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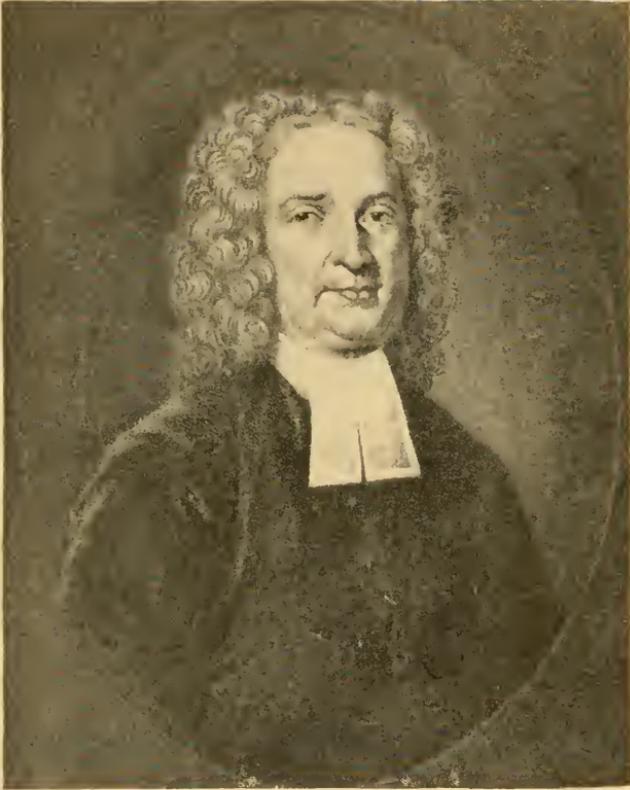
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JOHN COTTON.

CONGREGATIONALISTS

IN

AMERICA

*A POPULAR HISTORY OF THEIR ORIGIN, BELIEF,
POLITY, GROWTH AND WORK*

BY
REV. ALBERT E. DUNNING, D. D.

SPECIAL CHAPTERS BY

REV. JOSEPH E. ROY, D. D., ON CONGREGATIONAL WORK AND PROGRESS IN THE
WEST AND NORTHWEST ; REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, D. D., ON CONGRE-
GATIONALISTS AND THEIR YOUNG PEOPLE ; REV. HOWARD A.
BRIDGMAN, ON CONGREGATIONAL LITERATURE ;
AND REV. ALONZO H. QUINT, D. D.,
ON ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS

INTRODUCTIONS BY

REV. RICHARD S. STORRS, D. D., LL. D.
AND
MAJOR-GENERAL OLIVER O. HOWARD, LL. D.

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PREFACE.

THIS book is an attempt to tell the story of the rise of modern Congregationalism and its growth in America. It is prepared for busy pastors, Sunday-school teachers, Bible classes, Christian Endeavor societies and all others who wish to know what the Congregational denomination stands for, what it has done in this country, what it is fitted to do, and how it is related to the kingdom of God.

The chief difficulty in writing this book has been to condense into required limits the great amount of material which belongs in such a history, and at the same time to preserve a popular narrative form. Many important events and movements have been described only in the briefest outlines, which would have accumulated interest in proportion to the space given to them. Many things which must seem to many readers worthy of a place in this volume have of necessity been omitted. I have endeavored to make a continuous story of the Congregationalism of three hundred years, and my rule of selection has been to include the things which seem most essential to the continuity of the history. I have not allowed myself to take the space or to burden the pages with references in detail to authorities, though the temptation to do so was great. But I have not aimed to discuss controverted questions with students. The majority of readers have not at hand the authorities which might have been cited, nor do they usually take the pains to search for them; and this book is intended for popular use.

I have, however, taken care to verify these statements, and in doubtful matters to compare authorities and to consult where possible the best informed living witnesses. Nearly the entire volume has been read to and reviewed by Rev. Dr. A. H. Quint, who has, I believe, as thoroughly studied the history and working of Congregationalism as anyone now living. I should not have undertaken this work had he not felt compelled, after some months of consideration, to decline to do it, nor should I then have ventured on it but for the assurance of his co-operation. I am under great obligation to him for his valuable suggestions, and for his guidance to the best sources of information. I am glad also to express my obligations to many others whom I cannot name for lack of space, especially to presidents of colleges and secretaries of our benevolent societies. I cannot hope to have avoided all mistakes; but I shall be grateful to any who may call my attention to such errors as remain, that they may be corrected should a future edition be called for.

The question of illustrations, especially of portraits, has been a perplexing one. It is unfortunate that no pictures are to be found of some of the greatest heroes of the early history of Congregationalism. Who would not rejoice to look on the face of John Robinson, of Thomas Hooker, or of John Eliot? But they have left behind them no trace of lineaments or figure. A long list of worthies would seem to be entitled to place in the portrait gallery of this volume. But in the limitations which were found necessary, I have chosen those who have been conspicuous as pioneers in the advancing march of Congregationalism; and I have not felt at liberty to insert the portraits of any who are still living.

The special chapters have been written by men who will be recognized as authorities on the topics which have been assigned to them. Dr. Roy has been an important part of the history of the Northwest and of the South for more than thirty

years as a superintendent of missions. I know no man living who has been present at a larger number of National and State meetings and other notable gatherings of Congregationalists than he. Under his *nom de plume* of "Pilgrim," which he has signed to more than seven hundred letters published in various papers, he is known throughout the denomination. Rev. Dr. F. E. Clark is, as he always has been, a Congregationalist, though the great movement which originated with him has spread through all Protestant denominations and through the world. Rev. H. A. Bridgman, the managing editor of the *Congregationalist*, has made special investigations of the beginning and growth of Congregational periodical literature. Dr. A. H. Quint, the moderator of the last National Council, has been a prominent factor in every one of these assemblies, and is unsurpassed in his familiarity with Congregational usages and with every aspect of ecclesiastical councils. Some repetition has been unavoidable, because the same period has been considered by different writers; but not more, it is hoped, than the symmetry of each narrative required.

I have made no mention of doctrinal discussions which center around the higher criticism of the Bible, and which are rife in all denominations. Nor have I alluded to very recent controversies connected with the American Board and Andover Theological Seminary. It is quite uncertain as yet whether these matters will demand much space in the history of Congregationalism in the nineteenth century. At present no denomination is more harmonious than ours. May the Spirit of holiness, truth, peace and love always abide in it!

My reverence for the wisdom, faith, consecration and courage of the men and women who have labored in this branch of Christ's body for the advancement of His kingdom has constantly increased as I have further studied their characters and aims. In the noble company of many names, of those who have "through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteous-

ness, obtained promises," Congregationalists hold an honorable place. All those who share their name ought to know something of their principles and deeds. Every Congregationalist surely should be informed concerning the important facts of the history of his denomination. If I have succeeded in making these facts more accessible and interesting, my labors will have been amply rewarded; for by the truths which He taught, the redemption which He accomplished, and the companies of believers in whom He dwells by His Spirit, the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

A. E. Dunning.

BOSTON, *May* 15, 1894.

INTRODUCTION

By the Rev. RICHARD S. STORRS, D. D., LL. D.

IT is gratifying to know that the volume on Congregationalism has been prepared, and is to be published, to which the writer of these lines is asked to contribute a brief Introductory Note. A popular account of the principles and the history of Congregational churches should have its interest for all who know what such churches have done in the world, while it may naturally be expected to be specially welcome to those knowing more or less of the system, yet not fully informed as to its characteristics or as to their development in the past.

The present writer is by no means a prejudiced partisan for particular forms of practice commonly associated with this scheme of church-order. On the other hand he sees certain excellences in various other methods and forms of action, and could no doubt adjust himself to them if occasion required. But he has lived and worked in the Congregational fellowship during all the years of his Christian life, as his fathers had done for two centuries before, and his attachment to what he conceives to be distinctive in its principles is naturally strong. Perhaps, too, his testimony concerning this may not be weakened in force by the fact that it has in it the suggestions of experience; as one who has long lived in a house may fairly be sup-

posed to know more of its internal arrangements and fitnesses for use than an outside observer, who has seen only its walls, windows, gables, and chimney-tops. So he gladly consents to say a few words commending this volume to the attention of those to whom his name may be known.

The two fundamental principles in the Congregational scheme of the relation of churches to each other are obvious and familiar: First, that any permanent congregation of disciples, accepting God's revelation of himself in the Scriptures, and personally consecrated to Christ the Head, associating themselves, with their households, for the worship of God and the administration of Christian ordinances, constitutes a church; complete in itself, competent to elect and set apart its officers, to adopt its rules, to arrange its own forms of worship, and in general to manage its particular affairs in the way which shall seem to it best, under constant and reverent reference to the precept and guidance of the Heavenly King: Second, that every such church is bound to live in fellowship and communion, of faith, of spirit, and of work, with every other; to give to others aid and counsel when these are needed, to seek their fraternal aid and counsel when important action is to be taken by itself, or when differences of judgment and feeling arise within it, and fraternally to co-operate with them in all good works.

These two principles—the independence and autonomy, under Christ, of the local church, and the obligation of fellowship with others always resting upon it—are what give to Congregationalism its name, and

what impart to it any virtue which belongs to it as a scheme of general church-order. They have been well described as the two foci of its ellipse. They are the two responsive and regulating forces in its organic system. It is not "Independency," while it still looks askance on any comprehensive permanent organization in which the life of the local congregation is liable to be practically merged. Affiliated "churches"—not one all-embracing "Church," least of all, "The Church"—are what it finds in the New Testament, and what it seeks to reproduce wherever it prevails.

At the same time, in the relations to each other of the disciples associated in such churches it recognizes a normal equality of right and privilege, a real and effective brotherhood of believers, and estimates office as ministerial only, never as conveying endowment of prerogative. Character and wisdom are in its view the only proper conditions of influence, and the pastor himself is fitly a fellow-member with those of whom he should be also leader and guide. The notion of the dependence of church-life on any class of officers set over it, and supplying this life from superior heights, is as foreign to Congregationalism as would be the notion in society that household life and domestic harmony require to be conferred by official supervisors. From within outward, from beneath upward, is the law of the progress of life, in the spiritual as in the natural world. To try to reverse the process in churches is irrational in theory, and practically as dangerous, history shows, as an attempt to set the growing tree on its branches instead of its roots.

The Christian life in individual souls, and thus in the permanent societies which these form, is recognized as ingenerated by the Spirit of God, through the ministry of the truth, as that is set before men in the Scriptures, and as it has been substantially accepted and illustriously verified in the experience of faithful disciples in all evangelical communions. Congregationalism has, accordingly, no universal creed-form. It is not limited as to statements of the Faith by any human confessions or catechisms, however careful, however venerable. It gets large light from such, now as in the past; but it does not acknowledge in them any decisive and permanent law. The Bible is to it the living and perennial basis of the church; and it holds itself bound only by the Scriptures, and by the supreme instruction of the Lord. Yet the truth, thus apprehended in its simplicity and superlative majesty, has for those who honor and maintain this form of church-order continuing authority, and an inestimable importance. It is supremely valued as the Divine means by which, in God's grace, men are to be led into personal, affectionate and self-consecrating faith, toward the Redeemer and King of the world. Congregationalism is evangelical and practical. It never recognizes orthodox belief as enough in itself, though valuing this, and seeking to cherish and to distribute it. It never seeks simply to educate men's minds, to add polish to their manners, or to train them in social amenities and elegances. Its one aim is that through the truth, under the influence of God's Spirit, men shall be brought, in glad surrender of heart and life,

into fellowship with Christ, to become true members first of His church on earth, and then, immortally, of His Church Triumphant.

Of this transformation the truth is the instrument. Believing disciples form the church. Preaching, teaching, and godly living, are therefore the vehicles on which the Divine influence moves; and any theory of efficacious grace conveyed on sacraments, as the means of producing this interior essential life of the soul, is as remote from Congregationalism as would be a theory of vivifying star-dust to account for summer blooms and growths. The two Christian sacraments, of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are permanent and commanding in its churches; but they are signs and seals of faith, means of cherishing and renewing, not of imparting, spiritual life. It has no possible use or room for mechanical mediations or manual impositions to initiate the faith which cometh by hearing, and by the Word of God, under the silent but mighty impression of the Divine Spirit.

Congregationalism has always insisted, therefore, as it now does, on an educated ministry; a ministry rich in character, of course, fervent in zeal, of a believing temper, but also of instructed and trained power; a ministry able clearly to apprehend the truth, and earnestly and effectively to set this forth to men. It has built and endowed great institutes of learning—academic, collegiate, theological—to secure such a ministry; and on its success in accomplishing this, not on any skill in formulating confessions or church-rules, it depends for the furtherance of the cause

of the Master, so far as that is committed to its churches.

It is, as it always has been, constitutionally, a missionary system; seeking not so much to form churches of a particular name or order, at home or abroad, as to propagate the Gospel, by books, Bibles, earnest preaching, in our own land and in others: where the frontiersman has pushed his way into the wilderness; where the people of ancient lands want a light and hope which they do not find in ancestral philosophies or religions; or where the brutal savage grovels in his inherited filth and vice. The first missionary societies in this country, for either the home or the foreign field, sprang up among its churches. This work has always been nobly sustained by them, and has been widely effective.

Congregationalism may fairly claim to be, by its nature, a catholic system, in a sense and to a degree in which none surpasses it. It recognizes all assemblies of disciples holding the Head and permanently associated for His service as true churches, whether or not wearing its denominational name. If some of these churches prefer to be organized in Presbyterian fashion, with lay-elders and under supervision of a permanent church-court, that is their privilege. There were such churches in the earlier time, as there have been since; and their contributions have been vast to the culture and the progress of Christendom. If churches prefer to frame or to adopt a full liturgy for public worship, Congregationalism never questions their liberty to do so, though preferring in

its more immediate circles the freer forms which have for it ancestral commendation. If baptism by immersion, administered only to adult believers, seem to any the preferable way, nearest the New Testament pattern, the church-life continues in the congregations so ordered, and it is properly recognized as vigorous and useful. Even if congregations desire and elect Episcopal superintendence, it is according to the genius of this system that they should have it, though it must be hoped that their acceptance of it will not carry with it the conception of any peculiar Divine right in alleged successors of those Apostles whose very office, as Dean Alford emphatically said, "precluded the idea of succession or renewal," and that it will not lead to denial or forgetfulness of the great truth energetically set forth by Bishop Lightfoot, that "the only priests under the Gospel, designated as such in the New Testament, are the saints, the members of the Christian brotherhood," and that upon officers or ministers of the church "the sacerdotal title is never once conferred."

It certainly seems to those trained in Congregational principles that in this allowance of liberty to all local churches, concerning forms of worship and methods of organization and government, it closely approaches the New Testament examples, while in seeking a true spiritual unity, with no required outward uniformity of rule and rite, it is helping to realize the ideal of the Master, for which He wrought, suffered, and prayed—"that they all may be one: as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be

one in us." No apparent difference could conceivably have been greater than between the man of Nazareth and the Infinite Father, while they were eternally one in inmost life. Thus, as we conceive, the true unity of Christendom is finally to come: differences of administrations, diversities of operations, but the same Lord.

Of course, as all know, this particular scheme of church-order has from the first widely prevailed in New England. It seems germane to the liberal, practical, and truth-trusting spirit of the American people. Local self-control is with us a public policy. If democracy is legitimate anywhere it must be in the church. So churches and communicants of this order have been multiplied threefold in the recent half-century. A still more rapid visible progress may be expected in generations to come; while the principles which are vital and organic in the system have gone more widely than its special name, and are to-day more extensively shown than ever before, in practice if not in theoretical declaration, in all Protestant communions. In a true and large sense these principles, we are confident, have the future for their own.

The present volume, by Dr. Albert E. Dunning, which traces the history of Congregationalism, and elucidates its principles, ought to have wide circulation among intelligent and thoughtful Christians, here and abroad. I trust that the blessing of the great Head of all the churches will rest upon it!

Richard P. Storrs

INTRODUCTION

By Major-General OLIVER OTIS HOWARD, LL. D.

WHEN a young man, the writer of this introductory letter, soon after his conversion, found himself associated with strong advocates of the Episcopacy. His friends were decided Christian men of extensive reading and research; and for a time their arguments appeared to him to be strong and conclusive that "the true Church" was indeed a small one which by "apostolic succession" had come down to us through centuries without a break in the line of bishops. The writings of the Rev. Dr. Pusey and other like advocates were put into his hands. The impressions upon his mind and heart were so strong that not only did it seem for a while that bishops, priests and deacons were essential to the Church of Christ, but that other branches like the Presbyterians and Congregationalists were in error, and that their clergymen were not ordained ministers of Christ. Soon the arguments carried him on to the Roman Church, till he said to himself: "If the unbroken apostolic succession in the line of bishops is essential to the living Church, the Roman faith has precedence." Since then it has never seemed at all strange to him that so many of his friends who were high churchmen at last joined the Roman Catholic communion.

Further reading of the Scriptures, study and thought

brought the writer back to his proper home in the Congregational household, and there he was admitted and confirmed with his family. This is perhaps too personal for general reading, yet it may chance to influence and help some other searcher for the fold of Christ. It is no way claimed that the Episcopal divisions of the grand army of the Lord are not good and wise, and in that sense under special divine favor, but the grander truth may dawn upon a man's heart that our Lord is in all His branches and that "wisdom is justified of all her children." It takes all the instrumentalities to reach the nooks and corners of the world. But what would the writer not have given during his probation for such a historic compendium as this volume furnishes!

In these days an *Ism* is not of great moment; it is but an indication of the division lines in the hosts of the Lord—the hosts who are now on the march or already battling with the foes of truth and righteousness. But organization is important, and a Christian wants to feel that he belongs to one that is at least defensible. The author of this book, a review of all the divisions from the apostles' time till now, showing the origin of the Congregational polity in the earliest period, and following it through the ages without prolixity, with comprehensive clearness and with explicit and full statements of facts, *pro* and *con*, has done a great work. Perhaps a little sectarian spirit could be detected in some of his pages by some old-fashioned Christian—some follower of John Knox or John Wesley. He rather feels that our *Ism* is the real Church, and that the others have somehow departed from the original simplicity of organization

and worship. Once a gentleman, member of a Congregational church out West, was walking to a Congregational house of worship with a lady, an ardent Episcopalian. She tried to show him the superiority of the Episcopal service to any other, and also how far short the other came of the true faith. The gentleman replied as they entered the vestibule: "All right; perhaps yours is better than mine as you claim, but this one, dear madam, is mine! Your home may be nicer than ours, yet ours is ours!" So we detect little harm present or prospective in an author who clings with some fervor to a hearty description of his own household of work and worship, and who is able to trace the pedigree of his family connection to the very fountain-head. The readers of this book will particularly enjoy the history of the Congregational churches of New England, where the rigid and liberal interpreters of Holy Writ are all given a fair exhibit. The causes of the Pilgrim leaving England; the sojourn in Holland; his arrival in America; his faith and purpose and trial on New England's shores—no descendant of his is ever averse to the story of these things, and here, though an old one, it is told concisely and well. It will hereafter become a text for the jovial and eloquent speakers at the yearly anniversaries of New England societies which gather in all our great towns from Boston to San Francisco.

Our youth cannot be made too familiar with the actual foundation of our civil government, arranged for on board the "Mayflower," but secured at Plymouth, Mass.; a government of the people, where the flag, an emblem of the people's sovereignty, forever ensures a free Church. The church that best assim-

ilates that government of republican form and order is very near and dear to patriotic hearts.

The chapter on growth and expansion, taking us to Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, and Virginia, is of marked interest. Who does not want to know more about Roger Williams, John Eliot and the Indian missions? An early Congregational church in Virginia, and its transference to Maryland, and what came of it; the Virginia churches of our order can trace their regular succession after a lapse; and Washington Congregationalists will take on new courage and vigor, and push on to extend their simple methods of formal ordination to cover unoccupied fields of the South. Baptists in the South, who at bottom are usually good Congregationalists, will read with avidity a history which strengthens their claim in that region to divide with our Methodist brothers their call to all races of men.

One gets into the valleys and shadows of things when he sees "Halfway Covenants," troubles with Quakers, times of cleavage, religious declension, differences with Episcopalians, witchcraft delusion; but if of "Orthodox blood" he must have a degree of satisfaction to answer soberly the laughings of Oliver Wendell Holmes and other humoristic reformers. Here with some shiverings while in the bottom of the chasms he can pick up the facts; one should want nothing better!

At Key West, Fla., the writer of this article recently found two plants that greatly interested him. One was an East Indian tree, called the banyan, and the other was a new Congregational church. To his mind there are in general many points of resemblance;

there is a center tree; there are also other smaller trees, quite independent in their growth, which rise from the ground, and more little trees still that start from wide-spreading branches, and grow down till they touch the earth; there they root themselves. All these up and down growths keep increasing in number and size till they finally become one immense tree. There at Key West came the Congregational home missionary. He found a few Christians scattered about that place who wanted some fellowship and a house of worship. He explained to them the Congregational polity as he understood it, and showed them the ordinary expressions of faith that our people adopt. A church was founded, and by the help of the Home Missionary Society, a church was organized, and a house of worship erected. Outside were independent growths, bands associated for prayer, Sunday schools, shoots thrown off from other churches from one cause and another. All these began to group around the original plant which the missionary had nourished. New converts then came from the church and its accessories. The apparently independent growths coming from the ground were brought nearer and made more homogeneous by the converts who seemed to spring from branches and other growths, till they secured their own bases, filled up the spaces and made a strong central, yet wide-spreading tree.

