble Churches and maintained preaching at sixty out-stations. The Baptists of that vicinity have expended about $130,000 in home mission work. The field occupied by the Eastern Society lies amongst a population two thirds of whom speak French and are Roman Catholics. The Frenchspeaking people are crowding the English-speaking people out, and many of our Churches are depleted, yet in 1885 one hundred and thirteen converts were baptized on the field. Steps are already taken for the union of the Eastern and Western Conventions.

During the first seven years of the Foreign Mission Society of Ontario and Quebec it was auxilliary to the American Baptist Missionary Union; but in 1873 it undertook an independent mission to the Telugus. Six missionaries with their wives, and two unmarried female missionaries, have been sent to that field. During twelve years the Society has expended more than $100,000 in foreign work, and within the last two years Rev. A. V. Timpany and Rev. G. F. Currie have died at their posts as missionaries. The Foreign Missionary Society of the Maritime Provinces sustains about the same number of laborers. and both of them employ several native preachers also. The 'elect' ladies in all the provinces are rendering efficient aid by auxilliary societies and a monthly paper, the 'Missionary Link,' which does good service in the same cause. The Grand Ligne Mission, in the Province of Quebec, has been in operation for half a century, and has been the means of bringing about 5,000 persons to the knowledge of the truth, who are now scattered over Canada, the New England States and the far West. About 3,000 of these passed several years in the schools of the mission, and are spreading abroad the light which they received there. T. S. Shenston, Esq., of Brantford, Treasurer of the Foreign Missionary Society of Ontario and Quebec, is one of the

noblest laymen in Canada. During the most critical years of its history he was Treasurer of its Board and has always been amongst its most liberal supporters. He was born in London, England, in 1822, and came to Canada when but nine years of age.

Endowed with superior native ability, controlled by unflinching integrity and industry, he has risen to great usefulness and honor. He commenced life as a farmer, but at the age of twentyseven was made a magistrate in Oxford County, where he resided. There were seventy-five magistrates in that county, and the returns of convictions show that he did more magisterial business than all of them put together. In 1851 he published a 'County Warden and Municipal Officer's Assistant,' and in 1852 an 'Oxford Gazetteer.' He set up type and printed with his own hands a work on 'Baptism,' in 1864, and for many years he has held the office of Register of Brant County. In conjunction with another generous soul, for years he sustained an Orphan House for twenty-two girls in Brantford. He is senior deacon of the "First Baptist Church in that city, and has been the Superintendent of its Sabbath-school for the better part of twenty-five years. In addition to the books here named he has published several others, amongst them, 'The Sinner and his Saviour' (256 pages), and an ingenious 'Perpetual Calendar,' reliable for some hundreds of years. All this is the work of what is called a 'self-made' man. A brief sketch of Baptist Educational work will be acceptable. In 1838 the Committee of the London Society sent out Dr. Benjamin Davies to take charge of the Theological Institution at Montreal, known as the 'Canada Baptist College.' As the number of students increased a comfortable stone building was purchased, where the work was done with tolerable efficiency until 1843, when Dr. Davies returned to London to act as a Professor in Regent's Park College.

Rev. Robert A. Fyfe had charge of the Montreal Institution in 1843-44, and was succeeded by the Rev. J. M. Cramp; but in an evil hour a costly edifice was built, and its debts were so heavy that in 1849 it succumbed; the library and property were sold and it was discontinued. While it was in operation it did an excellent work; and many of its students of high character are a blessing to the Churches still; its managers and supporters were liberal and large hearted and its tutors were able men. But its location was 400 miles east of the principal center of Canadian Baptist population, its sympathies and methods were not sufficiently American, it was thought to cherish open communion sentiments, and at that time there was little love amongst the Baptists of Canada West for an educated ministry; all of which causes contributed to its downfall. Since this unhappy failure no further attempt has been made to establish a Baptist institution of learning in Lower Canada.