It was a Banyan Church also that we planted at Washington in 1865. It was a worrisome and sometimes exasperating concern at first, in its make up. It took beggings and pleadings to secure money enough to build a meeting-house. It took *ex-parte* councils and general councils and much fostering care to get it

well-rooted. Offshoots in time there were ; several in Washington and in the District of Columbia, and several more in the bordering States ! They were seeming rivals and wondrously independent. But by the common sap of God's Spirit the central trunk has become at last large and thriving, and all the rootlets are now united by a large annual conference where fellowship so prevails as to suggest the likeness of one great tree.

We cannot maintain very well that our order is the best of all. Our brethren of other communions see in us many weaknesses. The independence of the individual church every home-born and home-bred Congregational believer insists on as a *sine qua non*. How can heresy and schism be prevented where there is no authority beyond the individual church ? "Look," they say, "there went off from you the Baptists, then the Unitarians ! They all preserve your methods, so that now there are three bodies instead of one. You cannot even maintain a uniform creed !"

Are you sure, brethren, that it is necessary to Christ's kingdom to keep solidly to one trunk of opinions on all topics ? If so, Christ's Church is and ever will be a huge failure.

Again they aver that for the most part we have a double-headed system—a church and a society to take care of the individual church. Surely there is no harm in this arrangement where it is expedient to have a society for holding and managing property ; but this society is not essential to any church, Congregational or other, but merely a way of doing business through a competent agent, the society being the agent. Again the old proverb is quoted against our Congregational

efficiency, namely: "What is everybody's business is nobody's business." This is never fair to us, for all democratic bodies work through chosen committees or agents, so that very little work is done directly by the whole body. But we must not be betrayed into a prolonged discussion which is not at all profitable.

Any Christian church of any communion is efficient enough if its individual members have in their individual hearts the spirit of the Master, and by the spur of His presence do the best they can to live like Him and carry out His injunctions. The larger the individual liberty, in co-partnership with the Lord's Spirit, the better. The larger the liberty of the individual church in similar co-partnership, the better for its healthful and effective growth and undertakings.

The Congregational history before us gives us in graphic and acceptable shape the best defense of our polity that I have seen. Let us ever be considered a part and parcel of the army of Christ! We have our distinctive flag; our division is known by the other communions, for we are in the field of enterprising work. We go to all climes and to all peoples alongside of Presbyterians and Episcopalians. We have like them our conflicts within and without; but we do try to always keep unfurled to the breeze the great common banner of our Lord, on which is inscribed: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."

This banner shows to all Christians and to all opposers that, whether in the ranks or in the skirmish or on the picket-line, we do belong to the army of the Lord, our Saviour, and are determined to bear our part in the great contest of truth against error, for

right against wrong, for the spread of light and knowledge and for the salvation of human souls.

All the methods of all communions working together with one Saviour, one faith and one baptism of the spirit, are best of all. But each individual church must perform its functions, as each individual man and woman and child must perform the individual part. We do not want to be in error nor be deceived. "But being sincere, in love grow up unto Him in all things who is the head, even Christ: from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted, by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love."

In the hope of promoting to some degree the largest charity, we join our brethren in offering to Christian people and honest seekers after knowledge this book which the author has so diligently, faithfully and acceptably prepared.

Oliver Otis Howard

Major-General, U. S. A.

GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, N. Y., *May 15, 1894.*

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The Congregational Library, in the Congregational House, Boston, is of great value, especially as the storehouse of local histories of churches and communities, the records of our benevolent institutions, schools and colleges, and of local and State organizations of churches. I am much indebted to the librarian, Dr. W. H. Cobb, and to his competent assistant, Miss Mary E. Stone, for placing in my hands literature which would otherwise have been inaccessible to me in preparing this volume. Loyal Congregationalists should see that historical sermons and other documents, and books of value to the denomination, find their way to the shelves of this library.

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CONGREGATIONALISTS IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

APOSTOLIC CONGREGATIONALISM.

JESUS CHRIST in His ministry on the earth did not directly organize the visible church. But the principles of His teaching imperatively resulted in the establishment of church order.

He chose and appointed twelve disciples to be with Him, and He invited all who would accept His teaching and do His will to follow Him. He taught them simple and great principles, and showed them by His example how to realize these principles in their lives. He declared that He came into the world to establish a kingdom which should continue forever; that the way to enter into it was to repent of sin and to accept Him as Saviour and Lord. He taught that everyone who loved Him would obey His words, and that into every obedient soul God would by His Spirit enter to abide and rule there. He laid down the law of the kingdom as supreme love to God and love to one's neighbor as to himself. He taught that the kingdom began in renewed lives, and that it was to manifest itself in the gathering together of renewed persons in

the fellowship of spiritual love and obedience to Him ; and He promised to be present in every such company of His disciples. Such an association of believers naturally became a Christian church.

Christ showed His disciples how the kingdom was to grow—by the Father's providential care over them, by their fellowship with Him and with one another in prayer and service, and by the work in and through them of the Holy Spirit whom He promised to send to them. He told them that He was to give Himself to die as a ransom for many, for the remission of their sins ; that He would rise from the dead, the Redeemer and the Judge of mankind, and that the issues of the judgment would be eternal life and eternal punishment. These are Christ's doctrines, and these doctrines the churches of Christ believe and proclaim to the world as the gospel.

Only twice, so far as His words are recorded, did Christ mention the church by name. When He first revealed to His disciples that he was looking forward to his sufferings and death at the hands of His own nation He led them to confess whom they believed Him to be ; and when Peter, speaking for them all, declared, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," Jesus said that this was not merely a human opinion nor a fact based on human knowledge only, but that it was a revelation from His Father ; and He added : "And I also say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Here He declared the basis on which His church is founded, and the means by which it spreads through the world. The church of Christ is neither built upon a man nor upon a creed, but upon living disciples of Christ confessing

and proclaiming Him as the Son of the living God, because that fact has been revealed in them from His Father through the Holy Spirit. So the apostle to the Gentiles understood this statement of Christ when He wrote to them that they were "built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the chief corner stone." But Christ gave to no man or men pre-eminence in His church. He said to His disciples, who had asked that they might rank above others: "Ye know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. *Not so shall it be among you.*" He constantly taught them that the only pre-eminence they were to seek must be in the line of the greatest service. By precept and example and object lesson He impressed on them this law: "Whosoever would be first among you shall be your bondservant." He alone is Lord and Master. All His disciples are brethren. This is the fundamental principle of Christian fellowship in Congregational churches.

On one other occasion He mentioned the church. It was in connection with one of His solemn lessons to His disciples, warning them not to aspire to hold authority where all are brethren. After He had answered their question, "Who then is greatest in the kingdom of Heaven?" by placing a little child before them, and earnestly assuring them that unless they turned away from their ambition for higher places than others and became like that little child, they should not enter into the kingdom at all, He talked to them of His love for weak disciples who were going astray. He told them that if one should be wronged by another, he ought to go to his erring brother and show him his

fault ; that if that step failed, he should go with one or two others and try again ; that if the brother still refused to listen to them, they should tell it to the church—which is the congregation of believers—and that if he should refuse to hear the church they should withdraw fellowship from him. This action, He declared, would be confirmed in heaven. He concluded by intimating what a church is in these words : “ For where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them.” Thus He stated the fundamental principle of the government of a church of Christ, and Congregationalists accept and follow it.

When Christ had so taught His disciples, had suffered and died on the cross, and had risen from the dead, He assured them that all power was given to Him in heaven and on earth ; and on that ground He commanded them to make disciples of all the nations, to baptize them into the one name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and to teach them all they had learned from Him. Then, having promised to be always with them, He disappeared from their sight.

The first important step taken afterward by the disciples, about one hundred and twenty in all, was to choose one to be an apostle in place of Judas. This was done by the whole congregation, as Congregationalists now manage the business of the church. Peter made the motion, which was agreed to, that the vacancy should be filled. The disciples chose two of their members as candidates. Then, having united in prayer, they drew lots between the two ; and the lot falling on Matthias, he was counted with the other apostles, thus completing the number of twelve. If we had not the Revised Version of the New Testament, it

would be necessary to explain here that Peter's quotation from the 109th Psalm, "His bishopric let another take," does not refer to an episcopal office. The correct rendering, "His office let another take" [*margin, overseership*] is given in the Revised Version which, in a number of instances, corrects the mistakes into which the translators of the King James version naturally fell, of representing the organization of the apostolic churches as conformed to the Episcopal Church of which these translators were officers.

The disciples waited in Jerusalem for some token from their Master to show them how and where He would have them begin His work. In about ten days the sign came. The first Christian church was formed in that city on the day of Pentecost, about seven weeks after the crucifixion. It was the model according to which all Congregational churches are formed. The word church, or *ecclesia*, means a given assembly or congregation of believers.

The first sign of the beginning of a new church was a sound like a rushing mighty wind in the unstirred air of the room where the disciples were sitting. The next was a vision of flaming tongues like halos of light. These were not given to the apostles alone, but appeared on every one of the disciples. Then came an outburst of praises to God in many languages, from the entire assembly. As the harmony of diverse tongues swelled into a mighty chorus, the crowd gathered, amazed to see a company of Galileans so uttering praises to God that strangers from every land heard in their own tongues the mighty works of God.

Then the twelve apostles stood up together, and Peter preached to the multitude. He wore no priest's

robes. He needed no altar or candles. The altar to which he pointed was the cross, which seven weeks before had stood not far from that very place, and the flaming tongue on his head was beyond comparison with any earthly illumination. He needed no choir. Every disciple sang, and everybody in the audience heard the music in his own language wherein he was born. It was music for the masses.

His sermon was simple. He began by answering the question which absorbed the thought of the audience—"What meaneth this?" Some had already undertaken to answer it by saying "They are filled with new wine." He met that sneer at the outset by pointing back to the ancient prophets, selecting a magnificent text from Joel. *This*, he said, to which honest inquirers can give no name, and which mockers call intoxication, is the power of the Holy Spirit foretold by prophets. *This*, which you see in these flaming tongues and hear in these many languages declaring the mighty works of God—*this* is poured forth by Jesus of Nazareth, who wrought wonders among you by the power of God, as you well know, whom you crucified. "This Jesus did God raise up, whereof we all are witnesses." This power of the Holy Spirit Jesus received from God His Father, and is now shedding forth upon us, said the apostle. That was the doctrine. "Repent ye and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." That was the application.

There we first find the concrete, visible Christian church. About three thousand were added to the one hundred and twenty original members that very day. There was no confirmation of them by a bishop. No

presbytery met to decide on their claims to form a church. No presiding elder appointed their minister. The only condition of membership was that each should be a living stone in the new structure. The only evidences of it which were required were repentance from sin, supreme loyalty to Jesus Christ, the gift of the Holy Spirit and the fellowship of believers.

The first church was a Congregational church, a spiritual democracy with Christian character for its basis—character begun and nurtured by union with Jesus Christ, character royal in itself and owning no superior on earth, having one Master and all being brethren. The exercises of the new church were regular attendance on the apostles' teaching, regular prayer meetings, regular observance of the Lord's Supper and generous contributions for the needs of the church and its poor.

Four or five years later the new church at Jerusalem had grown to be so large that the twelve apostles found themselves unable to look after the poor. It included not only natives of Jerusalem, but many foreign Jews living there. These different classes naturally had jealous feelings toward each other, and the foreigners began to complain that their widows did not get their share in the daily distribution of alms. To settle this difficulty the apostles called the whole church together, and declaring that they could not turn from their business of preaching and teaching the word of God to look after temporal affairs, asked that the brethren would elect seven men from among them to take care of the poor. All were pleased with this suggestion and chose seven devout men, who, though Jews, appear to have been themselves foreigners, whom

the disciples brought forward in the meeting to the twelve apostles. The apostles led the church in prayer and then laid their hands on the seven and set them apart for the "ministration," or *diakonia* as it is called in the Greek. Thus, by the action and choice of all the members, in the usual Congregational way, the order of deacons was instituted, one of the two permanent orders in the Congregational churches.

These seven deacons quickly began to enlarge their work beyond that for which they were elected, with the approval of all. Some of them, especially Stephen and Philip, soon came to surpass the apostles as preachers. Stephen wrought great wonders and signs among the people. He met in their synagogues the Jews of several foreign provinces and vanquished them in debate, proving that Jesus was the Messiah foretold in the Scriptures. Finally, as they could not overcome him by argument, they took the uncongregational way of silencing him which the church under the control of a hierarchy has employed so often throughout its entire history. They killed him. Less than two years after his election as deacon he became a martyr by being stoned to death.

Stephen's death, and the persecutions which followed, led by Saul, a foreign Jew from Cilicia, did great service to the young church, for it drove the disciples out of Jerusalem into the other cities and villages of Judea and into Samaria. Philip preached with great success in the city of Samaria, and the news of the wonderful revival there came to the apostles, who had remained in Jerusalem. They sent Peter and John to help Philip, and there again the Holy Spirit came upon all the believers, who had been baptized already, not by

the apostles but by Deacon Philip or by laymen who labored with him. Thus another church was organized, again Congregational, the precursor of many churches in the Samaritan villages.

About three years later Peter, by direction of the Holy Spirit, preached the gospel to a large audience in the house of a Roman officer at Joppa, and his preaching was accompanied by the same signs which had signaled the formation of the first church in Jerusalem. Unable to resist these evidences of divine approval, he gave instructions to those with him, probably to the six brethren who came down from Cesarea, to baptize these Gentile believers, who had never been circumcised, in the name of Jesus Christ. Thus another church was formed in the house of Cornelius, this time as heretofore, Congregational, but of persons hitherto supposed to be outside of and beyond the favor of God.

This was a very serious step for Peter to take, and it aroused surprise and indignation in the church at Jerusalem. When he returned to the brethren, they charged him with violating important principles of their faith. He was not arraigned before a company of bishops nor before the apostles only, but the apostles and brethren together challenged him to explain his conduct to the whole church of which he was a member. He did this so convincingly that they all agreed that he had done right, and they unanimously adopted this new article of faith, which eventually changed the whole spirit and manner of their work: "To the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life." Thus by a method now everywhere recognized as Congregational, the churches grew in their knowledge of Christian doctrine.

Many of the disciples, driven from Jerusalem by the persecution, went beyond the bounds of Palestine, probably in search of work and of homes where they could live in peace. But wherever they went, they told to their fellow Jews the story of Jesus, His resurrection and His promise to establish among men the Kingdom of God. Some of these new disciples were foreigners by birth, some having been born in the island of Cyprus, and others in Cyrene, a city of Northern Africa. Both places were centers of Greek life. When, therefore, these men came to Antioch, which had been the capital of the Greek kings of Syria before it was conquered by the Romans, they told the story of Jesus to the Greeks there as well as to Jews. Nicolas, one of the seven deacons who had been appointed at Jerusalem, belonged in Antioch, and he was probably one of those who preached there. Great interest was awakened, and a new church was formed, containing many Gentiles. It was now about ten years since the first church began at Jerusalem. Antioch was about three hundred miles north of that city, a long journey at that time, but news of this first Gentile church came to Jerusalem, and the church there sent one of its members, Joseph Barnabas, a landowner and a liberal giver, to see what was going on at Antioch. After preaching there a while with large success in building up the church, he determined to seek a helper. He remembered that that Saul who had been prominent as a persecutor when Deacon Stephen was stoned had since been converted to Christ, and had called on him four or five years before in Jerusalem. He knew that Saul's home was in Tarsus, and there he found him. They returned together to Antioch. There they

labored, two evangelists, neither of them ordained by any church, only one of them with any credentials from a church, for a whole year. The church at Antioch grew fast. Before that, all the disciples having been Jews had been known as followers of the Way, to distinguish them from other Jews. But now, as many were Gentiles, they all began to be called in Antioch by a new name, Christians. There were no different denominations as yet, for each church managed its own affairs and chose its own officers, as Congregational churches now do.

The Antioch Christians soon began to be interested in those outside of their own membership. They heard of much suffering among the Christians in Judea, and though these persons were strangers to them, they decided of their own motion to send to them a generous sum of money. This they did, forwarding it by Barnabas and Saul. These brethren, when they returned from Jerusalem, brought with them John Mark.

Already five persons had become recognized in the church at Antioch as prophets and teachers; not, so far as we can learn, by any formal ordination, but because of their gifts and labors. Their names were Joseph Barnabas, Symeon Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen, foster brother of the tetrarch Herod, and Saul. These brethren were drawn together in their work and prayers, and became greatly interested in carrying the gospel to those who had not yet heard of it, so fulfilling the last command of Jesus. After a time they so stirred up the members of the church in its zeal for missions that, led by the Holy Spirit, they chose Barnabas and Saul to go as missionaries. Then for

the first time, though they had been preaching for some years, these two disciples were formally set apart by the laying on of hands, not by the apostles, but by the brethren of that church, and they went forth on their journey, taking John Mark with them, no doubt provided with necessary funds by the church. This was the beginning of foreign missions, a movement started by a church self-formed, as Congregational churches now are, and largely made up of converted heathen. The church ordained and supported its own missionaries without even consultation with other churches, and they went forth to preach where the Spirit should lead them.

They had a wonderful experience in Asia Minor, going from place to place, preaching the gospel and gathering believers into churches. In each church, elders, sometimes called pastors, were chosen by vote, and installed with prayer and fasting, and after a year or more of these labors, Paul and Barnabas came back to Antioch, where they told to the church which had sent them out the story of their mission, and how God had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles.

Here they remained for a year or more, when some of the Jewish Christians from Judea came to Antioch and began to preach that it was necessary for the Gentiles to become Jews, else they could not be Christians, and that the labors of Paul and Barnabas would count for nothing because they had not circumcised the converts from heathendom and taught them to obey the law of Moses. Naturally the missionaries were indignant at this teaching and vigorously fought it, till the dissension became so great that it threatened to divide the church. Then they took the Congrega-

tional way of settling the difficulty. The church chose several delegates, among whom were Paul and Barnabas, and sent them up to Jerusalem to inquire of the apostles, and the elders, sometimes called pastors, concerning this matter. They did not contemplate any authority in the mother church. They disputed the testimony of its members who had come among them. They evidently acknowledged no officer as having authority over them, but they sought counsel, just as Congregational churches now do. A council was called: the apostles and pastors came together and the subject was thoroughly discussed. Finally the whole church agreed to sustain Paul and Barnabas in the position they had taken. The apostles did not go down to Antioch to instruct that church what to believe, but the whole church elected two of the brethren and sent them with Paul and Barnabas to tell the brethren at Antioch that according to their judgment, guided by the Holy Spirit, it was not necessary for heathen converts to become Jews. They only urged that all Christians should abstain from things offered to idols, from blood, from things strangled, and from fornication.

The last of these requirements was one of common morality. The advice as to the others was not accepted as law. When the question concerning things offered to idols came up a few years later in the churches at Corinth and Rome, and was referred to Paul, he did not quote the decision of the Jerusalem Council as authority, but taught them to live according to the law of Christ, to love their neighbors as themselves, and to treat things offered to idols as the law of Christ, under the circumstances in which they were placed, would dic-

tate. Thus the Congregational principle of fellowship between the churches was recognized and acted on. Each church governed itself, but they united in counsel concerning matters of common interest, and they had sufficient evidence that the Holy Spirit guided their deliberations.

Paul and Barnabas, with the delegates from Jerusalem, returned to Antioch, where they all assured the brethren of the approval of the Christians in Judea, and confirmed them in their faith that simply by trusting and following Jesus Christ, without keeping the law of Moses, they would be saved. Peter, indeed, came down to Antioch, and being afraid of the Jews, went over to the Jewish party and acted inconsistently with the result of the council at Jerusalem, which he had himself advocated. He had so much influence that he carried with him the Jewish Christians, and even Barnabas also. A division in the church again seemed imminent, and if it had occurred would have been disastrous, making two opposing sects following the same Master, one of Jews and the other of Gentiles. But Paul prevented the division, as he afterward wrote to the Galatians, not by referring to the action at Jerusalem as authoritative, but by proving Peter to be inconsistent with his own practice, and by urging upon both parties the fundamental truth of the gospel, that whether Jews or Gentiles they were saved through faith in Jesus Christ and through Him alone. Two things are also made plain here: first, that Peter was wrong in his judgment, and second, that neither Paul nor the other brethren had any idea that Peter was the head of the Church. In no way could the sufficiency of the local church have been more completely shown.

Some time after this Paul, with Silas, began that wonderful mission of some two years in Europe, where he planted churches in Philippi, Berea, Thessalonica, Corinth and other cities, and where were worked out many of the principles of church government described in his letters to them. In September of the year 53 Paul returned to Antioch, where he remained for some months. Early in the year 54 he set out on his third missionary journey, which continued for more than four years. During this time he visited the churches in Asia Minor and in Greece, planting new ones, and writing his letters to the Corinthians, Romans and Galatians. This is the last record in the book of the Acts concerning the organization of churches, though Paul labored for two years with the church at Rome while he was imprisoned there, and wrote letters to churches and individuals which are now a part of the New Testament scriptures.

These letters to the churches are addressed to the brethren, never to the officials by themselves, and wherever outward organizations are referred to, the plural form is used. We find no reference to Presbyterian organization bringing collections of churches into one authoritative body. These letters give direction to the churches to govern themselves in the Congregational way. The church is compared to a human body with different members, but all to receive equal honor. The brethren are told that they have in their own hands the power of discipline, "to admonish one another." They are exhorted in lowliness of mind to let each account others above himself. They are assured that when a man seeks to exalt himself, "he deceives himself with vain imaginations." In matters of discipline,

it is the brethren, the whole membership, who take action. Paul instructs the brethren at Thessalonica to withdraw themselves from disorderly persons. He tells the Corinthian brethren that when they voted in public assembly to discipline an offending member, they reflected his judgment also; and in a later letter he tells them that their sentence, voted by the majority, was a sufficient punishment. This was Congregational church government.

In Paul's letters, as in the other epistles, only two orders of church officers are mentioned, pastors and deacons. The first class are called bishops, elders, pastors, or teachers, the word bishop meaning simply overseer. These names are not applied to distinctions in office, but have reference to varieties in the kind of work performed by the same man. These officers were sometimes settled with local churches, and sometimes labored at large, but never had any diocese of churches under their control or formed part of a ruling body. When elders were elected more than one was chosen in a given local church. Paul told the elders of the church at Ephesus that the Holy Spirit had made them bishops of that flock. They were ministers in that local church.

The apostles themselves exercised the authority of those who had learned the truth from Christ's own lips and received their commission direct from Him to baptize and teach the nations. They were originally twelve, and after Christ left them to complete His work, they only filled the one vacancy caused by the apostasy of Judas. There is no evidence that when any other apostle died a successor was appointed. It was their business to be witnesses of Christ's resurrection. Paul

claimed apostleship not by election of the brethren but because he had seen the Lord. When the apostles died their office ceased. Apostleship in any other connection simply describes a sending for service and has no connection with the office. The apostles directed the infant churches of their planting much as home missionary superintendents among Congregationalists now oversee the affairs of churches dependent for early nurture on the home missionary organizations which these superintendents represent. They taught the churches self-government and the principles and methods of administration which prevail in Congregational churches.

This was the condition of the churches of Christ at the close of the apostolic history in the New Testament. The history of the beginning of organized Christianity is simple, straightforward and natural. The apostles and other disciples proclaimed Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah foretold by the prophets. They told how he went about doing good, working miracles and declaring himself to be the manifestation of God the Father. They repeated what He had taught to them. They told of His death on the cross, His resurrection from the dead, His promise of eternal life to His followers and of the Holy Spirit to enter and dwell in them. They declared that no man could bear witness to Jesus as his Master except in the Holy Spirit; and they invited everyone to repent of his sins and believe on Jesus as the Messiah and his Lord, promising to all who would accept their invitation the gift of the Holy Spirit. Those who became believers associated themselves together by divine guidance, drawn by a common love and service to one Lord;

and each company of believers became a true church of Christ, complete in itself. These believers chose the most gifted among them to instruct them and to manage as their servants the affairs of the communities thus formed. Those so chosen administered baptism to new members and their households, and partook together with them of the Lord's Supper. They held meetings for worship, mutual encouragement and instruction, and the day fixed on from the beginning as most suited for these exercises was that day, the first of the week, on which their Lord had risen from the dead, which they called the Lord's Day.

In this way, then, churches sprang up. No careful outline for their organization was revealed by Christ, or conceived by His apostles. They came into being as Christians found themselves drawn to one another by common love and service to one Lord, and as they were led by the Holy Spirit to feel that in such fellowship they could best express their inward union and best fulfill the purpose for which they represented their Lord in the world.

The result of this divine process of organization was Congregationalism, a church government which is a theocratic democracy. Its motto is "One is your Master, even the Christ; and all ye are brethren."

With wonderful rapidity in the first centuries of the Christian era these churches multiplied, spreading from province to province and country to country till the gospel of Christ became known in every part of the great Roman Empire, which included the whole known world.

CHAPTER II.

APOSTOLIC CONGREGATIONALISM REVIVED IN LATER TIMES.

IT is not within the province of this history to trace the process by which local churches of the first century gradually surrendered their independence and came under the control of powerful leaders, till at last the episcopal idea of church government became fully developed. One bishop, as father or pope of all, claimed and received supreme authority as the vicerent of Christ on earth, having under him bishops with subordinate officers in their dioceses, making the church a mighty organization contending with and often absolutely controlling human governments, exercising, with the infliction of pains and penalties, jurisdiction over the consciences of Christians throughout the world.

From the time when Christianity became the dominant religion of the Roman Empire by the conversion of Constantine, A. D. 312, and even before that date, there were Christians who resisted unto death the attempts of human authority to take the place of Christ over their consciences. Century after century such Christians united in organizations for the avowed purpose either of purifying the existing church or of planting new and pure churches of Christ in the world. One name, though in different languages, came to be applied to these successive sects, which in English is

the word Puritan, signifying that they sought to make the body of Christ on earth pure from moral defilement, and that they believed themselves called to resist centralized authority, to point out and denounce the sins of the church, and to withdraw from those who continued in these sins. In the third century were the Novatians, who separated from the church at Rome and assumed the name Cathari, which means the pure. In the fourth century were the Donatists in Northern Africa. In the seventh century arose the Paulicians, who continued in Asia Minor and in Southern Europe, sometimes in large numbers, for more than four hundred years. The Waldenses and Albigenses were the natural successors of the Paulicians, and their descendants remain to this day. The most that we know of the religious movements which these names represent we have to learn from their enemies, for the Catholic Church, as it gained power and became Roman and fostered the ambitions of its popes and other leaders, pursued relentlessly those who criticised it and who renounced its authority. Their writings were burned, they were themselves cast into prison, tortured and put to death. Sometimes they were killed by thousands, while survivors were driven into wildernesses and mountain fastnesses with the purpose to exterminate them. The student of history finds no records of conflicts so bitter, of carnage so awful, as those waged in the name of religion.

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 drove many scholars westward from that city to find homes in Italy, the German States and France. The revival of learning which followed, and which was in those countries wonderfully stimulated by the invention of printing,

was accompanied by a new interest in the study of the Bible and a religious quickening which led to the Reformation. The leaders of that movement threw off the yoke of Rome and turned to the Holy Scriptures as the one supreme and sufficient source of authority in religion. Their interest, however, centered in the Word of God as revealing doctrine and life, and did not greatly extend to its teachings of church government. They allied themselves, and the churches they formed, with the civil governments under which they lived.

In England, in 1380, one hundred and forty years before Martin Luther nailed his theses on the church door in Wittenberg, Wycliffe proclaimed that the Bible was an all-sufficient guide, not only in religious faith and duty, but in all matters of ecclesiastical order also. He insisted on the necessity of personal piety to true church membership, rejected altogether episcopal confirmation with the authority of the pope and papal officers, declared that Christ is the only head of the church, and that the office of the minister is simply to preach the gospel. He taught that the New Testament is the sufficient guide in church government.

For adopting these Congregational principles and other teachings of that great reformer of the fourteenth century, a long roll of martyrs in England for two hundred years suffered at the hands of the church, endured loss of property and social standing, imprisonment, indignities of many kinds, torture and death on the gallows or at the stake. The history of the Lollards, who embraced the doctrines of Wycliffe, though the records of them are scanty, is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Chris-

tian church. It is impossible to read the simple story of so many brave men and women suffering the loss of all things and freely giving up life itself rather than deny their faith, without the conviction that the religious liberty which we enjoy has been bought at a great price, and that the roots of our churches reach down deep and far into the life-blood of generations of noble servants of Christ of whom the world was not worthy.

When England under Henry VIII., in 1534, threw off the yoke of Rome, she had no idea of permitting men to follow the dictates of their consciences in worshipping God. The church was still essentially united with the state to control all its subjects, though the sovereign took the place of the pope.

The king secured the consent of Parliament to call himself, under Christ, the supreme head of the church, and the clergy in convocation had to acknowledge his supremacy. He confiscated the property of the monasteries, but not for the good of the people. He divided the wealth he took among his nobles and other friends. Following him, Edward VI. gave encouragement to hope for prosperity to Protestant churches. But his short reign was followed by the five years' blot of Mary's rule, which was one continuous blood-stain on England's history. When Elizabeth came to the throne she made permanent the reformation of the church, as it was called, by assuming for herself and her lords the appointment of the clergy to their livings, and by claiming, as head of the church, the unlimited superintendence of the religion of the people. Dr. Leonard Bacon has well characterized her as a petticoated pope.

But she had two opposing classes in the one national church to hold in outward unity besides the larger class who accepted without question the new order. The first of these, naturally conservative, looked with regret on the changes which desolated the monasteries and separated the church from the great papal body. The other class were Lollards and those who sympathized with them, the most of whom, however, sought, not to separate themselves from the national church, but to reform it more thoroughly: to purify its clergy, its membership, its forms of worship, and its ordinances. These came to be known as Puritans. This was the origin of English Puritanism. They wanted the authority of the state to be exercised in reforming the church.

Elizabeth sought to hold in control these opposing elements by the enforcement of two famous acts which Parliament passed in the beginning of her reign. The first was the Act of Supremacy, which separated the Church of England from the papal see. This act empowered the Queen to establish a High Commission, or supreme ecclesiastical court, consisting of forty-four persons appointed by herself. To this court those accused of crimes against the church might appeal, but its decision was final, and it was practically that of the Queen herself. Every person in England was amenable to the ecclesiastical courts. The church, therefore, with the sovereign at the head, held as absolute authority over all the people in all spiritual matters as did the state in temporal matters. There was, however, a limit to the power of the ecclesiastical courts in imposing punishments. They could not inflict the death penalty. That must be pronounced by a secular court.

The second act was known as the Act of Uniformity, which compelled the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the ritual contained in it, by every minister and in every religious assembly. On one side were royal power and prestige, supported by the traditions of centuries in favor of the established church, with its prescribed orders of bishops, priests and other clergy, its fixed forms of worship, and its sacraments of baptism, confirmation, the Lord's Supper, marriage, death and burial, encompassing every person in the realm; on the other side the obstinate consciences of men and women stimulated by the sense of injustice, by heavy fines, imprisonments and degrading punishments, and by the memory of recent burnings and hangings of many godly men and women. It was to be expected that such persons would question the divine authority of a church which sought to impose laws and forms which their consciences repudiated, and would search the Word of God to see if it contained any warrant for such compulsion. Some of those who resisted were men of great learning and eloquence. Foremost among them was Thomas Cartwright, a professor in the University of Cambridge, who, as early as 1570, began in his lectures to point out the differences between the government of the Church of England and the principles and practices of the churches of the New Testament. From that university came afterward most of the leaders in the first English Congregational churches. Still, Cartwright held that the nation was the church, which needed to be reconstructed. He and his followers carried on their warfare within the church, and in time became advocates of Presbyterianism, like that of the established Church of Scotland.

Not all the reformers, however, were satisfied to stop there. In 1567, the tenth year of Elizabeth's reign, a small congregation used to meet in London, calling itself "The Privye Church," whose members declared themselves separated from the Church of England, which they described as the "secret and disguised Antichrist." They professed to worship God "according to His blessed and glorious Word," "abolishing and abhorring all inventions and traditions of men." They were severely persecuted. They charged this "Antichrist" with having killed their minister, Richard Fitz, and their deacon, Thomas Rowland, and many others; and they cried to God to redress their wrongs. Very little is known of them and they probably were soon crushed out of existence. But the religious liberty for which they contended could not be destroyed by persecution.

The apostolic idea of churches founded by the voluntary union of believers, each church controlling its own affairs, yet united with others in bonds of fellowship, was revolutionary, but the study of the New Testament was sure to suggest it. Indeed, there is evidence that this apostolic Congregationalism was maintained in England from the time of Wycliffe onward, but it began to attract attention as a definite movement in church history about 1581. Six years before that, at Bury St. Edmunds, in the county of Suffolk, several clergymen of the established church came under suspicion for refusing to conform to its rules. Some, of whom two bore the names of Coppin and Thacker, were imprisoned.

When these two had been in prison some six years, there appeared in that region as their champion and

defender Robert Browne, who has been called with good reason the father of modern Congregationalism. He was a student at Cambridge University in 1570, when Cartwright was lecturing there, and probably graduated from Corpus Christi College. He was a clergyman of the established church, and had been for a time chaplain to the Duchess of Suffolk. Gathering the common people into private houses or wherever they could safely meet, he fearlessly denounced the Bishop of Norwich for his persecution of these ministers, declared that the Church of England was not the true church, and proclaimed the right of everyone to worship God as his own conscience should dictate. He was a popular preacher, of an eager, imperious disposition and strong convictions. He soon found himself in prison for his temerity, but after a time was released through the efforts of his relative, Lord Burghley. Through these experiences, the study of the Scriptures and the discipline of church courts, his system of church government rapidly matured in his mind. When again out of prison, he soon renewed his preaching, and gathered an Independent or Separatist Church at Norwich, perhaps also bringing about the formation of other such churches. Before many months it became evident that he and his followers would lose liberty and perhaps life if they remained in England. The little church, therefore, in 1581 went voluntarily into exile in Middleburgh, Zealand. There he published a book explaining the system of church government which he advocated. His statements are in substance the principles of Congregationalism, and they evidently grew out of earnest thought on the polity of the New Testa-

ment churches set in sharp contrast to the English hierarchy.

The Church of England wielded the authority of the state, and held that every child in England must be baptized into it, and that every person in England belonged in it and was subject to its laws. Browne held that the true church was composed only of regenerate persons, that there was no warrant to exercise civil authority over its spiritual affairs, and that church and state are separate realms. He did not believe that the Church of England, including as it did those who did not follow Christ or have His Spirit, could be reformed, but he regarded it as essentially wrong in its constitution and claims: therefore he broke away from it.

The Church of England maintained that it was one organization, exclusively empowered of God to establish forms and methods of worship and to enforce its discipline by the power of the state; that the sovereign of England was supreme head of the church, and that its officers of different ranks, appointed by him, had, under him, the power of God. Browne held that the New Testament furnished the model for the organization of churches; that they are to be formed by believers in Christ uniting together, of their own free will, in a covenant to obey Him; that they had, under Christ, the sole power to receive, to dismiss, and, if need be, to discipline and to expel members; that the officers of such churches are to be chosen by the members, these officers being pastors, sometimes called elders, and also deacons, relievers and widows, "having their several charge in one church only." He affirmed that these officers had no authority to stand between Christ and the believer, but that "every one of the church is

made a king, a priest and a prophet under Christ, to uphold and further the kingdom of God." He held that every member of the church had an immediate relation to Christ its Head.

But while he maintained the independence of the local church, he recognized the duties of local churches to each other, exercised through "the meetings of sundry churches; which are when the weaker churches seek the help of the stronger for deciding or redressing of matters, or else the stronger look to them for redress."

These principles, which Browne formulated, published, and put in practice in the church which he organized, are the principles of Congregationalism which were illustrated in the apostolic churches. The sufficiency of the local church, composed of believers in Christ covenanted together to obey Him, having equal rights and privileges under their one head, and the unity of the churches through mutual fellowship and common interests—this is Congregationalism. These principles now distinguish Congregational churches throughout the world.

The fact is not to be overlooked, also, that Browne considered his church polity, which was essentially democratic—though he did not so intend it—as applicable also to the state. Individuals formed the church by covenanting together and chose their own leaders by majority vote. His idea of the state was also a compact of individuals under rulers who held office by the consent of the governed. The system of our republican government was enfolded in the idea of Congregational churches as explained in his book, the substance of whose long title was "The Life and Manners of All True Christians."

Another book which Browne sent out from Zealand to be distributed in England was entitled "Of Reformation without Tarrying for Any." It was a challenge of Separatists to Puritans who sought the reformation of the church through the civil authorities and would wait for these to act. It was a declaration of the necessity of withdrawing from the Established Church and forming separate and self-governing churches after the New Testament pattern. John Coppin, still imprisoned, with Elias Thacker, under the authority of the High Commission and the Bishop of Norwich, were charged with circulating these books. Both were turned over to the secular power, tried on a charge of sedition and hanged. Several copies of Browne's books were burned at the executions. The old charge against Jesus Christ was renewed against these martyrs. Congregationalism in England under Elizabeth Tudor was condemned as sedition.

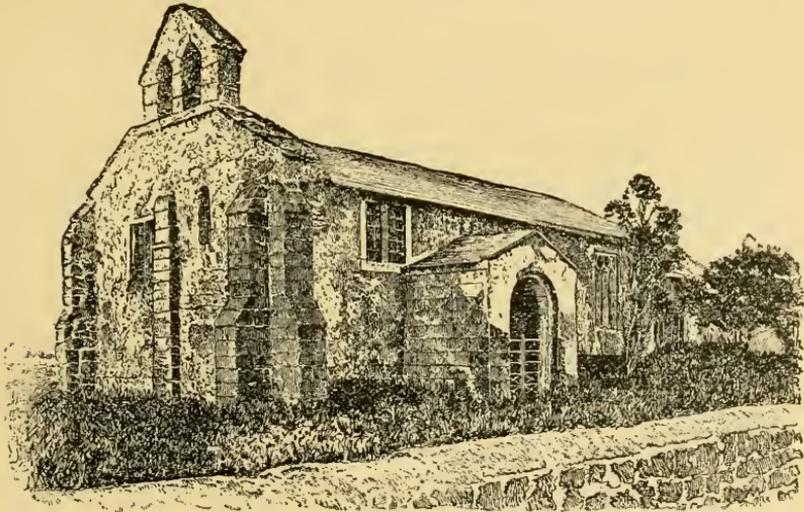
It is not necessary to follow Browne's later history in detail; nor is it pleasant to do so. The church which he had established at Middleburgh soon fell into difficulties and was broken up, probably through attempts to apply discipline for offenses which, if committed, were not properly matters for church investigation. Browne came back to England, was subsequently excommunicated from the Established Church but received back again, and through the influence of his relative, Lord Burghley, was appointed to the living of Achurch cum Thorpe, a parish of eighteen families in Northamptonshire, where he remained nearly forty years, till he died in 1630. There seems to be some reason for believing that his mind became unbalanced by his hard experiences, and that this ought to miti-

gate the censure passed upon him for abandoning the battle in behalf of the principles which represented in England the revival of apostolic Congregationalism. Those principles, at any rate, are not less true, Scriptural, and permanent because he who first clearly declared them in modern times failed to continue defending them till his death.

In 1586 John Greenwood lay in the Clink prison, London, because he believed that a company of believers in Christ had the right to covenant together to worship God, and thus to form a Christian church. He was about thirty years old, a graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, and had been a clergyman of the Church of England. There his friend Henry Barrowe called on him on the Lord's Day, November 19, but the keeper having him inside would not let him out, and he became a fellow prisoner with Greenwood. Barrowe, too, was a Cambridge scholar, some years the senior of his friend. He was a lawyer and had been a courtier, living a somewhat dissolute life, as was common among those who dwelt at court. But one day he heard a sermon by chance, which changed his whole life. He adopted the principles of the Separatists, and soon became a leader among them. His detention brought great satisfaction to Archbishop Whitgift, who examined him that very Sunday and recommitted him without bail. He was twice afterward examined, once before the High Commissioners and once before commissioners specially appointed by the Queen, but they got little satisfaction from him. He rejected liturgies and prescribed forms of prayer, and declared the "Book of Common Prayer" to be "idolatrous, superstitious and popish." He did not believe the Church of Eng-

land to be the true church, and he declared that its ecclesiastical courts and governors were unlawful and anti-Christian. He acknowledged the Queen to be ruler over the land and over the Church, but denied that she had any right to make laws for the Church other than those Christ had left in the world.

After some six months in prison Barrowe and Greenwood were let out on bail, and for a time worshiped with their fellow believers wherever they could secretly



ST. HELEN'S, AUSTERFIELD, ENGLAND, WHERE WM. BRADFORD WORSHIPED. *p.* 75.

meet, sometimes in private houses, sometimes in the fields and woods or other retired places. But they were soon caught in one of these meetings and again imprisoned with a number of others. This time they remained confined for more than five years. Here, under great inconvenience, suffering and difficulties, they wrote tracts and books defending the simple faith of the apostolic churches, and against the Church of England. Sheets of paper, one or two at a time, were

smuggled in to them by their friends, and taken away when filled. They were carried over to Holland, their contents printed and secretly brought back to England. Thus these persons kept spreading abroad their doctrines, and the number of believers in the primitive faith multiplied. One of these tracts, entitled "A True Description," was probably accepted by the brethren who worshiped together in London, and those in fellowship with them, as expressing their faith. It makes the Bible the standard, both in matters of doctrine and of church government, but it mainly dwells on the polity and administration of the churches. It does not differ essentially from the statements of Browne, except that it makes ruling elders a kind of oligarchy in the local church, elected by the members, but having the entire administration practically under their control.