Several abortive attempts were put forth in this direction in the West, the most ambitious of which was in connection with the 'Maclay College,' projected in 1852. Dr. Maclay, an indefatigable friend of education, was induced to make the attempt to raise ?10,000 for the establishment of a Theological Institution, more than half of which sum was subscribed. Dr. Maclay was chosen President, but declined to serve; the managers and subscribers failed to agree amongst themselves as to a successor, and in other things, and the scheme fell to the ground. Dr. Fyfe devised a practicable plan for a Canadian Baptist College, in 1856, which, after much arduous labor and anxious care has been crowned with success. Rev. Robert A. Fyfe, D.D., was born in Lower Canada, in 1816, was baptized in 1835, and almost immediately after left for Madison University to prepare for the ministry. Want of means and ill health compelled him to return home within a year, but he continued his studies first at Montreal and then at the 'Manual Labor High School,' Worcester, Mass. He entered Newton Theological Seminary in 1839 and graduated

thence in 1842. After several years of successful pastoral labor in other places, he became pastor of the Bond Street Church, Toronto. He submitted to the denomination his scheme for a school with a literary and theological department, providing for the admission of both sexes in the literary department, which project was indorsed, but with much misgiving. Woodstock was chosen as its site, and after three or four years of hard struggle a substantial building was erected there. In 1860 Dr. Fyfe was constrained to resign his pastorate and accept the principalship, from which time until his death, in 1878, he devoted all his powers to its interests. The first edifice was destroyed by fire just as the Institution was opening its doors to students, and years of selfdenying effort were buried in heaps of ashes and blackened bricks, with a debt of $6,000 on the smoking embers. With characteristic courage he immediately began to rebuild, and in the face of difficulty, discouragement and gloom, two better buildings were erected, one for the exclusive use of the ladies' department. His death removed a prince from our Canadian Israel. In the Theological Department, for some years before his death, Rev. John Crawford, D.D., and Rev. John Torrance had been associated with him, and after his death the work of the Institute was conducted under two heads for a time. Professor Torrance was Principal of the Theological, and Professor J. E. Wells was Principal of the Literary Department. The policy of the Canadian Baptists in educational work was greatly changed by the munificence of the Hon. William McMaster. Before Dr. Fyfe's death the opinion had begun to obtain that Toronto was the proper place for the Theological College, but the dread of creating division in the interests of Woodstock, and the apparent impossibility of raising money to erect a college worthy of the denomination in that growing city, made all shrink from the attempt. At that point, what had seemed utterly impossible was made practicable by Senator McMaster's liberality. This great philanthropist was born in the county of Tyrone, Ireland, in 1811. He received a good English education in a private school, and in 1833 came to Canada, at the age of twenty-two years. He soon entered upon a most successful and honorable mercantile career, in the wholesale dry-goods business, having first been a clerk and then a partner of Robert Cathcart. When Montreal was the great distributing center for Western Canada, he was one of the few whose commercial enterprise and ability transferred a share of the wholesale trade from that city to Toronto. Having established his firm there and associated two of His nephews with himself his business became immense, until he retired from active partnership to follow financial transactions, for which his foresight and sound judgment amply fitted him, so that he became one of the leading capitalists of the province. He has always been a Liberal in his politics, and in 1856 he was with much reluctance induced to accept a nomination as a candidate for the Legislative Council of Canada. He was elected by a large majority, and at the Confederation was appointed to the Senate of the Dominion.

Mr. McMaster has always taken a marked interest in the educational interests of Canada. In 1865 he was appointed a member of the Council of Public Instruction, and, in 1873, he was made a Senator of the Provincial University by Government appointment. All the educational enterprises of the Baptists have been aided largely by his wisdom and purse, being one of the largest subscribers to the Woodstock Institute; and at the Missionary Convention of Ontario, held at St. Catharine's in 1879, it was resolved that, in view of certain proposals made by him, the Theological Department of the Institute at Woodstock should be removed to Toronto. At once he purchased from the University of Toronto a plot of ground 250 feet square, and immediately erected thereon one of the most beautiful and complete college buildings in the country. He vested this property in a Board of Trustees in 1880, to be held in trust for the Baptist denomination. At the

first meeting of this Board Rev. J. H. Castle, D.D., was elected President of the College; Rev. John Torrance, A.M` Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Apologetics, and at a subsequent meeting Professor A. H. Newman, D.D., LL.D., of Rochester Seminary, was chosen for the Chair of Church History and Old Testament Exegesis. A brief notice of several of our brethren who have done such splendid work in Canada must close this sketch of Baptists there.