But these two prisoners were not the only source from which pamphlets and books were scattered abroad in defense of Congregationalism. John Penry, another Cambridge scholar, a Welsh evangelist, finished his college studies, becoming Master of Arts in 1586, when he was twenty-five years of age. The large majority of the clergy in Wales never preached. They conducted public service with the Book of Common Prayer according to law, as was done in the Church of England. Many of them were not intellectually, and most of them were not spiritually qualified to preach the gospel. Penry's soul burned within him because of the spiritual destitution of his native land. The first year after his graduation he printed at Oxford a very earnest plea to the Queen and Parliament that some provision might be made for the preaching of the

gospel in Wales, with the outline of a plan by which it might be done. The book was seized, its scheme was condemned by Archbishop Whitgift as intolerable and its author was imprisoned. But in consequence his friends provided him with a small printing press, which was kept busy, though it was hunted from place to place.

During the year 1588, between February and August, appeared successively the seven famous Martin Mar-prelate tracts, stinging satires against the church, its bishops and clergy. The officers of ecclesiastical courts vainly tried to suppress them. Detectives scoured the land to find their author. High dignitaries wrote ponderous replies to them. Then they tried to answer satire by satire, and made themselves and their cause more ridiculous. What illustrated caricature is in politics in these days, these tracts were in the warfare against the Church of England. The outcry of the bishops showed how hard they were hit, while the smallness of the shafts by which their unseen enemy wounded them belittled their dignity. These tracts came from Penry's secret press. He was accused of writing them, but probably without good reason. The secret of their authorship has never been discovered; but Rev. Dr. Henry M. Dexter, pre-eminent in his knowledge of this period of Congregational history, has conjectured that Henry Barrowe wrote them in prison, while Penry published them; and Dr. Dexter supports his conjecture with reasons of considerable force.

In February, 1589, Penry's study was searched and his papers seized by an officer of the ecclesiastical court. An order was made out for his arrest under a

royal proclamation then issued against seditious and schismatical books. He fled with his wife and child to Scotland, where he printed another book to show the injustice of the charges made against reformers. While there, from being a Puritan he became a Separatist, and was drawn to the fellowship of those brethren in London who were maintaining a church by voluntary covenant, after the manner of the New Testament churches. He came back to England and went to London in September, 1592. Meanwhile, a manuscript prepared by Barrowe and Greenwood had been sent over to Holland, and was being printed in Middleburgh, Zealand, where Robert Browne had planted his church some years before. In that town was Francis Johnson, another Cambridge scholar, and a clergyman. He was a Puritan, and for preaching Puritan doctrine in Cambridge had been expelled from the university and imprisoned. He had found employment as a preacher to the English merchants in Middleburgh. When he learned that a book was being printed there by two noted Separatists, as a loyal though Puritan member of the English Church he informed the English ambassador, and was employed to destroy the book. This he succeeded in doing, but kept two copies. One of these he read, and became convinced that the Separatists were right. He came over to England, made the acquaintance of Barrowe and Greenwood and cast in his fortunes with their company. The church had so far, we know not how long, existed simply as a company of brethren, each of whom had entered into a sacred covenant "that he would walk with the rest of the congregation, so long as they did walk in the way of the Lord, and as far as they might be warranted by

the Word of God." But now, September, 1592, they completed their organization by electing Francis Johnson as their pastor; John Greenwood, teacher; Daniel Studley and George Keniston, ruling elders; Christopher Bowman and Nicholas Lee, deacons. This is generally regarded as the first Congregational Church of modern times of which we have any distinct trace, though there was undoubtedly an older organization at Norwich, and perhaps there were several companies of believers who were covenanted together as essentially Congregational churches.

This church chose two ruling elders. This feature marks the difference between Barrowe's idea of church polity and Browne's. The latter advocated a purely democratic organization, the members administering the government of the church, all officers to be chosen and measures to be determined by the vote of the whole church. But Barrowe sought to modify this by a sort of compromise with Presbyterianism, whereby the church should elect ruling elders, to whom thereafter should be entrusted the administration of affairs. Traces of this innovation on apostolic Congregationalism, which has been aptly characterized as a Presbyterian heart within a Congregational body, are to be seen long after the denomination grew to be a power in New England, and not a little evil resulted from it.

The completion of the organization of this church was followed by severe persecutions. Soon after Greenwood's election to the office of teacher, he was rearrested and Francis Johnson was imprisoned with him. Many others of the little company were incarcerated, and memorials were addressed to her Majesty's Council praying for their relief, but in vain.

One of these memorials, which mentions those in prison and their sufferings, thus sets forth their motive for withdrawing from the Church of England and organizing a church by themselves. "We, by the Holy Scriptures, find God's absolute commandment that all which hear and believe the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ should forthwith thereupon forsake their evil walk, and from thenceforth walk in Christ's holy faith and order, together with His faithful servants, subjecting themselves to the ministry, and those holy laws and ordinances which the Lord Jesus hath appointed, and whereby only He is present and reigneth in the church. Wherefore, both for the enjoying of that inestimable comfort of His joyful presence and protection, and to show our obedience to God's holy commandment, we have, in His reverent fear and love, joined ourselves together in that Christian faith, order and communion prescribed in his Word, and [have] subjected our souls and bodies to those holy laws and ordinances which the Son of God hath instituted, and whereby He is present and ruleth His church here beneath; and [we] have chosen to ourselves such a ministry of pastor, teacher, elders, deacons, as Christ hath given to His church here on earth to the world's end."

Up to this time the persecution of Barrowe and Greenwood and their brethren had been carried on solely by the ecclesiastical courts, and these memorials seem to have been addressed to the secular authorities in the hope of securing from them redress for grievances; but the hope was in vain. The ruling powers, secular as well as ecclesiastical, were determined to establish the principle that all the English people must believe and worship according to the dictate of

their temporal sovereign. The same method which had been applied to Coppin and Thacker ten years before was again resorted to with Barrowe and Greenwood. They were indicted for circulating seditious books, which by Act of Parliament had been made a capital crime. Two days later they were found guilty and sentenced to be hung on the following day. Just before the hour for execution, after they had been led out of the dungeon to their death, as they supposed, they were reprieved. A week later, when they had refused to recant, they were again led forth to die, and ropes were placed about their necks. Again at the last moment, a reprieve came. They waited another month in prison, not knowing but that each day would be their last. Then early one morning they were taken out for the third time and hanged.

John Penry's fate was even more unjust and cruel. He had gone to London, partly with the hope that he might secure an interview with the Queen, and gain permission to preach the gospel in Wales; but finding that he was in peril he hid himself. Yet the day before Barrowe and Greenwood were condemned to death his place of concealment was discovered by treachery, and he was taken to prison. His wife, accompanied by a widowed friend, petitioned in his behalf the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. The only result of it was that the widow was committed to prison for being with Penry's wife when she presented the petition. While Penry was in prison, anticipating his end, he wrote his latest counsels to his wife, to his four young children, the oldest not yet four years old, and to the church. The tenderness, the steadfastness, the spirit of trust in God, and the overflowing affection of these words

make them worthy to be placed beside the dying testimonies of any other Christian martyrs. His enemies could not in his books or by inquisitorial examination gain sufficient evidence to convict him of sedition; but among his private papers they had come upon some notes concerning a memorial to the Queen which he had thought of preparing. On these, which had never been seen before by anyone but himself, they prepared their indictment. He was tried at Westminster Hall, without being allowed to defend himself by counsel, and of course was convicted. Four days later he was sentenced; and on the fourth day after that, at five o'clock in the afternoon he was taken in a cart to the second milestone on the Kent road and hanged on a tree. The time chosen was an unusual hour in order that his friends might not be present. To the few who had been drawn to the place by seeing the gallows suddenly prepared, he wished to speak; but no word was he allowed to utter. So suffered John Penry at thirty-three years of age, the last of the English martyrs for Congregationalism.

CHAPTER III.

CONGREGATIONALISTS IN EXILE IN HOLLAND.

IT had now become evident that English Congregationalists could find neither home nor safety in their native land. Just before his death Penry had counseled the church to seek in a body a refuge in some other country. This advice indeed had been made imperative by an Act of Parliament passed the day after the execution of Barrowe and Greenwood, imposing banishment and forfeiture of property on every Separatist who, after three months imprisonment, refused to conform. The following year such as could escaped to Holland, and after some months settled in Amsterdam. Francis Johnson and his brother George remained another year in different prisons, but finally they were tried and banished for life. With two others, they were sent on two merchant vessels to America, but one of the ships having been wrecked off the coast of Newfoundland, the other took on board the passengers and crew, and put back to England. From thence the two brothers and a number of other Separatists found their way to Amsterdam.

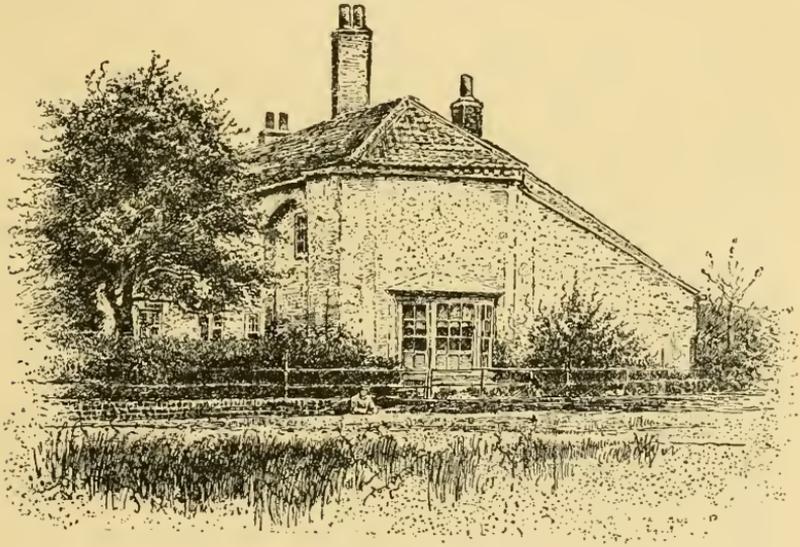
Just before Penry's death he had advised the London Church to consult with their brethren in the west and north country. Quite a number of them were to be found in the counties of Lincoln, York and Nottingham. From being Puritans they became Separatists, and finally, by necessity, some became Pilgrims. Earnest

preachers of the gospel had stirred them to repentance and to the study of the Bible. Holy living exposed them to the scorn of their profligate neighbors. Their efforts quietly to worship God in their own way in private houses brought on them the forces of ecclesiastical oppression, just as their brethren in Norwich and London were being persecuted, perhaps about the same time. Under this hard discipline they became in process of years a people by themselves, and in 1602 a number of them covenanted together, forming a church which centered at Gainsborough, "to walk with God and with one another, in the enjoyment of the ordinances of God, according to the primitive pattern in the Word of God." The next year Queen Elizabeth died, and some hope of relief came to them from the coming of James I. to the throne. But in this they were disappointed. James had some skill and scholarship, but far more conceit and selfishness. He was as hostile to Congregationalism as his predecessor had been.

In 1606 this Separatist Church, for convenience and safety in holding assemblies, divided into two bodies. One continued to meet in Gainsborough, with John Smyth as its pastor, till before the end of the year it emigrated to Amsterdam. The other became the historic church at Scrooby, twelve miles distant, meeting in the house occupied by William Brewster. He was a gentleman of property, about thirty-four years of age, had been educated at Cambridge University, had held office under the Queen, and was familiar with public affairs. He was living in an old manor house which had for a great many years been a possession of the church and was at one time a residence of the Archbishop of

York. In that house was the beginning of New England.

Richard Clyfton was the pastor of the Scrooby Church. With him was associated as teacher John Robinson, a name famous in the annals of Congregationalism, always at the head of the historic list of Congregational ministers in the United States, although he never came personally to this country. He



SCROOBY MANOR HOUSE.

was about twenty-five years old, a Master of Arts of Cambridge, and had recently been a fellow of Corpus Christi College. He is described as "a man of learned, polished and modest spirit, pious and studious of the truth, largely accomplished, with suitable gifts and qualifications." Later on, Brewster was chosen ruling elder. Thus this Scrooby Church, composed of sturdy rural Englishmen and their families, devotedly studious of the Word of God and loyal to consciences

enlightened by it, and manned by worthy and able leaders, was preparing itself to be the pioneer of Congregationalism, and of civil institutions in America.

Persecution grew hotter as their organization became known. Their houses were watched and searched by officers of ecclesiastical courts. They were driven from their places of employment. Some were imprisoned; till at last they resolved, like their brethren in London, to escape to the United States of the Netherlands, where there was religious freedom for all. The risk was great. They were mostly farmers. They were to take their chances in a strange land among people who spoke another language, and whose occupations were mainly manufactures and commerce.

It was the winter of 1607 when they planned to embark from Boston, a seaport about fifty miles distant from their homes. But their enemies were as unwilling to let them go as to allow them to stay. The shipmaster who had agreed to take them betrayed them, and they were arrested, maltreated and brought back from the vessel to the town. After a month of imprisonment, all except Brewster and six others were liberated, and these not long after regained their freedom. Six months later they made another attempt to depart, on a Dutch ship, from Hull. But when most of the men had got on board, the women and children being on a bark aground, were surprised by officers and taken, while the ship sailed away without them, and was driven about by storms for fourteen days before its passengers could land in Holland, uncertain about the fate of their families. Those left behind were in sad plight, but after a time and having endured many hardships they all came together again in Amsterdam.

Here they joined themselves with the church which had come over from London, and, though they were very poor, they found peace. William Bradford, one of their number, who had lived as a boy at Austerfield, has given so pleasant a picture of them that it deserves a place here :

“ If you had seen them in their beauty and order, as we have done, you would have been much affected therewith, we dare say. At Amsterdam, before their division and breach, there were about three hundred communicants, and they had for their pastor and teacher those two eminent men before named, and in our time four grave men for ruling elders, and three able and godly men for deacons, one ancient widow for a deaconess, who did them service for many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honored her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch and do them other helps as their necessity did require ; and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the deacons ; and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ.”

Varied fortunes had befallen this Amsterdam church during the dozen years or more since it had emigrated from London. It had found a worthy successor to John Greenwood as its teacher in Henry Ainsworth,

who had come over from Ireland. His name is one of the most illustrious on the roll of the Separatists. He was famous as a Hebrew scholar. He was, withal, a self-poised, modest and attractive gentleman, and a winsome preacher. But troubles had beset the church, both without and within. Tolerated by the Dutch government, it was regarded with suspicion by the Dutch clergy, with some of whom its leaders had had controversies in print. In 1596 the church put forth a Confession of Faith, by which they sought to answer the many slanderous reports concerning them, and to gain to a greater degree the confidence of their Dutch neighbors. Its preface arraigns the Church of England as unchristian, and sets forth the sufferings and motives of the Separatists. The Confession itself contains forty-five articles, supported by numerous Scriptural references. The confessors plant themselves squarely on Calvinistic doctrine, in accordance with the belief of the great majority of the Protestant churches at that time. Sixteen articles are devoted to the declaration of their religious faith. The remainder declare the polity of the churches, their officers, ordinances, duties, relations to one another and to the civil authorities. Many of the statements are evidently answers to questions which had arisen in practical experience, and mark the growth of the ideas of Congregationalism as they were brought to meet practical issues. They call on the civil authorities to root out all false ministries and false worship of God, and to appropriate to civil uses the property of the false church. They make it plain that if they had had the power they would have punished dissent from their faith as severely as they had themselves been punished; and here their views

differed from those of Browne as to the limits of civil authority; a difference which later largely distinguished the Congregationalists of the Massachusetts Bay Colony from those who settled at Plymouth. Their Confession was reprinted several times within the next twenty years in Latin, Dutch and English editions.

But the church suffered more from internal dissensions than from the prejudices of those without. First, the pastor, Francis Johnson, had married a widow, whom some members of his family disliked. They, especially his brother George, said evil things about her and accused her of dressing too fashionably. They were particularly grieved because she wore whalebones in her dresses and cork on her shoes. The scandal led to church discipline and finally to excommunication of the pastor's father and brother. Next, John Smyth had begun to raise a contention by claiming that only the Scriptures in the original languages were inspired, and that ministers ought not to take translations into the pulpit; that the people should improvise songs in praise to God, that only church members should contribute to church expenses, that elders were a false ministry, and by maintaining various other differences of opinion as to both doctrine and polity. Smyth appears to have been an able man, with a magnetic nature and unbalanced judgment. After a while he drew off a part of the church and formed another close by.

In these discords the Scrooby emigrants had no share, and they foresaw that for the sake of peace it would be best for them to put some distance between them and their belligerent brethren. Leyden, some

twenty-five miles away, was a beautiful city, with a fine situation and a famous university. Thither they went, by permission of the Leyden authorities. The city then had a population of about one hundred thousand. The pilgrims soon found employment of one sort or another. Elder Brewster taught a school. William Bradford, not yet twenty-one years of age, became apprentice to a silk-dyer. Edward Winslow went into a printing office. The pastor, John Robinson, after six years' residence, became a fellow of the university. Professor Hornbeek, one of its most eminent instructors, wrote of him, "John Robinson was most dear to us while he lived, was on familiar terms with the Leyden theologians, and was greatly esteemed by them." He soon began to win honor as an author. His works were mainly controversial, in defense of the doctrines and polity of the Separatists. He accepted, somewhat reluctantly, a challenge to meet Arminius in public dispute, and proved himself so able a champion of Calvinism that he won much honor. In theology he defended the doctrines of the Synod of Dort, which was convened in Dordrecht in November, 1618. In church polity he strenuously maintained the independence of the local church and its divine authority as opposed to the Established Church. But he was more broad-minded and tolerant than most of the other Separatist leaders, while his abilities no less than his character have won for him the foremost place in the early history of Congregationalists. Such sentences as this, taken from his "Essays," throw a flood of light on his spirit: "Men are often accounted heretics with greater sin through want of charity in the judges than in the judged through defect of faith."

Robinson was greatly beloved by his people, and under his wise administration the church grew in numbers and in favor with the Dutch among whom they lived. They became more prosperous in their business affairs as time went on. They were honest, peaceable and lawabiding. At the end of their stay in Leyden the magistrates of the city declared that "These English have lived among us now these twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them."

But as years passed it became evident that no great future awaited them there. They were aliens in language. They were exiles. They did not wish to leave their children in Holland, and there was no likelihood of their being permitted to return to England. They dreaded the prospect of falling away and final disappearance as a separate organization, which indeed came to be the history of those who remained behind in Amsterdam. They longed for freedom, for their own Puritan Sabbath, for schools for their children, for some field where they might have encouragement to lay the foundations of a Christian commonwealth, and to give to others the gospel they loved more than any earthly gain and even life itself. They had in them more than they themselves realized, the character and the ambition of statesmen.

Fifteen years before the Separatists had petitioned Elizabeth for permission to form a colony in America, but in vain. Now again the wiser ones began to look away across the seas to the new land the tidings of which had stirred so many Englishmen to deeds of adventure and daring. But theirs was the noblest type of ambition; not to make conquests or to win for

themselves renown, but in the simple yet sublime language of one of their number, to lay "some good foundation, or at least make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping stones unto others for the performing of so great a work." The idea grew as they discussed it, and prayed over it; put new life and courage into them, and at last took shape in a plan to emigrate to America.

Some ten years before, two colonizing corporations had been created by King James, one in London and the other in Plymouth. To the Virginia Company of London the Pilgrims determined to apply for a grant of territory in what was then called Virginia, and to the King for permission to live in it as a distinct community. In September, 1617, they sent John Carver and Robert Cushman to England to make the negotiations. The company was willing, but the King refused, and the messengers returned. James I. was too small a man to tolerate Congregationalists, or Brownists, as they were then called, anywhere in his dominions, even in a wilderness across the ocean. In December Carver and Cushman returned to England again, and through some influential friends at court succeeded, after making many protestations and explanations, in wringing out of the churlish monarch and his bishops a sort of vague verbal promise that they "would connive at them and not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably." Weary months of waiting and disappointment followed, till at last they received from the Virginia Company a patent "confirmed under the company's seal."

The next questions to be settled were, how should the money be raised to pay for their expenses of emigration, and who of the Leyden company should go. The first question was in a measure answered by the report which Cushman brought from England—where he had left Brewster to forward the interests of the Pilgrims—that some friends in England wished to go with them to Virginia, and that some merchants, among them “one Mr. Thomas Weston,” had offered to furnish the money. But to decide on both questions there was appointed a day of humiliation and prayer to seek the guidance of the Lord, when Pastor Robinson preached a notable sermon from 1 Samuel xxiii. 3-4—a text whose final sentence, “Arise, go down to Keilah; for I will deliver the Philistines into thy hand,” seems to carry with it a strong affirmative vote. Then they discussed who should go. Some were too old or too feeble for the hardships to be faced. Some could not at once leave their business affairs. From those who could go a sufficient number were chosen, and it was agreed that the pastor should remain with those who stayed behind, but that Elder Brewster should accompany the pioneers. It was of course hoped that the whole company would before long be reunited in the New World. It was settled that each body should act as an independent church while they were separated, but that when Robinson should rejoin the colony he should be received as pastor without any new election. Those who were to go on the first expedition sold the goods they could not carry with them, closed their business affairs and waited anxiously for the time of their departure.

But unexpected difficulties were arising in England.