Dr. Castle was born at Milestown, Penn., in 1830, was baptized in 1846, graduated from the Lewisburg University in 1851, and received his Doctor's degree from the same institution in 1866. He was settled as pastor at Pottsville; Pa., for two years and a half, when he accepted the charge of the First Baptist Church in West Philadelphia, where he remained for fourteen years. In 1873 he became pastor of the Bond Street Church, Toronto, when the beautiful structure known as the Jarvis Street Meeting-house was erected for his congregation, Mr. McMaster contributing about $60,000 to the building fund. He declined the Principalship of Woodstock, and when its Theological Department was removed to Toronto all eyes turned to him as eminently fitted to become its President. This position he has filled, and the chair of Systematic Theology and Pastoral Theology, with great success. Professor Torrance, who first became Principal of the Woodstock Institution, had previously been a student there and a graduate of the Toronto University, but he died before he could engage in the work of the new College. The report of the Trustees speaks of him as an accurate scholar; 'His force and clearness as a thinker, the soundness of his views as a theologian, his aptness as a teacher, his reputation in the denomination, and his unflinching Christian integrity gave every reason to hope for him a long career of the highest usefulness.'

Dr. Newman is a native of Edgefield County, S. C., and was born in 1852. He graduated from Mercer University, Georgia, in 1871, and from Rochester Theological Seminary in 1875. He spent a year 1875-76 in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, where, as resident graduate, he devoted himself to the study of Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic and Patristic Greek. From 1877 to 1880 he was acting as Professor of Church History at Rochester, and in 1880-81 was Pettingill Professor in the same institution. He translated and edited Immer's 'Hermeneutics of the New Testament,' published at Andover in 1877, and is the author of many review articles, evidencing extensive research and critical acumen. He is justly regarded also as an authority in ecclesiastical history, especially in its relation to the principles and polity of the Baptists. If his valuable life is spared, Baptist literature will be greatly enriched by His fruitful pen. At present the Doctor is editing the 'Anti-Manichaean Treatises of St. Augustin,' with a revised translation, notes and an introduction on the Manichaean Heresy.

Malcolm MacVicar, Ph.D., LL.D., fills the vacancy left by the death of Professor Torrance. He was Principal of the State Normal School at Ypsilanti, Mich., and his career as an educator has been successful and distinguished. He was born in Scotland in 1829, but in 1835 came to Chatham, in Ontario. He entered Knox College, Toronto, in 1850, with Donald, his brother, now Principal of the Presbyterian College in Montreal. While a student Malcolm's doctrinal views changed, he became a Baptist, and was ordained to the Baptist ministry in 1856. He graduated from Rochester University in 1859, from which time to 1863 he served as Professor of Mathematics, and from that date to 1867 as Principal of Brockport Collegiate Institute, N.Y. From 1868 he was Superintendent of Public Schools in Leavenworth, Kan., then Principal of the Normal School in Potsdam, N. Y., before he went to the Normal School in Michigan. Dr. MacVicar is the author of several valuable

textbooks in arithmetic and geography. He excels as a mathematician and metaphysician, and has made a special study of the relations of science to religion. He is critical, original and enthusiastic.

Rev. W. N. Clarke, D.D., was for many years pastor of the Churches at Newton Center, Mass., and at Montreal, but took the chair of New Testament Exegesis at Toronto in 1884. He brought broad views and a loving spirit to his work, and having published a most valuable commentary on one of the Gospels, he possesses special fitness for this high position. His compeer, Rev. D. M. Welton, D.D., Ph.D., an advanced scholar in the Oriental languages, fills the chair of Old Testament Exegesis. Dr. Welton is a graduate of Acadia, also of a celebrated German University, and was for some years the Principal of the Theological Department in Acadia College.

Theodore H. Rand, M.A., D.C.L., was appointed to a chair in Toronto College in 1885-86. He is a graduate of Acadia, and was in succession the Superintendent of Education in Nova Scotia and in New Brunswick, in both of which provinces he inaugurated and kept in operation for a number of years the noble system of free schools which they now possess. He filled a chair also in Acadia before he removed to Toronto. The entire cost of sustaining all these professorships, in addition to the large sum expended in building 'McMaster Hall' and in endowing the President's chair, was cheerfully assumed by Mr. McMaster.