The Plymouth Virginia Company had revived under a new corporate name, and was negotiating with the King for a new charter, giving to it "the northern parts of Virginia," the region from the 41st to the 45th parallel of latitude. This country was to be called New England, a name which had been proposed by Captain John Smith. Thomas Weston, the London merchant, and some others who had offered to assist them, were in favor of their giving up their patent from the London Company and settling in New England. Weston, who went over from London to Leyden to visit and encourage them, was much more anxious for the profits of fur and codfish than for the welfare of the Pilgrims. He persuaded them to give up consideration of a favorable offer of assistance from the Amsterdam Trading Company, which was interested in the settlement of the country about the mouth of the Hudson River. Finally, though without apparently any formal decision, the general opinion favored going to the territory of the Plymouth Company and getting a patent from that body afterward.

While they were waiting, some of the friends in England who had proposed to go with them withdrew from their agreement. Some of the merchants who were to furnish money did the same on various excuses. A compact had been drawn up between the Adventurers on the one hand, who were to furnish funds, and the Planters or Pilgrims on the other. To this Weston had agreed, but when the Pilgrims had fully committed themselves he insisted on changes; and having them in his power, succeeded with his associates in driving with Carver, as representative of the Pilgrims, a very

hard bargain. Both parties were to form a joint-stock company. The shares were put at £10 each. Each Pilgrim over sixteen years of age was counted as a share, and each under sixteen and over ten, half a share. The colony was to be supported out of the common stock, and at the end of seven years all the profits were to be equally divided; so that those who stayed at home and gave money were to have as much as those who spent their lives in labor and hardship.

At last, after three years of effort from the time emigration was first proposed, a vessel of 60 tons, the "Speedwell," was bought in Holland; and another, the "Mayflower," of 180 tons, was hired in London, and both were equipped for the voyage. The time for their departure having come, they all observed a day of humiliation and prayer, with an appropriate sermon by the pastor, preaching on Ezra viii. 21. In the Geneva version, which the Pilgrims used, the words are these: "And there at the river by Ahava I proclaimed a fast that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance." Then those who were to stay in Leyden gave to the Pilgrims a feast in the pastor's house, after which they went together to Delfshaven, about fourteen miles distant, where the "Speedwell" was lying. There they spent the night with little sleep, but in "friendly entertainment and Christian discourse." In the morning, July 12 (O. S.), 1620, with abundant leavetakings and tears, after a parting prayer by the pastor, the Pilgrims went on board the ship and, borne by favorable winds, were in a few hours at Southampton. Here they found the "Mayflower"

waiting. But here also they learned the changed terms which Cushman had accepted from Weston, and they refused to ratify them. They had expected that Weston would settle obligations they had incurred to the amount of about £100. He angrily refused to disburse a penny and left them. But undismayed by his heartless abandonment of them, they sold a part of their scanty stores, including about £60 worth of provisions, "to clear things at their going away." By August 5 they were ready to depart. A farewell letter from Robinson was read to them, filled with noble and affectionate counsels. The company was divided between the two vessels, and they set sail for their new home in the wilderness. Twice they had to put back for repairs, having found the "Speedwell" unseaworthy; and finally they abandoned her, putting ashore about twenty who chose to remain behind, while the others were crowded into the "Mayflower." That vessel, with one hundred and two passengers, finally departed, September 6, for the New World.

We have now followed the story of these despised and persecuted Separatists, from the time when Robert Browne first at Norwich declared that the church of Christ was the voluntary association of believers in covenant with Him till such a company of believers, who had abandoned home and fortune and had passed through weary years of trial in order that they might stand for that principle, were afloat on the ocean with their faces set toward a land where they hoped to plant such a church, undisturbed from without. It has been well said that the three most famous ships in history are Noah's Ark, the "Argo," and the "Mayflower." The last is the most illustrious of them all; for she bore

those who, hardly conscious of it themselves, carried within them the beginning of a great nation with ideas of loyalty to the truth revealed by God, of liberty in discovering it and of energy in putting it into practice which were to make it one of the most important factors in modern history. John Robinson had solemnly charged them in his farewell words, as one then present reported years afterward, "to follow him no farther than he followed Christ; and, if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of His, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of His holy Word." The Reformation of a century before had rediscovered the Bible. Luther's great doctrine of justification by faith had created the Protestant Church. These Pilgrims had found truth in the Word of God to them as precious and significant as Luther's was to him. The discovery of it, the living of it against foes, constant witnessing to it at whatever cost made them the heroic men and women who could found a free church with a free state where everyone could worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. The idea which engaged their thoughts was a spontaneous association in covenant of renewed souls in fellowship with Christ and one another. They believed that no civil authority could put anyone into a church or take anyone out of it. Only Christ through His renewing spirit could make one fit for any such fellowship. Only his brethren as his peers could judge of his fitness; and from their judgment there was no court of appeal but to Christ as the head of the church. That idea at the beginning of a commonwealth meant,

when it should have worked itself out in experience, complete independence of church and state, and complete liberty, with equal sovereign rights, in both. The seed of that free government was in the "Mayflower" and in the compact made in it. The fruit of it is the American Republic.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PILGRIM CHURCH IN ITS PERMANENT HOME.

SIXTY-FIVE days the church which was to plant itself in the wilderness and lay the foundations of a notable commonwealth was tossed on the sea in the "Mayflower." In the early dawn of November 9 the wanderers saw land, which seemed to them "so goodly a land . . . wooded to the bank of the sea." It was Cape Cod.

But they were bound for the Hudson River, to the region where their patent entitled them to plant a colony. They turned southward, but soon found themselves among shoals and breakers. Retracing their path, the next day they came to anchor in what is now Provincetown Harbor. There they knelt and gave thanks to God for the privilege "again to set their feet on the firm and solid earth."

When they found that they must land on this coast, to which their patent gave them no right, they first faced the question how they should live together in peace and order. In the territory where they were going to settle, none of the company had any authority from the mother country to govern. Not all were members of the church. Some had already begun to talk about using their liberty when they should get on shore. Unless they could be held together, there was little hope that any would long survive. The church was already bound by a strict mutual covenant. But

to include also those outside of it, a civil compact was drawn up—the constitution and foundation of a Christian republic in the New World. It acknowledged the right of everyone who signed it to share in making and administering the laws, and the right of the majority to rule. It was the constitution of a pure democracy, the principle of their church government applied to the state. This instrument, for several years, was all the law they had. By it they chose their first governor, John Carver, and later other officers, and administered in orderly fashion their civil affairs. This was their Magna Charta, signed by forty-one names :

“In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are vnderwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread Sovereigne Lord King James, by the grace of God of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

“Having vndertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honor of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant, and combine ourselves together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such iust and equall Lawes, Ordinances, Acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnesse whereof we haue here-vnder subscribed our names. Cape Cod,

11 of November, in the yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland 18. and of Scotland 54. Anno Domini, 1620."

They spent a month on shipboard amid storms and cold, successive parties exploring the coast to find a suitable place for a settlement. At last, on Friday night, December 8, after dark, the exploring party of eighteen men, in a northeast storm of snow and rain, landed from their shallop at Clark's Island. The next day they dried their clothing, and on the day following kept the Sabbath; and on Monday, December 11 (New Style 21), they went to the mainland, and "found diverse cornfields, and little running brooks: a place, as they supposed, fit for situation." When they returned to the ship, which was still off the shore at Cape Cod, Bradford was met by the news that his wife had fallen overboard and been drowned during his absence.

Friday of that week the "Mayflower" furled her sails in the harbor which six years before Captain John Smith had named Plymouth. There, on Sabbath, they worshiped on shipboard; and during the week following, after asking guidance from God, by a majority vote they decided to begin their settlement on the slope of what became Burial Hill, looking seaward. Bradford wrote of it, "In one field is a great hill on which we point to make a platform and plant our ordinance which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the bay, and far into the sea; and we may see thence Cape Cod." There, on Christmas Day, which they ignored as a pagan festival,

they began to build their first house; and there the Pilgrim Church at last found a home.

They had a terrible winter, in constant apprehension from Indian foes, suffering from exposure, want and sickness, till when spring came fully one-half their number were under the sod of Burial Hill. The survivors carefully leveled the graves of their friends in order that Indian visitors might not know how much their numbers had been reduced by death. Yet when, in April, the "Mayflower" sailed away home, not a single Pilgrim returned in her. They had found seed corn for planting. The land had been cleared for them by Indians, whom a plague had mostly cleared from the earth three or four years before. They had made a treaty with Massasoit's tribe. They had re-elected Carver as their governor. They had disciplined the first offender, and were preparing, under the instruction of Squanto, their Indian friend, to plant twenty acres of corn, and to catch a supply of herring at the mouth of the town brook.

Before April had gone, Governor Carver suddenly sickened and died, and William Bradford was elected to fill his place. But as he was only just recovering from illness Isaac Allerton was chosen as his assistant, and thus the office of lieutenant governor began. The little Republic—for such it was, though under the nominal rule of King James—was developing its organization as occasion demanded.

Then came the first New England wedding. William White had died, leaving his widow Susanna, with two little boys, one of them born on the "Mayflower," Edward Winslow's wife had died during the winter. Susanna White became the wife of Winslow. By

English law they could not be married without a priest and the ceremonies of the church. But they had learned the way of civil marriage in Leyden, and in presence of Governor Bradford they entered into the sacred covenant. The colony had already begun to be independent both of the English church and the English state.

In November the ship "Fortune" came from their partners, the Adventurers in England, with Cushman and a re-enforcement of thirty-five persons, not all of them desirable additions to their company, but all with mouths to feed. She brought also a complaining letter from Thomas Weston, and started back, with Cushman, on the anniversary of the landing at Plymouth a year before. The attempt of these newcomers to make Christmas a holiday that year by playing ball and other sports was promptly suppressed by the Governor. They said it was against their consciences to work on that day, and he replied that it was against his conscience for them to play while the others worked.

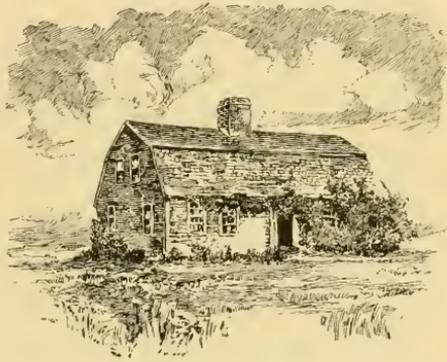
Yet they had kept, in a sort, the month before, the day which became the great New England festival of Thanksgiving. When their first harvest was gathered, they killed a number of wild duck and turkey, and with five deer which Massasoit and ninety of his men brought with them on a visit, they had a three days' feast.

By the next summer they had erected a building which was a combined fort and house of worship. A Dutch merchant, De Rasieres, who visited Plymouth in 1627, thus described it and their Sabbath services: "Upon the hill they have a large square house, with a

flat roof made of thick sawn planks, stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannons which shoot iron balls of four or five pounds and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor in a long robe; beside him on the right hand comes the preacher with his cloak on; and on the left hand the captain, with his side arms and cloak on and with a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order and each sets his arms down near him."

The Pilgrims had as great obstacles to overcome from their own countrymen as from Indians and the wilderness. Thomas Weston proved to be one of their greatest trials. He had much increased the difficulties of their departure from England. But now having separated entirely from their enterprise, he had undertaken to plant a colony on his own account. In the summer of 1622 two vessels, with fifty or sixty of his men, arrived at Plymouth, where they speedily became a nuisance to the Pilgrims who, nevertheless, entertained them kindly. They stole the unripe ears of corn and otherwise abused the hospitality they received. In the autumn they attempted to plant a colony at Wessagussett, some twenty miles north of Plymouth, but early in the next year they fell into trouble with the Indians, who, because of their false dealing with them, formed a conspiracy to exterminate

all the English. This compelled the Pilgrims to send their captain, Myles Standish, with a company of eight men to teach the Indians a lesson, which the brave captain did by killing three of them in a hand-to-hand fight and hanging another. This was not in the plans of those who had hoped to give the gospel to the natives of that new land; and Robinson, when he heard of it, wrote plaintively to his brethren: "Oh, how happy a thing it had been if you had converted some before you had killed any." But it proved to be the last chapter in the short history of Weston's colony. Men without moral quality, only controlled by selfish aims, were not of the sort to face the difficulties of a new land and found a stable government.



MYLES STANDISH HOUSE, DUXBURY, MASS.
BUILT BY HIS SON, 1666.

That year, 1623, began with severe discouragements for the Plymouth settlers. They had little to eat in the spring and no encouraging prospects. A long season of dry weather followed their corn-planting, and threatened the destruction of the crop. The vessel they were expecting to bring them supplies did not arrive, but some wreckage drifted on the coast. Then in their extremity they appointed by public authority a day in July, to be set apart from all other employments as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. They assembled in the morning under a clear sky, but

before they had ceased praying clouds had gathered which next morning "distilled soft, sweet and moderate showers of rain." These showers, with intervals of fair weather, continued for two weeks and eventually saved their crops. Meanwhile Captain Standish returned from an expedition to the settlement at the mouth of the Pascataqua River, bringing supplies of food. Tidings came that their expected vessel was safe, though driven back by storms; and that the ship "Anne," with many of their friends from Delfshaven, would soon arrive. In their joy and gratitude at these brightening prospects, they set apart another solemn day for thanksgiving "to our good God who dealt so graciously with us—whose name, for these and all his other mercies toward his church and chosen ones, by them be blessed and praised now and evermore." In these records and others like them we see the roots of those customs of public recognition of God by the state which have survived to this day, and which would have a stronger hold upon the churches if the memory of the guiding Providence of God in those early days were kept more green.

Another peril to the Pilgrim Church was the arrival of Captain Robert Gorges with a commission as governor general of the whole country. He was a nephew of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a gentleman prominent in the councils of King James, and a leading member of companies organized to establish colonies in America. Captain Gorges came with great *éclat*, intending to extend his government over all the various colonies—of which by this time there were several—along the coast. On his arrival, in September, 1623, he attempted, with the company he brought,

to found another colony at the place which Weston's men had abandoned a few months before. He brought a chaplain who was expected to represent in New England the Church of Old England and to exercise jurisdiction over the souls of all the people. But the next spring the would-be governor general returned in disgust to England, the most of the colony scattered, and the remainder, with the chaplain, were helped with supplies from Plymouth. He wrote a Latin poem about the country, but seems not to have done much else, and the next year he returned to England. Those men were not of the stuff which makes stable government in a new land.

A much greater danger to the Pilgrims came from the presence among them of a number of persons who had been eager to enlist in the new enterprise, but who had no sympathy with its aims. Many of the Adventurers in England who helped to support the colony in the hope of gaining a profitable return from their investment, were Puritans who hated the principles of the Separatists. They kept John Robinson from joining his flock, and their dislike was fostered by false stories concerning the colony, sent home by the discontented ones. They sent to Plymouth John Lyford, who professed to be a Puritan minister from Ireland, hoping that the Pilgrims would take him as their preacher. Robinson seems to have been aware of the Puritan opposition to his rejoining his people across the sea, and in his last letter to them wrote: "The Adventurers, it seems, have neither money nor any great mind of us, for the most part. They deny it to be any part of the covenants between us that they should transport us; neither do I look for any further

help from them till means come from you." Yet it is not to be supposed that the Puritans knew the character of the man they sent in the hope that he would be received in place of Robinson. Lyford proved to be a hypocrite and a liar. He knew how to weep, and to feign humility and admiration of those from whom he sought favors. He united with the church with so exceedingly earnest confession of his faith, and so profuse expressions of his joy in the opportunity of having liberty to worship God according to his conscience, that he seems to have been regarded from the first with some suspicion, and he was not received as the minister of the church, but only with liberty to prophesy. Before long he, with John Oldham, was caught plotting against the colony and sending lying letters to England. Both were tried, convicted and sentenced to be expelled from the colony. Lyford, after confessing his sin with many tears, was permitted to remain for six months longer, partly on account of his large family; but before that time had passed he was caught again in the same mischievous business. Oldham, having returned without permission after his banishment, behaved so insolently that the governor had a guard of musketeers drawn up and made him pass through the line, "receiving from everyone a parting thump with a musket as he passed by."

A number of the Puritan Adventurers, discouraged in their efforts to make the colony what they wished, believing that a company of Separatists would not attract many settlers, finally insisted that their company in England should govern the colony, and that its people should be not Separatists but members of the Church of England. These demands the colonists

refused to acknowledge, and the contract between the Adventurers and the Planters came to an end. That proved a fortunate thing for Plymouth. Though burdened with a heavy debt, they were now independent. Each colonist received his own allotment of land and



THE JOHN ROBINSON MEMORIAL TABLET, ST. PETER'S CHURCH, LEYDEN, HOLLAND.

his own home. New ambitions were roused in them, and increased prosperity followed.

Still the Pilgrim Church had no pastor dwelling among them, though William Brewster had regularly conducted services, preaching and teaching as their ruling elder. They constantly hoped for the coming of their pastor, John Robinson, from Leyden, and he

as earnestly desired to join them. But March 1, 1626, after a short illness he died in Leyden, to the great grief of his followers in Holland and in New England. His memory is still held in reverence on both sides of the ocean. Almost three centuries after he first entered Leyden, July 24, 1891, in the presence of a large assembly of eminent American and English Congregationalists, with a company of the prominent citizens of Leyden, a memorial tablet to him was unveiled in a recess of St. Peter's Church, opposite to the house where he had lived. The tablet bears this inscription :

THE MAYFLOWER, 1620.

In Memory of
 REV. JOHN ROBINSON, M. A.,
 Pastor of the English Church worshipping over
 against this spot, A. D. 1609-1625, whence
 at his prompting went forth

THE PILGRIM FATHERS
 To settle in New England
 in 1620.

Buried under this house of worship,
 4 March, 1625.

AET XLIX YEARS.

In memoria aeterna erit justus.

Erected by the National Council of the Congrega-
 tional Churches of the United States
 of America, A. D. 1891.

To that assembly Dr. Kuenen, professor in the University of Leyden, said :

“Ladies and gentlemen, when you have gone back

to America, tell your countrymen that the citizens of Leyden and the members of its University are proud to possess in the midst of us the monument you have dedicated to-day, and that we like to consider it as a pledge of the future lasting friendship of both the countries, America and our Fatherland, whose early history, as that monument testifies, is so closely identified. Tell them that we say that in that monument we have a pledge of hearty co-operation in the common love for civil and religious freedom."

In 1628 Isaac Allerton returned from a journey to England in the interests of the colony, bringing with him Mr. Rogers, a young minister. But they soon found that he was insane, and sent him back home the next year. Nine years had passed, yet the only pastor they had known was he who had planned their emigration, but whose body had been laid in the grave at Leyden.

But now the few friends in London who had remained loyal to the Pilgrims, and sympathized with their desire that the company which had been left behind in Holland might join them again, generously lent their aid. Thirty-five of the Leyden remnant reached Plymouth in the summer of 1629. Early the next year the last remaining members followed them, and the long emigration which began from Scrooby more than twenty years before was ended. They had found a home and founded a commonwealth in New England.

CHAPTER V.

THE PURITANS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

THE first Puritans of Massachusetts came hither with no intention of separating from the Church of England. They were of the Reform party within the church. They stood between it and the Separatists, disapproving of both. They hoped to make something better than either, which should still be the Church of England. Yet, as Robinson had predicted, the simple fact of removal from England to the New World made the Puritan emigrants become Separatists, though they did not for some time realize the change which had been wrought.

The first Puritan settlement began with a little company of fishermen on Cape Ann. Its chief patron was John White, a noted Puritan minister of Dorchester, England, and it was maintained by a company formed in that town. This settlement began in 1624, Roger Conant being superintendent of the plantation. John Lyford, after his deserved expulsion from the Plymouth Colony, found his way thither, and representing that he had left Plymouth because his conscience could not abide the Separatists, was received as a minister. The settlement did not prosper, and being given up the second year by the Dorchester Company, most of the men went back to England.

But Roger Conant, with a few others, remained. He informed Mr. White that there was a better chance for a colony at Naumkeag, a little west of Cape Ann, and suggested that it "might prove a receptacle for such as upon the account of religion would be willing to begin a foreign plantation in the New World." Conant sought to plant a Puritan colony, as far from Popery on the one hand as from Separatism on the other. White, who never came to America, promised to help him. The company removed to Naumkeag. Lyford, having had, or claiming to have had, a call to Virginia, persuaded most of the company to break their engagement to stay, and to follow him thither. Conant declared that he would stand firm, though everyone should forsake him. He persuaded his three associates, who had also accepted White's offer of help, to remain with him.

Early in 1628, under White's leadership, the Company of Massachusetts Bay was organized in England. It received a grant of "that part of New England which lies between the Merrimack and Charles rivers in the bottom of Massachusetts Bay." The grant included the land beyond this tract three miles from the banks of both rivers. The scheme for a Puritan colony was furthered by the growing conviction in the Puritan party in England that it would find justice at home only through revolution and war. Captain John Endecott, a brave and earnest Puritan, was chosen to govern the new plantation, and with his wife and about forty others arrived in the ship "Abigail," September 6, of that year. Some discontent arose between the newcomers and those already on the ground, but it was soon removed by prudent man-

agement; and in memory of that event the name of the plantation was changed to Salem, which means Peace.