Rev. Wolverton, B.A., was appointed Principal at Woodstock after the resignation of Mr. Torrance. He had previously obtained and collected pledges for its endowment to the amount of $40,000, with the intention of raising the amount to $100,000. For some time Senator McMaster had purposed to thoroughly equip an Arts College in connection with the University of Toronto, but has now determined to devote this handsome endowment to the Woodstock foundation. In view of this great work, Dr. Rand has been induced to accept the Principalship of Woodstock, while Professor Wolverton will devote all his time to its financial management. Mr. McMaster stipulated that $56,000 should be raised by the denomination for new buildings and other improvements, of which sum $50,000 has been raised, and a new impulse has been given to Baptist educational enterprises all through Canada. University powers will be sought for Woodstock College, and the corner-stone of the splendid new college building was laid at Woodstock, October 22, 1886, by Mrs. Wm. McMaster, when addresses were delivered by Dr. Band and Dr. McArthur, of New York. The progress and development of the Baptists in Canada for the last quarter of a century have been wonderful, and they bid fair to make greater advancement still for the coming generation. Without referring to particular pages, it may suffice to say that the above facts have been collected chiefly from 'Cramp's History,' 'Benedict's History,' 'Bill's Fifty Years in the Maritime Provinces,' minutes of Associations, Missionary Reports, Memorials of Acadia College and the Canadian Year-Books.

AUSTRALASIA proper comprises New South Wales, Victoria, South and North Australia, Queensland and West Australia, covering about 3,000,000 square miles. Captain Cook discovered New South Wales in 1770, and slowly British subjects have settled the greater part of the continent, while the aboriginals have largely decreased. Rev. John Saunders may he regarded as the founder of Baptists in Australia. At the age of seventeen he became a member of a Baptist Church at Camberwell, in London, and renounced every opportunity to take a seat in Parliament, preferring labor for Christ. After establishing two Churches in London, his heart was set on planting a Christian colony in that stronghold of idolatry and other wickedness, Botany Bay. On reaching

Sidney, in 1834, he commenced to preach in the most fervid and powerful manner in the Court-house, where crowds flocked to hear him. He soon formed the Bathhurst Street Church and remained its pastor till 1848, when his health broke. He then retired from the pastorate and died in 1859. The loss of so vigorous a leader dampened the courage of his Church, but it revived under the new leadership of Rev. James Voller, whose labors were greatly blessed, and an Association was formed, so that now the Baptist force is most earnest and vigorous in New South Wales. The number of Churches is 22, the number of members, 1,196.

VICTORIA. The Baptist cause was planted there by Rev. William Ham, in 1845, when the first Church was formed. This pioneer labored under the greatest difficulties, but a church edifice was built in Collins Street, Melbourne, in which he labored for some years. Little progress was made, however, until 1856, when the Rev. James Taylor, of Glasgow, took the pastoral oversight. His scriptural and logical preaching, accompanied by a peculiar unction from above, soon drew large audiences, so that the congregation removed to the Grand Opera House, which seated 2,000 people, and yet was too small for the throng. Soon, a large and beautiful church edifice was built, which is now the rallying point for the annual gatherings of our Churches in the colony. Mr. Taylor is still preaching to an earnest Church at Richmond, a suburb of Melbourne. Two sons of Mr. Ham are amongst the most liberal supporters of the denomination in the colony; the eldest acted as chairman of the Victorian Baptist Association at its session a year ago. A second Church was organized in Melbourne, which was under the pastoral care of Rev. W. P. Scott till his death, in 1856; and when the great gold discovery demoralized the community, the Missionary Society in England, at the earnest request of the Church for a suitable pastor, sent the Rev. Isaac New to fill the vacancy. At that time, Melbourne was shaping itself into a magnificent city, with many social refinements and educational institutions; and the pulpits of all denominations were being filled with preachers of a high order. Mr. New's finished thought and fresh delivery attracted great congregations, and in 1859 the elegant chapel in Albert Street was erected for this Church. But in ten years, failing health compelled this great preacher to retire from his work, and in 1886 he fell asleep in Christ. There are 100 preaching places in Victoria and about 15,000 persons who enjoy the services of their ministers, the membership of the Churches being nearly 6,000, and the number of Sunday-school scholars about 9,000. Our Churches there are in a flourishing condition and number 39, with a membership of 4,235. Rev. S. Chapman, the present pastor of Collins Street, is a most successful minister, who has set his heart on raising $250,000 for home mission purposes with every indication of success. He proposes to establish an inter-Colonial College, to form a building fund for opening new fields and to aid struggling Churches in town and country.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA. Before Mr. Scott settled in Melbourne, he spent two years as pastor in this colony. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Hinders Street Church, Adelaide, was held in September, 1886, at which it was reported that since its organization 1,581 members had been added to that Church, and its average fiscal income had been $10,000 per annum. Dr. Silas Mead has rendered great service to the denomination during a quarter of a century, but the Baptists are not strong in the colony. The denomination has lacked compact organization, many of its members preferring isolation to combined activity. For the present, many of the other denominations are in advance of the Baptists, because they have accepted State aid and the appropriations of large plots of land for ecclesiastical purposes, which offers Baptists have declined on principle. The number of Churches is 52, the membership of the Associated Baptist Churches in South Australia

is 5,190, Sabbath-school scholars 5,191.

QUEENSLAND. There were no Baptists in this colony in the old convict days, when the incorrigible from Port Jackson, New South Wales, were sent to Moreton Bay. But immediately upon the settlement of free persons a Church was established. Mr. Stewart preached for some time in the Court-house, he being followed by Rev. B. G. Wilson, in 1856, when a substantial chapel was built in Wharf Street, but a much larger and more beautiful building is now in course of erection. The Churches number 13, and have all sprung from this one Church, the Baptist Church membership of the colony being 1,355, with Sunday-school scholars under their care to the number of about 2,000.

NEW ZEALAND. The principal Churches of this colony are at Dunedin, the capital in the South Island, and Auckland, the principal city of the North Island. The present pastor of the Church at Auckland is Rev. Thomas Spurgeon, son of the London divine. A Tabernacle, seating 1,500 people, has been opened, which is too small for the multitude who throng to hear him. This Church was organized by Rev. J. Thornton, and a few miles southeast of Auckland, Rev. Josiah Hinton, a son of the late John Howard Hinton, of London, is laboring earnestly. Flourishing young Churches are found, also, at Wellington, the capital, at Christ Church, Nelson and other places. About 50,000 only of the Maoris, the aborigines, are left, and the Baptists are doing something to bring them to Christ. Fronde says that gunpowder, rum and tobacco have ruined this once noble race, which is so fast melting away before civilization. In the two Islands we have 23 Churches, and 2,398 members.

TASMANIA. Rev. H. Bowling left Colchester, England, for this field in 1831; it was then known as Van Diemen's Land. He commenced at once to proclaim the Gospel, and for thirtyfive years continued to preach in this beautiful Island. But the struggle was hard as well as long, for at present there are but 8 Churches with 404 communicants in the colony, and 625 scholars in the Sunday-schools. William Gibson, Esq., and his son, have recently built and presented to the denomination four beautiful church edifices, one at Launceston, with a seating capacity of 1,500, the others are at Perth, Coleraine and Longford.

Although there are no Baptists in Western Australia, the progress made in the other colonies within the last ten years presents an encouraging feature in the ecclesiastical life of Australasia. Everywhere, heroic effort is made and new plans are projected for more thorough work. Men of large ability and experience are prosecuting these plans. James Martin, who was pastor of the Collins Street Church, Melbourne, for seven years, did much for our Churches, both as a preacher and writer; his name, with these of William Poole, David Rees, George Slade, Henry Langdon and Alexander Shain, has done much to stimulate the consecration of Baptists there, and others of equally heroic devotion are ready to enter into their labors full of work and full of hope. The denominational papers in Australasia, are 'The Banner of Truth,' in New South Wales; 'The Freeman,' in Queensland; and in South Australia, 'Truth and Progress.' And now, having traced the stream of truth in its flow from Bethlehem to this newest discovered end of the earth, which, though the largest Island in the world, may not improperly be called a continent, and has, because of its vast extent, been called the 'fifth quarter of the world,' we see how nearly primitive Christianity belts the globe in its new embrace of 'Southern Asia.' This history shows the extreme jealousy of the Baptists for the honor of Scripture as the revelation of Christ's will. For this they

have endured all their sufferings, each pain evincing their love to him and their zeal to maintain his will according to the Scriptures. It appears to be as true of error as it is of the truth itself, that a little leaven 'leavens the whole lump,' when once it comes into juxtaposition with the genuine meal and the fermenting process takes up one single particle. Every individual error which has crept into the Churches since the times of the Apostles is directly traceable to a perversion of Scripture, and generally corruption of doctrine has come by the misinterpretation of Scripture. In most cases the rise of divergence from the Bible sense can be traced not only to a change of manner, however slight, but also to that change at a given point of time, and from these they have run to the very opposite of Christ's teaching and example. A marked illustration of this is found in both the Christian ordinances. Take, for example, the Supper. Our Lord instituted it in the evening and after he and his disciples had eaten the roasted paschal lamb with bread and herbs. But as if for sheer contradiction of Christ, in the days of Cyprian and Augustine, the Churches came to the notion that the Supper should be forbidden in the evening and taken in the morning while fasting. The pretense was, that reverence for Ch