Soon they were visited with severe sickness, and Captain Endecott applied to Plymouth Colony for help. Dr. Samuel Fuller, deacon of the Pilgrim church and physician of the colony, was sent to Salem. He brought with him more than healing for the body. He gave the New England Puritans so true an idea of the New England Pilgrims that they were drawn toward that union which in years to come was to result in one denomination of Christians and one commonwealth. Governor Endecott, writing to Governor Bradford in grateful acknowledgment of Dr. Fuller's services, declared himself convinced that the Pilgrims' method of worship was right. "It is," he wrote, "as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself to me; being very far different from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular."

Governor Endecott soon had an opportunity to put in practice his theories of church worship, and of church government also, for the next year, 1629, the Massachusetts Company, encouraged by reports of the prosperity of the plantation, sent out six vessels with nearly four hundred persons, live stock and extensive equipments for the settlers. With this company came four ministers. Francis Higginson, Samuel Skelton and Francis Bright were Puritans; Ralph Smith was a Separatist, and when that fact was discovered he came near having to give up his passage. He was

finally permitted to sail under restrictions. These Puritan ministers did not propose to renounce the mother church. Higginson had been forbidden to officiate as a minister in England because of his views, yet he is said to have gathered his children and the other passengers into the stern of the ship as they passed Land's End, and to have used these words: "We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell, Babylon! farewell, Rome!' but we will say, 'Farewell, dear England, farewell, the Church of God in England and all the Christian friends there.' We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practice the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America." Perhaps the presence of that Separatist minister might have added emphasis to these words.

The company was careful to provide able preachers, because it was in a true sense a foreign missionary organization. They sought not only to plant a Christian colony, but to Christianize the Indians also. They avowed "that the propagating of the gospel is a thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this plantation." The Puritan not less than the Pilgrim colony was a religious enterprise, planned and carried out by Christian men. These three ministers contracted with the company which sent them, "to do their uttermost to further the main end of this plantation," to secure "by the assistance of Almighty God the conversion of the savages." Each minister was to have from the company for an outfit twenty pounds,

also ten pounds for books and a salary of twenty pounds a year. He had free passage to New England, with house, food and firewood, to be furnished by the colony. Higginson had ten pounds a year in addition on account of his large family.

Ralph Smith soon found his way to Plymouth and became the first pastor in that colony. The other ministers remained at Salem. But somehow it was at once felt that though they were regularly ordained, and the people to whom they came were members of the Church of England, something more was needed to qualify them for the exercise of the pastoral office in this new land. The governor talked the matter over with the chief men of the colony. The result was that he appointed a day of fasting and prayer for the consideration of church affairs. On that day, July 20, all places of business being closed, Messrs. Higginson and Skelton gave their views as to the church and answered questions as to the ministerial calling; and their statements being satisfactory, a ballot was taken, "every fit member voting," and Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor and Mr. Higginson, teacher. This is the first instance on record of the use of the printed ballot in America. These two men accepted the call thus extended, and at once were formally set apart for their work. First Mr. Higginson, with three or four of the gravest members, laid hands on Mr. Skelton with prayer. Then, in like manner, hands were laid on Mr. Higginson. An elder and two deacons were also nominated, but their election was postponed, because it was thought that some more able men might be sent over from England from whom the church might choose. Some have supposed that

there was already a covenant between a few persons, who did the voting while the rest of the colonists looked on, but the evidence does not support this conjecture.

The people now had ministers of their choice, but there was as yet no distinct church organization. In England every baptized person was a member of the church. But these Salem Puritans had already taken the first step which made inevitable a separation of the church from the world, of those who surrendered themselves to the leadership of Christ and received the Holy Spirit from those who refused that leadership and rejected the Holy Spirit. They had formally elected their own ministers, thus assuming the responsibilities of church government which in England belonged only to the bishops and clergy. Naturally the question arose as to who were the proper persons to guide the affairs of the church in Salem. The national church was thousands of miles away, the colonists were beginning in a new land where they must decide for themselves what rules they would follow, what institutions they would plant. They had the New Testament as their guide, and they fully believed in it. Mr. Higginson, the newly chosen pastor, was requested to draw up a "Confession of faith and church covenant according to the Scripture." Copies of the document so prepared were distributed to thirty selected persons who were invited, by publicly adopting this confession and entering into this covenant, to form a church.

Was this method adopted in imitation of the example of the Separatists of England and of Plymouth? Did the conversation of Deacon Fuller with Governor Ende-

cott and his fellow colonists persuade them of the wisdom of thus organizing churches after the apostolic pattern, or did they simply put in practice the teachings of the New Testament? We cannot answer these questions. The men of that time could not answer them. John Cotton, who came to New England four years after the organization of this Salem Church, wrote, "How far they of Salem take up any practice from Plymouth I do not know. Sure I am that Mr. Skelton was studious of that way before he left Lincolnshire. If the dissuader knew the spirit of those men who came hither, after Plymouth, he would easily discern that they were not such as would be leavened by vicinity of neighbors, but by the divinity of the truth of God shining forth from the Word."

But the covenant into which they entered, as Higginson wrote it, so far as it is preserved, was as follows: "We covenant with the Lord and one with another, and do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all His ways, according as He is pleased to reveal Himself unto us in His blessed Word of Truth." It was in substance the same as that covenant of the Separatist Church formed in London in 1592, which elected Francis Johnson for its minister and John Greenwood for its teacher.

These steps having been taken, the 6th of August was appointed as another day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. When the appointed day came all secular business was suspended, both the ministers preached, public services continued through the day, till near its close the confession and covenant

were read, to which these thirty persons solemnly assented, and thus constituted a church of Christ. It was necessarily a church of the Congregational order. Then brethren appointed by the church proceeded to install these persons into the offices to which they had appointed them by publicly laying hands on them and by prayer.

Representatives of that church at Plymouth, one of whom was Governor Bradford, presented themselves, and shared in the closing part of the services, probably in compliance with an invitation for that purpose. Having been detained by adverse winds they did not arrive till the services were in progress, but having heard the statement of the election of officers, the mutual confession and covenant, and the formal induction of the ministers, elder and deacons into office, they in behalf of their church "gave the right hand of fellowship," thus signifying "their approbation and concurrence."

Thus the ministers who had been at first chosen and set apart for their office by the people of what might be called the parish were by a second service installed as pastor and teacher of the newly organized church. Thus the second Congregational church in America, and the first organized on American soil, began its existence by a voluntary separation from the world of those who constituted it, and by their voluntary covenant to walk together in obedience to Christ. Instead of bishops, priests and curates, set over them without their consent, they chose and set apart ministers with fasting and prayer that the Holy Spirit would direct their choice. Instead of rites and ceremonies imposed on them by the arbitrary will of a monarch led by a

hierarchy using the power of the state, they substituted simple forms of worship as the Holy Spirit should lead them. Instead of ecclesiastical courts enforcing conformity, they introduced the principle of the self-government of each local church with such fellowship among the churches, without authority, as would promote purity of life, maintain general harmony of belief, and secure co-operation in Christian work. This principle, which they introduced into American history, that the church is voluntary and independent of the state, has been slowly but effectually wrought into our national life till it has finally prevailed in all Protestant denominations.

It was not to be expected that methods of church organization and worship which had met with such fierce persecution in England would be adopted in the new colony without opposition both from among its own members and from its supporters in the mother country. Two brothers named Brown, one a lawyer and the other a merchant, attempted to start another congregation at Salem, in which the Book of Common Prayer was used and the ceremonies of the Church of England were observed. Perhaps if they had been content with worshipping God in their own way and had refrained from criticising the new departure in church order they would have been let alone. But they felt impelled to testify against the new order so persistently as to threaten faction and division. Having been summoned before the governor, they charged the ministers with being Separatists, and declared their own purpose to maintain worship according to the order of the Church of England. The

ministers had not yet realized to what extent these charges were true. They replied that they did not separate from the Church of England, but only from its corruptions and disorders; that being in a place where they might have liberty, they would not use the Prayer Book nor the ceremonies of the English Church, because they believed these things to be sinful corruptions. To them Episcopacy meant the tyranny of Archbishop Laud and of the Court of High Commission.

The answer of the ministers, in the opinion of the governor and his council, and of the people generally, was sufficient. Governor Endecott sent the Browns back to England. Their influence there did something to promote disturbance among the supporters of the colony, who wrote letters expressing their dissatisfaction and urging the colonists to stop their innovations on established church order and to repent of them. But these admonitions do not seem to have had much effect. Those New England Puritans had begun to be conscious of their independence in a new land, and to forecast the character of the commonwealth whose foundations they were laying.

There has been much debate as to whether this first Congregational church organized in America had a distinct confession of faith, or whether that was included with the covenant in one document. The latter seems much more probable, but there need be no question as to the doctrinal belief of the Salem church. The doctrines held by the Puritans, thoroughly Calvinistic, agreed with those of the Church of England so entirely that there was no need at the first for them to be formally set forth.

Yet the church allowed its members reasonable liberty in interpreting its creed and covenant. Nathaniel Morton, writing forty years later of the beginning of the Salem church, says: "The confession of faith and covenant was acknowledged only as a direc-



FIRST MEETING HOUSE OF THE FIRST PROTESTANT CHURCH ORGANIZED IN AMERICA, SALEM, MASS., BUILT 1634.

tion, pointing unto that faith and covenant contained in the Holy Scripture; and therefore no man was confined unto that form of words, but only to the substance, end and scope of the matter contained therein."

While the steps were being taken by which Salem church was organized, events of great importance to the New World were taking place

in England. The increasing severity with which persecutions of Puritans were pressed, forced many men of prominence seriously to consider emigration to America. Many among these were connected with the Massachusetts Company; a number of whom, whose names are now familiar in New England history, entered into a covenant to emigrate to the colony, provided the charter and patent of the company could be legally

carried thither. This brought matters to a crisis, and the company voted in August, 1629, to make the transfer. Matthew Cradock, the Governor, and other officers who could not leave England, resigned, and John Winthrop was chosen governor of the company. He was then forty-one years old, of prominent family, had been a student at Cambridge University, and a lawyer for a number of years. His name is one of the most illustrious in early New England annals. Domestic bereavements had strengthened his character and enriched his piety. He was a man of remarkable courage, persistence and patience, with a rare combination of the qualities needed in the leader of the infant colony.

The first company to start for New England in the spring of 1630, under the impulse of this new turn of affairs, was organized in Dorchester, England, under the guidance of John White. Its members formed themselves into a church by covenant at Plymouth just before sailing, and chose John Warham and John Maverick to be their ministers. Mr. Warham was a clergyman of the Established Church, living at Exeter. The organization was completed in the New Hospital with a day of fasting and prayer and preaching by Mr. White. This church landed at Nantasket May 30 and soon settled at Mattapan. The settlers called the place Dorchester, after the name of the English town which had been the home of many of them.

In June Winthrop arrived at Salem in the "Arabella" with three other vessels, and most of the remainder of his fleet came to land before July 5. He found the settlement weakened by sickness, discour-

agement and death, with scanty provisions, and in great fear of the Indians. Salem did not appear to be a suitable location for the capital of the colony. The fleet went to Charlestown, where a settlement had already begun, under Governor Endecott's direction, and there in tents, booths and cottages, many of the settlers began their new life. With the company had come two ministers, John Wilson and George Phillips, who held services on Sabbaths and preached under a tree which served as their meeting place.

July 8, the fleet having all arrived, was observed throughout the plantations as a day of thanksgiving. But severe sickness soon visited Charlestown, probably owing to the hardships of the voyage, exhausting the energies of the less robust. Governor Winthrop asked advice of the church in Salem. Messrs. Fuller, Allerton and Winslow were there at the time on a visit from Plymouth and their advice was also asked. It was agreed to set apart July 30 as a day of fasting and prayer. The three settlements into which Winthrop's company had divided were invited, with Salem, to observe the day, and Winslow and Fuller wrote to Plymouth that "they do earnestly entreat that the Church of Plymouth would set apart the same day for the same ends, beseeching the Lord, as to withdraw His hand of correction from them, so also to establish and direct them in His ways." Thus early, even in advance of church organizations, were the people of the colonies drawn together in the common sympathies of a common faith.

On the appointed day John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley and John Wilson, the four

most prominent persons in the Charlestown community, entered into this simple covenant with God and with one another, thus forming a Christian church:

“In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, & in Obedience to His holy will & Divine Ordinaunce,

“Wee whose names are herevnder written, being by His most wise, & good Providence brought together into this part of America in the Bay of Massachusetts, & desirous to vnite ourselves into one Congregation, or Church, vnder the Lord Jesus Christ our Head, in such sort as becometh all those whom He hath Redeemed, & Sanctified to Himselfe, do hereby solemnly, and religiously (as in His most holy Proesence) Promise, and bind o’selves, to walke in all our wayes according to the Rule of the Gospell, & in all sincere Conformity to His holy Ordinaunces, & in mutuall love, & respect each to other, so neere as God shall give vs grace.”

The same day a church was formed at Watertown, about forty persons subscribing their names to a covenant. They chose George Phillips to be their minister.

The first general court was held at Charlestown, August 23, when John Winthrop was elected governor of the colony, although he held the position of governor of the corporation by the appointment he had received before leaving England. The people already began to exercise their privileges as freemen. The court also agreed to provide houses for the ministers at Charlestown and Watertown, and to pay to Mr. Phillips a salary of thirty pounds. Mr. Wilson was voted a salary of twenty pounds a year till his wife should come over from England. Four

days later the church at Charlestown, which had largely increased in numbers, observed a day of fasting and prayer, and formally chose John Wilson to be their teacher, Increase Nowell ruling elder, and William Gager and William Aspinwall deacons. These officers were duly installed by the laying on of hands.

The sickness on account of which the people had set apart a day of fasting and prayer in July did not abate. Many of the wives of prominent men died, including the wife of George Phillips and the Lady Arabella, wife of Isaac Johnson and daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. That autumn two hundred persons succumbed to disease. When the ships returned to England, more than one hundred discouraged persons, among whom were many hired servants, returned in them. Some who were not in sympathy with the aims of the colony left for the settlement at the mouth of the Pascataqua River, where they had heard that there were people more to their liking. But the withdrawals were mostly of those who would have hindered more than they would have helped the new settlements.

Before long the supply of fresh water in Charlestown ran low. Only one spring could be found there, and that was inaccessible at high tide. Across the river at a place called Shawmut, was a fine spring of running water. William Blackstone, a Puritan clergyman, had been living there for some years. He had brought with him to this country a valuable library, and enjoyed study in solitude and the cultivation of his garden. On his invitation the governor and some of the leading men moved thither. In a little while their minister settled on that side of the river

and Sabbath services began to be held there, which the Charlestown brethren attended. The new settlement was called Boston, from the Lincolnshire town in England which had been the home of some of the settlers.

Boston was not at first fixed on for the capital. A town was laid out for that purpose where Cambridge now is, and it was named Newtown. The governor began to build there. Deputy Governor Dudley finished his house at Newtown and removed to it with his family. But the finger of destiny was pointing all the time to Boston as the metropolis of New England, and the governing powers finally acknowledged the fact. In the autumn of 1631 Governor Winthrop fixed his residence in Boston, and the work of building up the town was vigorously carried on.

During the three years following the arrival of Governor Winthrop and his large company in Massachusetts Bay the immigrants were few. Sad reports of the mortality that prevailed that first autumn, and evil reports from those who had gone back to England in discouragement, or had been sent home because of misdemeanors, kept back immigration. In 1631 only about ninety persons arrived, and the next year only about two hundred and fifty. This was to the advantage of the new colony, which needed time for its citizens to become acquainted with one another and with their new surroundings and to settle the affairs of government by themselves.

For about two years the Charlestown people went across the river to Boston to attend public worship. But in the autumn of 1632 enough people had arrived to warrant a new organization. The church at Boston

formally dismissed thirty-five of its members who lived in Charlestown, and these persons organized themselves into a church, November 23 of that year. They elected and installed Thomas James as their pastor, who had arrived from England a short time before, and not long after appointed a ruling elder and two deacons.

By the end of the year 1632, just twelve years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, seven churches had planted themselves around Massachusetts Bay, while to the church of Plymouth two others had been added in that colony, at Marshfield and Scituate. These seven churches were organized in the following order: Salem, 1629; Dorchester, Boston (at Charlestown) and Watertown, 1630; Lynn, Roxbury and Charlestown, 1632. Under the leadership of an admirable governor, with statesmanlike associates, the foundations of a body politic had been securely laid. With unstinted self-sacrifice, high religious aims, a profound faith in God, these families in the wilderness had begun to feel the influences of civil and religious freedom in a community generally united in belief and purpose, and to mold the state in accordance with those influences. Already the great Republic was born; and although almost a century and a half was to pass away before it would attain to its majority, it was even then settled that the twin forces of government would be free churches on one hand, and free civil institutions on the other, mutually independent yet mutually supporting each other in their efforts to realize the divine ideal of man in society. Our fathers had to work out these ideas of government through discipline and trial. They had to learn the meaning of ecclesiastical and civil freedom

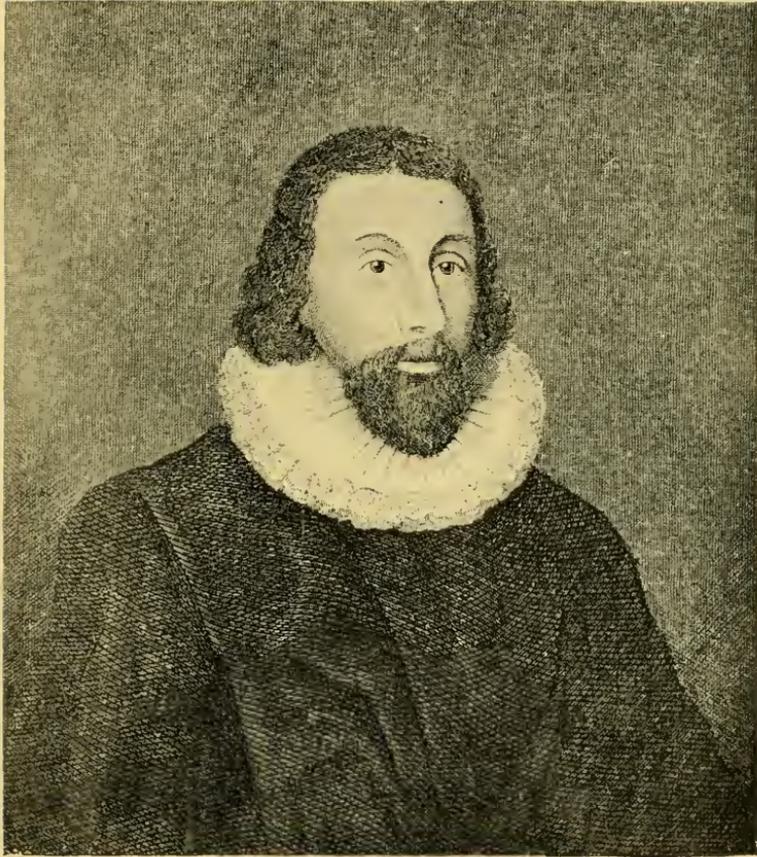
by experiment, not without mistakes, not altogether without intolerance on their part. But they wrought, perhaps, without graver errors in the light of their time than those into which their descendants have fallen, and with a prophetic purpose which has been nobly realized and for which we owe them a great debt.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY AMERICAN CONGREGATIONALISM.

THE first churches formed by the Puritans in the Massachusetts Bay Colony had, as we have seen, no intention of separating themselves from the Church of England. Their pastors and teachers did not in general renounce their Episcopal ordination. They meant only to free themselves from the corruptions of the church which had persecuted them, and caused them to leave their homes to found a nation in the wilderness of the New World.

But the principles which controlled these Puritans, separated from the immediate domination of the English church and state, would inevitably issue in Congregational churches and a republican government. Those seven churches which had been formed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony before the spring of 1633, as well as the three which had been planted in the Plymouth Colony, were in effect independent. Each had originated in a voluntary covenant, had chosen and placed in office its own officers and was administering its own affairs. They had, however, united with one another in mutual councils. We are now to trace the working out of these ideas of the sufficiency of the local church and of the union of such churches in fellowship, without authority over one another, till the polity they represented came to be known as American Congregationalism. The providential guidance



JOHN WINTHROP.

which led to that result appears especially in the men who became the leaders in New England, in the exigencies at home which shaped the faith and polity of the churches and made declarations of that faith and polity necessary, and in the influences from England.

Those who stood for godly living in England against the corruptions of the church and the state were of the right sort to lay solid foundations of free commonwealths. They had exalted ideas of public welfare, and for it in God's name they were ready to make any sacrifices. They were no mere enthusiasts. With them sound learning went hand in hand with holy purposes. Never was another colony planted whose early settlers included so large a proportion of men of liberal education. Many of the choicest sons of Cambridge and Oxford universities, especially the former, were among these emigrants. There was at least one graduate from these institutions to every two hundred planters. In the twenty years following the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, seventy-seven ministers and sixteen theological students came with the other immigrants to New England, about one to every one hundred and twenty-five persons. Their coming indicates the character of those who came with them. When John Cotton was considering the question of leaving England, his inclination to go was strengthened by the opinion of an elderly minister whom he consulted, "that the removing of a minister was like the draining of a fish-pond: the good fish will follow the water, but eels and other baggage fish will stick in the mud."

No man has left a broader and deeper impress of

character on New England life than this same John Cotton. He came to this country in the full flush of his powers, at the age of forty-eight, arriving in Boston September 4, 1633. From being a brilliant scholar at Cambridge and a fellow of Emanuel College, he had gone to be for twenty years the rector of the congregation worshiping in the most magnificent parish church in England, St. Botolph's, at Boston. At last he had been silenced for his nonconformity and had fled to the new Boston, where he was welcomed as a great accession to the ministry of the colony. In the same ship with Cotton came two other ministers, Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone. Hooker was also in middle life, having been born in England in 1586 in the little hamlet of Marfield, Leicestershire. He too, like his college friend Cotton, who was one year his senior in age, was a graduate of Cambridge and a fellow of Emanuel College. He had been a popular and influential preacher in England, whose views were much to the distaste of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud. But it had been well said of his spirit and courage as a minister, "He was a person who, while doing his Master's work, would put a king in his pocket." He had been silenced, however, and had taken to keeping a private school at Little Baddow, about thirty miles from London. It is chiefly memorable because into that school came as a student John Eliot, afterward a missionary to the American Indians; and Eliot says of his experience in that "blessed family," "Here the Lord said unto my dead soul, *live*; and through the grace of Christ I do live and shall live forever!"

But it was not possible to check the influence of Thomas Hooker in England as long as he himself

remained in that kingdom. One of his enemies wrote of him to Dr. Duck, Laud's chancellor: "His genius will still haunt all the pulpits in the country where any of his scholars may be admitted to preach . . . I have lived in Essex to see many changes, and have seen the people idolizing many new ministers and lecturers, but this man . . . gains more and far greater followers than all before him." Hooker was driven out of England, and went to Holland in 1630, where he soon found hearers and became acquainted with Hugh Peter, later known as the minister of Salem. While Hooker was in Holland many of his followers found their way to Massachusetts Bay, and among them John Eliot. They were so numerous that they were known about Boston as "Mr. Hooker's Company." Thither Hooker followed them, bringing with him many more of his loyal friends.

Samuel Stone, also a graduate of Emanuel, had had, on the recommendation of Thomas Shepard, of the same college, and four years Stone's junior, an appointment as Puritan lecturer at Towcester, in Northamptonshire. He was only thirty-one years old when he accepted the invitation of "the judicious Christians that were coming to New England with Mr. Hooker," to join them as Hooker's assistant. The Puritans of Massachusetts, who had a greater fund of humor than has usually been credited to them, used to say that the ship in which these three men sailed for New England brought to this country "three great necessities: Cotton for their clothing, Hooker for their fishing, and Stone for their building." With them also came John Haynes, afterward governor of the colony.

These ministers, of matured convictions, large schol-

arship and experience as popular religious leaders, joined others who were their peers in the young colony, where the experiment of free churches in a free state was to be worked out by men still under the influence of the English Church and English monarchy, and nominally, at least, under their control. What would these Englishmen create for their spiritual and temporal government with such materials, when separated for conscience' sake from old associations in a new land? No more interesting problem appears in history than that which these men worked out, whose result is seen in this great Republic of the United States of America, leavened but not ruled by free churches of Jesus Christ. Whoever would insist on judging the efforts of the men of those early years, when the problem was being courageously and laboriously wrought out, by the standards which have now at length resulted from those labors, is deficient in historic sense. Even through mistakes which our fathers made and suffered from, always aiming at that liberty which is our glory, we have come into the inheritance of the institutions for which they labored and prayed, "having seen them and greeted them from afar, and having confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth."

John Cotton was promptly called to be teacher of the church in Boston, John Wilson, their first teacher, having been chosen to the office of pastor; and on the 10th of October, Cotton having accepted the call, was set apart by the laying on of hands, with a prayer of the pastor and elders of the church. Neighboring pastors, being present, gave him the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Cotton's ideas of church government must have

changed considerably since he had left England; for before he left, he wrote to Mr. Skelton at Salem, complaining because Skelton had refused to baptize the child of Mr. Coddington, for the reason that he had not united with any particular "Reformed Church," although he was a member of the Church of England. Yet Mr. Cotton at his installation stated that he had not been willing to baptize his own child Seaborn, born during the voyage, because they had no settled congregation on the ship, and "because a minister has no power to give the seals but in his own congregation." Mr. Cotton already had come to believe that the ministerial office was identical with the pastorate of a particular church. The next day after Mr. Cotton's settlement at Boston, Mr. Hooker was chosen pastor and Mr. Stone teacher at Newtown, which was soon after called Cambridge, the church probably having been already organized. At any rate a meeting house had been erected the previous year with a bell on it.

By this time the population of the towns and plantations of the Bay was at least three thousand, and there were thirteen or fourteen ministers, who had been eminent clergymen of the Church of England. Newtown had about one hundred families, all of whom were of Mr. Hooker's congregation. It was a thrifty and pleasant community, and its people, like those of the neighboring towns, were conscientious, intelligent, religious and Puritan in character. But Boston had already been fixed on as the seat of government, and Mr. Cotton speedily acquired large influence there. It was said of him, that "whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an order of court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesias-

tical, concernment." Cotton leaned toward aristocracy in government, both in church and state. Not long after his arrival here, he wrote to Lord Say and Sele: "Democracy I do not conceive that God ever did ordain as a fit government either for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be the governed?" He preached a sermon at the first Court of Elections after he came to Boston, in May, 1634, to show "that a magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause;" and Governor Winthrop also favored that view. It took practical form two years later in the action of the General Court establishing a Standing Council, to consist of "a certain number of magistrates for the term of their lives," with authority to exercise powers "out of court," such as the Legislature might give them. Hooker was democratic in his tendencies, and naturally these views were distasteful to him. The historian Hubbard says of him "After his coming it was observed that many of the freemen [men on whom were conferred the rights of citizenship] grew to be very jealous of their liberties." The sturdy independence of these freemen soon asserted itself against the permanent tenure of office, and against the formation of any ruling class in society. But the struggle between the principles of aristocracy and democracy was constantly going on, in which these two ministers took prominent part with opposing views which finally led to the departure of Mr. Hooker and his followers to plant a new colony in the Connecticut Valley,

As early as 1631 the General Court had decided that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches

within the limits of the same." English law would have required as much, but the English Church would have made all the people members of it by baptism. The Massachusetts churches would admit no one to membership except those who were regarded as regenerate souls. Four years later the General Court decided that no new churches should be formed without the consent of the civil magistrates and the elders of the churches. Thus were fostered both theocratic and aristocratic tendencies in government, in which of course the ministers would have great influence. Soon after Mr. Cotton's arrival a semi-monthly ministers' meeting was established, at which "some question of moment was debated." Some, among them Mr. Skelton of Salem, objected to this organization, as Winthrop says, "fearing it might grow in time to a presbytery or superintendency, to the prejudice of the churches' liberties." But the majority of the ministers favored and maintained it. Thursday lectures by the ministers were soon established in Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury and Newtown. They included a wide range of subjects, and sometimes provoked opposition. At one of them in Boston, when Mr. Cotton had spoken against the necessity of women wearing veils in church, Mr. Endecott, who was present, disputed with him till the discussion became so hot between them that Governor Winthrop interposed.

Mr. Hooker appears to have looked with some apprehension on the limiting of authority in government to the church members or to the educated classes. He replied to a defense by Governor Winthrop of restriction of suffrage by saying, "In matters which concern the common good a general council chosen by

all to transact businesses which concern all, I conceive most suitable to rule and most safe for relief for the whole." Hooker had many followers, especially in Newtown, Watertown and Dorchester, which as early as 1633 organized town governments, with selectmen.

While Cotton and his associates were on their voyage from England to America, William Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury in England, and he promptly placed himself at the head of a special commission to control English colonial affairs. This he followed by a summons to the Massachusetts Bay Company to return its charter. In the perplexity which followed this summons the magistrates of the colony called together the ministers and asked their counsel on this question: "What ought we to do if a general governor should be sent out to us from England?" The ministers replied, "We ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions if we are able; otherwise to avoid or protract." This incident illustrates the perils to which the colony was exposed from the interference of the home government, and also the influence of the ministers over the colonial magistrates.

This incident will help also to explain an episode which properly finds mention at this point, which has greater civil than religious significance. Roger Williams was a young minister who had come over from England in 1631, and had been employed for a short time by the church in Salem against the remonstrances of the magistrates. The next year he was preaching in Plymouth, but on the death of Mr. Skelton in 1634 he became the sole minister of the Salem church. As a conscientious disturber of the peace, he stands unsurpassed in New

England history. He managed to urge important truths with such an interweaving of dangerous errors that he stirred up wrangles wherever he went. He proclaimed the principle of religious toleration in advance of his time, and he seems to have had a sweetness of temper which never gave away before the righteous wrath which he everywhere aroused. The evils he inflicted on others he intended to be for their useful discipline, and he repeatedly returned kindness for the punishment they inflicted on him. He denounced King James as a liar, and King Charles, then on the throne of England, as an unclean spirit and a wanton, applying to him some of the most objectionable passages in the Book of Revelation; and there was enough of truth in these assertions to make them dangerous. He attacked the precious charter of Massachusetts and declared it worthless, saying that the people were unjustly usurping the possessions of the Indians. These things were enough to put the peace of the colony in peril and even its very existence should his words be reported, as they were likely to be, in England. But he found ways to come even closer home to the sensibilities of the colonists. He tried to influence the political action of the General Court by persuading his church to ask other churches to discipline those of their members who as town representatives would not vote to allow a petition of Salem to receive a grant of public land. When these churches did not act on this request, he tried to persuade the Salem church to withdraw fellowship from them. When that church would not do as he desired he withdrew his fellowship from it, and when his wife continued to attend the church he withdrew fellowship

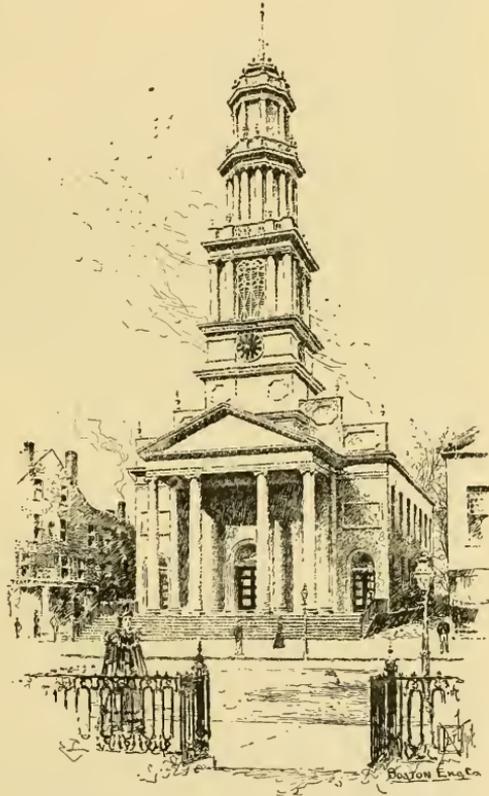
from her and refused to pray in the family in her presence. Besides all these proceedings he would not become a freeman of the colony, and tried in his pulpit to persuade others to decline to take the oath of allegiance to the government.

It was simply a matter of self-protection, and not at all a theological question, which led the General Court to summon Mr. Williams before it for trial; and, when he persisted in maintaining his opinions, to order him to leave the colony within six weeks. This action was taken in October, 1635. But being given a respite till the next spring, he made so much mischief during the winter that a military guard was sent to Salem in January to bring him to Boston and put him on board a ship bound for England. Being seasonably warned, however, by Governor Winthrop, he escaped to Narragansett Bay, and in the summer of 1636 began a settlement at Providence.

Meanwhile Mr. Hooker and his friends had been, almost from the time of his arrival, looking about for some region where they could plant a colony for themselves. In the summer of 1634 they sent a pioneer party of six persons to Connecticut; and the fall meeting of the General Court was largely occupied with the discussion concerning the request of the people of Newtown to remove to Connecticut. The court ordered a day of fasting and prayer to seek guidance of the Lord on the matter, and the Newtown people were finally persuaded to accept more land in the neighborhood of Watertown and what is now Newton; "and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was removed."

Their departure, however, was only delayed. There

seem to be good reasons for believing that Mr. Hooker preferred more democratic ideas of government, both in the church and the state, than those which prevailed in the Massachusetts colony; and that many others agreed with him. In the spring of 1635 the court gave permission to companies in Dorchester and Watertown to remove to Connecticut. Those who went endured great hardships the ensuing winter. But the tidings of their sufferings did not deter the Newtown church from following them. Early in 1636, a considerable company having arrived from England, Mr. Hooker's people were able to sell their houses to these newcomers. Another church in

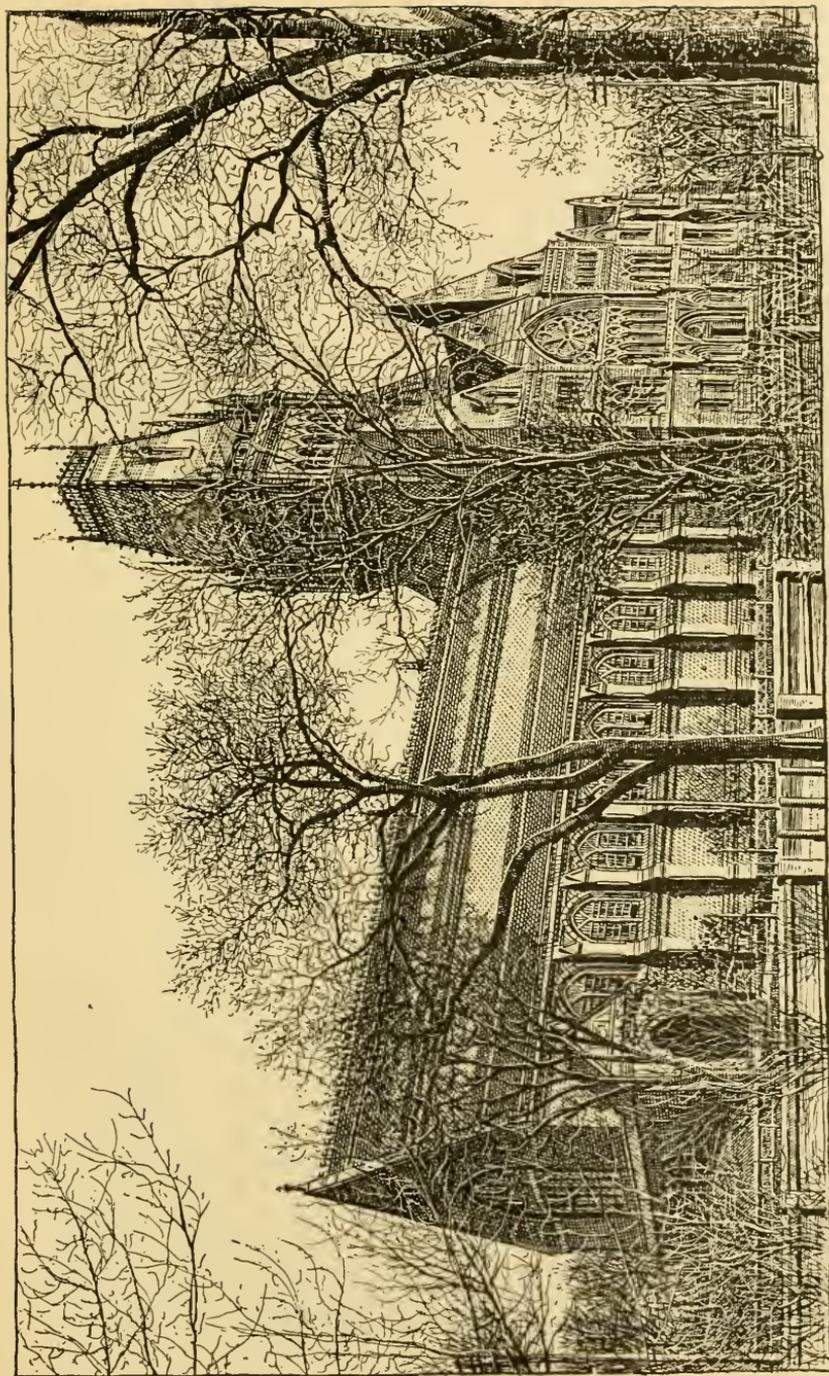


MEETING-HOUSE OF FIRST CHURCH, HARTFORD, CONN. ERECTED 1807.

Newtown was organized February 1, with Thomas Shepard as pastor; and by the last of May, the Newtown pilgrims, about one hundred in number, were on their journey. It was a toilsome way through a pathless wilderness, over mountains and across unbridged rivers, with only a compass for a guide. Mrs. Hooker,

being an invalid, was carried on a litter. They were about a fortnight on the way ; but they all came safely at last to the place on the Connecticut River where they began their settlement, which they called Hartford, in remembrance of Mr. Stone's native town in England. The church which emigrated from Dorchester settled at Windsor, under the leadership of its minister, John Warham. This exodus from the three Massachusetts towns, which resulted in the planting of the three original river towns of Connecticut—Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield—took away from Massachusetts about one-quarter of her strength. Yet such was the value which these Puritans of Massachusetts Bay placed on education that in this year of trial the General Court appropriated four hundred pounds for the beginning of a college at Newtown, and the name of that place, in honor of the fact, was changed to Cambridge.

It is quite possible that the fellowship of the New England churches was saved too severe a test in this early period of their history by this exodus to Connecticut. But other exigencies were soon to arise which would call for more definite statements than the churches had yet given, both of their faith and their polity. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson had been a parishioner and an admirer of Mr. Cotton in England. She was a woman of ambition and influence, of attractive manners and not wanting in self-confidence. She regarded herself as peculiarly qualified to instruct others in religion. She believed that she was favored with special revelations from God. Soon after Mr. Cotton left for New England she said : " It was revealed to me that I must go thither also." Her husband, Winthrop says, was



MEMORIAL HALL, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

“a man of very mild temper and weak parts, wholly guided by his wife.” In these facts are all the materials needed for a lively church disturbance. Mrs. Hutchinson, on her arrival in Boston, promptly sought admission into Mr. Cotton’s church. Some question of her orthodoxy arose at her examination, but she was received November 2, 1634. She soon began to hold weekly meetings at her own house. These appear to have been a kind of Bible readings, but especially she made them occasions for repeating and explaining to her hearers the substance of Mr. Cotton’s sermons.

Mrs. Hutchinson’s meetings soon became popular, the most prominent people of the town attending them. The next autumn after her arrival young Sir Henry Vane came to Boston, and was welcomed as a great addition to its society. He became a disciple of Mrs. Hutchinson. Mr. Cotton was captivated by her. In May, 1636, Vane was chosen Governor. Mrs. Hutchinson’s brother-in-law, John Wheelwright, supported her views, and therefore met with her approval. But Mr. Cotton’s colleague, Mr. Wilson, Governor Winthrop, Hugh Peter, who had come to be pastor of the Salem church, and a number of others, were proof against her persuasive powers. These, and indeed all who did not accept her views, she declared to be under “a covenant of works,” while she and her followers were under “a covenant of grace.” She extolled Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright, but the other ministers she regarded as unfit to preach. She believed that those enlightened directly by the Spirit, as she was, could preach better than the “black coats” from the “ninniversity”—epithets which seem

to need no other evidence of their feminine origin. Mr. Wilson became so unpopular that, when he rose to preach, a large part of the congregation would leave the house. Mrs. Hutchinson taught that those who were under the covenant of grace had an immediate disclosure from the Holy Spirit that they were saved; that they had or could have revelations from heaven; and that the evidence of their salvation lay in the revelation to them of the fact, and not in any evidence of improvement in moral character. These views, Winthrop says, had "many branches." Probably Mrs. Hutchinson herself was not able to make all of them very clear either to her own mind or to the minds of her followers. But she succeeded in bringing the churches of the entire colony into turmoil. The Boston church came very near division, with Mr. Cotton leading one faction and Mr. Wilson the other.

January 19, 1637, was observed as a day of fasting and prayer in view of these dissensions, and Mr. Wheelwright preached a sermon for which the court found him guilty of sedition. On account of the excitement in Boston the next Court of Elections, May 17, was held at Cambridge, the views of Mrs. Hutchinson being the sole issue in the campaign. The feeling was so intense that physical violence was hardly avoided. Mr. Wilson, in his eagerness to be heard, climbed a tree and used it as a pulpit from which to address the voters assembled in the field. The anti-Hutchinsonians triumphed. Vane was not re-elected governor, and soon afterward returned to England. Winthrop was chosen in his place.

Before autumn the excitement had somewhat abated,

though another day of humiliation and prayer had been observed on account of the trouble. Mr. Hooker had been from the first opposed to the Hutchinsonians. In April he had written to Winthrop: "I did rejoice from the root of my heart that the Lord did and hath graciously kept you from the taint of those new-coined conceits." Thomas Shepard of Newtown heartily sympathized with Hooker, who had now become his father-in-law; and most of the ministers outside of Boston agreed with them. The final settlement of the matter being vital to the peace of the colony, the General Court convened at Cambridge the first general council or synod held in New England. It consisted of "all the teaching elders through the country" and of "messengers from the churches," "about twenty-five godly ministers of Christ besides many other graciously eminent servants of His." The assembly met August 30, and continued in session over three weeks. Peter Bulkeley of Concord and Thomas Hooker of Hartford were chosen moderators. The debates were very earnest, especially as many things said must have reflected rather severely on Mr. Cotton. "Solemn speeches were made with tears," says Cotton Mather, "lamenting that they should in this important matter dissent from a person so venerable and considerable in the country." In its result the council stated and condemned eighty-two erroneous opinions, and nine unwholesome expressions, besides specifying many texts of Scripture which had been abused. Mr. Cotton would not sign the result, but he seems to have at last accepted it, with qualifications. The council unanimously decided that meetings of women in which one woman undertook to

teach doctrines were disorderly; that disputes in the public assembly after sermon by private members were unjustifiable; that members refusing to answer the summons of the church might be proceeded against, though absent; and that members disagreeing with their own churches in matters of doctrine should not be granted letters of dismission to other churches.

The government paid the traveling and other expenses incident to the assembly, and Governor Winthrop was so pleased with its results that he proposed that meetings should be held annually. This proposal was favorably regarded but not acted on. The good sense of the ministers saved them from such a step toward Presbyterianism, and doubtless the jealousy of the people toward permanent ecclesiastical assemblies helped them to refrain from establishing such a body.

The dissensions, however, did not end with the dissolution of the council. Mr. Wheelwright kept on preaching the opinions which had been condemned. Alienations continued in families and between neighbors. The court in October summoned Mr. Wheelwright and questioned him. He dared them to proceed. Finally the court pronounced sentence of banishment against him and Mrs. Hutchinson, and a number of prominent citizens who sympathized with them were fined and disarmed. Mrs. Hutchinson remained in the colony till spring, when she was tried by the Boston church and excommunicated. She went to Rhode Island and Mr. Wheelwright to Pascataqua. Five years later she and all her household except one child were massacred by the Mohawk Indians. Her career was a trying one, both to the civil government of the colony and to the churches. But one cannot

withhold admiration for her ability, respect for her earnestness and sympathy for her misfortunes. When the tide of popular favor turned against her she was undoubtedly treated with undue severity, which even the precarious state of the colony could only partly excuse.



JOHN DAVENPORT.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CAMBRIDGE SYNOD.

THE Hutchinson troubles brought unfortunate results to the Massachusetts colony in various ways. While they were at their height in the summer of 1637 John Davenport, an intimate friend of Mr. Cotton, came over from England with a wealthy gentleman, Theophilus Eaton, and two shiploads of emigrants. How far they were influenced by these troubles against remaining in Massachusetts is uncertain. But they were in full sympathy with the prevailing views of the colony concerning government, and it had been expected that they would join it. However, the next spring they went to the northern shore of Long Island Sound, and founded at Quinnipiack the New Haven colony. The news of the religious and political disturbances in Boston was also carried back to England and probably hindered further emigration to New England. Cotton sent word to the English Puritans early in that year "that all the strife among us is about magnifying the grace of God . . . and that if there are any among them that would strive for grace they should come hither."

But though the tidings of the dissensions hindered the coming of the desired immigrants, they caused anxious inquiries from the old country concerning the belief of the New England churches and the principles and methods by which they were governed. In

1637 came "a letter from many ministers in Old England" making inquiry concerning "nine positions," relating to the use of a liturgy, admission to the sacraments, church membership, excommunication and ministerial standing. About the same time also the English Puritans sent to New England "thirty-two questions," concerning the whole field of church polity. They asked about the way churches were organized, the settlement of ministers, lay preaching, the powers of synods and councils. These inquiries brought forth from New England ministers answers, to which again the English ministers made rejoinders; and during the years from 1636 to 1648 an extensive literature was produced which helped to settle and define the principles of Congregationalism.

John Cotton was a prolific writer on these topics, in various treatises printed in England, of which the most noted was entitled, "The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven." Richard Mather of Dorchester wrote an elaborate reply to the thirty-two questions, which, though it was entirely his own production, the ministers generally approved. The views of the time were those of Barrowe rather than those of Browne. While they placed governing power entirely in the local church they made the ruling elders practically the church so far as government was concerned. The New England ministers held that the will of Christ must rule the church; but that in case of difference of opinion the elders, and not the majority of the members, should interpret Christ's will. They held that the whole church had a voice in its government in that the members, by their silence, could give assent to the judgment of the elders; and that if any should dissent, they should be labored with

to change their judgment. If such labor failed they were to be admonished as factious and as a final resort their votes nullified. The ministers denied that this was an aristocracy, and tried to persuade themselves that it was a wise middle way between Presbyterianism and Brownism. But it was after all, as Samuel Stone of Hartford said, "A speaking aristocracy in the face of a silent democracy."

Meanwhile the course of Puritanism in Old England was different from that in New England. Especially the Puritans in New England emphasized the sufficiency of the local church, while in Old England the tendency increased toward Presbyterianism, giving the authority into the hands of ministers and representatives of the churches in presbyteries and synods. The Westminster Assembly, called by Parliament in 1643 without the approval of the king, became the more surely Presbyterian because the Episcopalians who were loyal to the king refused to attend it. From New England Messrs. Cotton, Hooker and Davenport received an invitation to "assist in the synod," from Lord Say and Sele, Cromwell and some thirty other minority members of Parliament. Cotton and Davenport were inclined to accept the invitation, but Hooker opposed accepting, and his view prevailed, being re-enforced by letters from English friends. It was evident that the views of Congregationalists would be rejected there. Though there were some ten members of the assembly during its sessions who "stood for independency," they were a hopeless minority. Yet these Congregationalists commanded the respect of the assembly and were the peers of its ablest members.

But the preparations in England for that assembly

gave new interest to the discussions in New England concerning Presbyterianism. Some of the ministers favored its principles; especially Thomas Parker and James Noyes, pastor and teacher of the church at Newbury. To prevent the spread of the dissensions which were arising at Newbury from this cause, a convention was held in Newtown, by that time called Cambridge, in September, 1643. It included all the ministers in the country, about fifty, and such of the ruling elders as desired to attend. Cotton of Massachusetts and Hooker of Connecticut were moderators. This meeting made no formal deliverance, but disapproved of some features of Presbyterianism, and presented its reasons for so doing to the Newbury brethren. The convention maintained that the votes of the church members were necessary in admitting and excommunicating persons; that those were not fit members who practiced known sins or neglected known duty; that stated conferences of the churches were necessary; that in each particular church the power should usually be exercised by the elders; and that the parish churches in England, where all who had been baptized were counted as members, could not be right without a renewal of the covenant, including only those who joined in it. These opinions seem to have had little weight with the Newbury ministers, for the trouble in their church continued.

In England many books were coming from the press on the subject of Presbyterianism, some of them directly criticising the New England church polity. One of these, Professor Samuel Rutherford's "Due Right of Presbyteries," the New England Congregationalists thought should be answered. Replies

were written by Mr. Davenport on "The Power of Congregational Churches," and by Mr. Hooker, "A Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline." These manuscripts were examined and approved by a general meeting of ministers at Cambridge, July, 1645, but the ship in which they were sent to England to be printed was never heard from after leaving port. Hooker reluctantly rewrote his "Survey," but it was not published till after his death. In the preface is a summary of principles, which so clearly represents the Congregational polity that it is hereunder reproduced. It is only needful to make comments on two points. Hooker's assertion that there ought to be no ordination of a minister at large no longer stands for Congregational usage. By consociations and synods he means simply advisory councils. Hooker's summary is as follows :

"If the Reader shall demand how far this way of church-proceeding receives approbation by any common concurrence amongst us : I shall plainly and punctually express myself in a word of truth, in these following points, viz.

"Visible saints are the only true and meet matter, whereof a visible church should be gathered, and confederation is the form.

"The church as *totum essentiale*, is, and may be, before officers.

"There is no Presbyteriall church (*i. e.*, a church made up of the elders of many Congregations appointed classickwise, to rule all those Congregations) in the New Testament.

"A church Congregational is the first subject of the keys.

“ Each congregation completely constituted of all officers, hath sufficient power in herself, to exercise the power of the keys and all church discipline, in all the censures thereof.

“ Ordination is not before election.

“ There ought to be no ordination of a minister at large, namely, such as should make him pastor without a people.

“ The election of the people hath an instrumental causal virtue under Christ, to give an outward call unto an officer.

“ Ordination is only a solemn installing of an officer into the office, unto which he was formerly called.

“ Children of such, who are members of congregations, ought only to be baptized.

“ The consent of the people gives a causal virtue to the completing of the sentence of excommunication.

“ Whilst the church remains a true church of Christ, it doth not lose this power, nor can it lawfully be taken away.

“ Consociation of churches should be used, as occasion doth require.

“ Such consociations and synods have allowance to counsel and admonish other churches, as the case may require.

“ And if they grow obstinate in error or sinful mis-carriages, they should renounce the right hand of fellowship with them.

“ But they have no power to excommunicate.

“ Nor do their constitutions bind formalitèr & juridicè.”

But the “ New England way ” of church government thus simply described met with continued opposition,

as well from political as from religious reasons. Some, like Messrs. Parker and Noyes of Newbury, conscientiously preferred Presbyterianism. Others sought such changes in church polity as would aid them to gain the rights of citizenship. The limitation of the franchise to church members deprived the larger portion of the people of any active share in the government. Out of the fifteen thousand persons in the Massachusetts colony in 1643, only one thousand seven hundred and eight had become citizens, and many of these had removed to Connecticut. In the Plymouth colony, although the ecclesiastical test was not applied, the restrictions were so great that out of three thousand persons only two hundred and thirty had the right to vote. Local causes of irritation also strengthened the feeling of discontent with ecclesiastical authority which seemed to some to savor of tyranny. A conflict arose in 1645 between a party in the church at Hingham and the General Court over the appointment of a captain of militia. An attempt was made, led by the minister, Peter Hobart, to excommunicate from the church Captain Eames, of whom the soldiery wished to be rid. This act would have deprived him of citizenship. Governor Winthrop and some of the magistrates took the part of Eames, and the case occupied the attention for a considerable time both of the Legislature and the ministers. Governor Winthrop, having been accused of exceeding his powers because he fined and committed to jail some of the Hingham citizens, was tried by the General Court and acquitted. The ministers censured Mr. Hobart and upheld the magistrates. Hobart was heavily fined, but he had many sympathizers, who,

with him, were regarded by the party in power as unpatriotic and seditious because they talked of appealing to the English Parliament from what they claimed were unauthorized acts of the colonial government. Such an appeal was finally made as the result of a movement begun by one of Mr. Hobart's neighbors, William Vassall. A memorial was prepared to be sent to Parliament, complaining that freeborn subjects of England residing in the colony were denied their liberties because their consciences would not permit them to enter into the church covenants. While this memorial was being prepared, seven persons of some prominence presented the same statements in substance to the General Court of Massachusetts, giving formal notice that they would appeal to Parliament unless the court should grant their request. Eventually the court declared that no appeal from its proceedings could be allowed, while acknowledging that the colony owed allegiance to the authorities in England. It thus practically asserted the independence of the colonies, which one hundred and forty years later was formally affirmed in the Declaration of Independence. But the court denied the reasonable petition, and punished the men who made it with imprisonment and heavy fines.

These disturbances aroused afresh the sensitiveness of both magistrates and people to the constant danger to which their government was exposed by appeals to English authorities. To guard against that danger it was important that the constitution of the churches, and the conditions of admission to them by which men might also become freemen, should be clearly defined. The Assembly, now known as the Westminster, then

in session, suggested a way in which this could be done. Some of the ministers of the Massachusetts colony requested the General Court at its meeting in May, 1646, to pass an act which they had drawn up, summoning the churches to assemble by their representatives in a synod for the purpose of agreeing on a uniform practice in all the churches. The magistrates passed the act, but some of the deputies objected that civil magistrates had not the authority to command the churches to determine what should be uniform practice, nor to compel them to adopt what the synod should decide. The act was therefore modified so that the court requested, instead of commanding the churches to convene; and it was explained that the synod was called only to present counsel from the Word of God, which the court would be at liberty to accept or reject according as they should see cause. The act was then passed by both branches of the court.

The call mentioned the fact that there were differences of opinion and practice among the churches, especially directing attention to questions concerning church membership and the baptism of children of non-communicants; and expressed the desire of the court "that there be a public assembly of the elders and other messengers of the several churches within this jurisdiction, who may come together and meet at Cambridge upon the first day of September, now next ensuing; there to discuss, dispute and clear up by the Word of God such questions of church government and discipline in the things afore mentioned, or any other, as they shall think needful and meet, and to continue so doing till they, or the major part of them, shall have agreed and consented upon one form of

government and discipline, for the main and substantial parts thereof, as that which they judge agreeable to the Holy Scriptures."

When the synod met in Cambridge, September 1, it was found that all the churches of Massachusetts colony were represented except four. The minister at Concord was unable to be present. The Hingham church, of course, would not be represented. But the churches of Boston and Salem made serious objections, not overcome without diligent efforts, occupying several days; and in the case of Boston, though delegates were finally sent, a considerable minority of the church protested. However, the synod as organized had the support of all, except one, of the twenty-nine churches of Massachusetts, the two churches in New Hampshire, and the approval of the twenty-two churches of Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, some of whom were represented by their ministers or delegates. The two weeks of the first session were largely taken up with discussions concerning the authority of the civil magistrates in religious matters, and concerning the nature of powers of a synod. John Cotton, Richard Mather and Ralph Partridge, the last named being minister at Duxbury, were appointed each to prepare a "model of church government" for consideration at the next meeting, and the synod adjourned to June 8, 1647. The session which met on that date was a brief one, because of an epidemic which caused the death of many people, among whom were Governor Winthrop's wife and Mr. Hooker of Hartford.

Meanwhile affairs in England were rapidly drifting toward revolution, and it was becoming evident that influences were gaining ascendancy which would favor

New England. Presbyterianism had arrayed itself against the army and in defense of the king. The army was largely composed of Independents, who heartily favored what were the essential principles of New England Congregationalism. About the time of the second session of the Cambridge Synod, in June, 1647, the army by force gained possession of the king's person, and the Independents came into power in Parliament. When this news arrived in New England it was plain that the danger to which her institutions had been exposed from the mother country had ceased, at least for that time. Questions concerning the conditions of citizenship were no longer of chief importance, for the laws of Massachusetts were not now likely to be taken up for revision in England. These matters were left to be solved by the New England churches half a generation later. The attention of the synod was therefore turned, more prominently than it would otherwise have been, to matters of doctrine.

The Westminster Assembly had by this time prepared a confession of faith, a few copies of which had been printed under charge of secrecy; but it was not yet adopted by Parliament, and there was reason to fear that it might not be acceptable to Congregationalists in New England. The General Court therefore requested the American Synod to adopt a confession of faith, and that Messrs. Norris of Salem, Cotton of Boston, Mather of Dorchester, Rogers and Norton of Ipswich, Shepard of Cambridge, and Cobbett of Lynn, should each prepare a statement of belief, to be considered by the synod at its next session.

This, the final session, opened at Cambridge August

15, 1648. By that time Parliament had adopted and published the Westminster Assembly's Confession of Faith; and the synod unanimously voted concerning the doctrinal part of it that they "do judge it to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith; and do therefore freely and fully consent thereunto, for the substance thereof." The synod adopted substantially the Platform of Church Discipline which had been drawn up by Richard Mather. It contains seventeen chapters, and includes much which had been previously written on the subject of church government by himself and Mr. Cotton. It begins with an extended preface by Mr. Cotton, answering various criticisms and explaining certain practices of the New England churches and defending their orthodoxy. The first four chapters declare that there is only one form of church government prescribed in the Word of God, and that that is Congregational. The fifth says that the power of the church is in the elders, but that the brethren elect the elders. The sixth affirms that there are only two orders of ordinary officers in the churches, elders—who are either pastors, teachers, or ruling elders—and deacons. The seventh explains the duties of ruling elders and deacons. The eighth shows how officers are to be chosen; the ninth, the manner of their ordination and its meaning; and the tenth gives in detail the powers of the elders and the brethren respectively and their relations to each other in church government. The eleventh refers to the financial support of church officers, the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth to reception, dismissal, censure and excommunication of members. The fifteenth explains the fellowship of the churches, and the six-

teenth the nature of synods and proper methods of calling them. The seventeenth affirms that church officers may not intermeddle with the civil government nor magistrates with the business of the churches; but that the magistrates should punish idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, and the venting of corrupt and pernicious opinions.

The Platform was duly printed, and was presented to the General Court at its autumn session, in 1649. The court referred it to the churches, requesting them to express their opinion as to its appropriateness. In 1651 the court presented to the ministers in due form the objections which it had received to the Platform, asking their advice. The ministers appointed Richard Mather to answer these criticisms, approved the statement he prepared and presented it to the General Court, which in October, 1651, formally voted concerning the Book of Discipline, "that for the substance thereof it is what we have practiced, and do believe."

This Platform is the most important document produced by the Congregationalists of the seventeenth century, for it most clearly represents the belief of the churches and their system of government for more than one hundred years. It was indeed the legally recognized standard till 1780. In its description of ruling elders and their duties, and of the distinction between pastors and teachers, each being a minister of the church, in its definition of the official position of ministers not in charge of churches, and in various minor matters, it has become obsolete; but it still largely represents the fundamental principles of the faith and polity of Congregational churches.

It is not within our province in this work to trace

the civil history of the colonies except as it is directly connected with that of the churches. But it should never be forgotten that we owe more to the ministers of New England of those early days than to any other men for our democratic system of government, and for our laws, which are founded on the principles of the Mosaic legislation. The "Body of Liberties," which was the earliest written code of Massachusetts, adopted by the General Court in 1641, was drawn up by Nathaniel Ward, minister of Ipswich, who had practiced in the courts of common law in England. The first constitution of Connecticut, adopted in 1639, was largely the work of Thomas Hooker, and was the first written constitution in history which resulted in a civil government. Our present national government is in direct descent from that formed on this constitution, which marked the beginning of democracy. Connecticut made to Massachusetts the first propositions which resulted in the confederacy of the New England colonies, and in this movement also the hand of Mr. Hooker is conspicuous. Congregationalism has been a potent factor in establishing the principles of this first of great republics.

The simple picture of the public worship of those early days will fitly close this chapter. The Sunday morning service began about nine o'clock, the audience usually having been called together by ringing a bell, beating a drum, blowing a horn or hoisting a flag. The ruling elders sat in front of the pulpit on a raised seat, and the deacons a little lower down, both facing the congregation. The men sat on one side of the house, and the women on the other, while the children had also a place by themselves and were kept in order

by a tithingman with a long rod. The pastor opened with prayer for about fifteen minutes, the teacher read and explained the Scriptures and a ruling elder then lined off a Psalm, usually from the Bay Psalm-Book, which was sung. There were not more than ten tunes in use before the year 1700. The pastor then preached for an hour or more, and the teacher concluded the service with prayer and benediction. In the afternoon the service was similar except that the teacher and pastor usually exchanged places. In many churches where there was but one minister, the morning sermon was devoted to the argument, as it was called, and the afternoon sermon to the application.

There was ordinarily a mid-week service, either including a sermon, or a conference of the brethren on some topic previously announced. The ministers did not solemnize marriages, nor was there any ceremony at funerals. The congregations stood during public prayer. In these and other ways they continued for many years their protest against Roman Catholic customs and modes of worship, witnessing even in their most simple forms as in their most solemn services to their independence of priestly rule, and to their sense of the immediate responsibility of each and every soul to God.

CHAPTER VIII.

GROWTH AND EXPANSION.

THE Puritans left England in order that they might maintain in New England a state and churches in accordance with their views of right and duty. When, then, the persecution of Puritans ceased in England with the assembling of the Long Parliament, in 1640, immigration ceased also. "The change," wrote Governor Winthrop, "made all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world." During the eleven years, 1629-40, about twenty-one thousand persons came to New England. From that time, for a century and a half the immigration was slight, and the increase of the New England population was almost entirely from the descendants of these immigrants. At the end of the eighteenth century, ninety-eight in every one hundred of the inhabitants were of pure English descent.

In 1643 the four colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, entered into a confederation for more efficient self-defense, under the name of "The United Colonies of New England"; New Hampshire having, in 1641, come under the Massachusetts government. Of the twenty-six thousand white people in New England, twenty-four thousand were in these colonies, fifteen thousand being in Massachusetts and about three thousand in each of the others. The remaining two thousand were mostly scattered along

the coasts of the territory now included in Rhode Island and Maine. In this entire region there were about fifty towns and forty churches.

Plymouth, the oldest colony, had been less flourishing than the others, though, after its earlier difficulties were in a measure overcome, it attained respectable prosperity. For the first nine years the church at Plymouth had no pastor, though regular public worship was maintained; William Brewster, as ruling elder, taking the place of a pastor. Ralph Smith, a good man, but without great gifts as a preacher, occupied that position from 1629 to 1636. He was followed by John Reyner, who served the church as teacher till 1654. The church was then without pastor or teacher for fifteen years, though frequent efforts were made, with many days of fasting and prayer, to fill the vacant place. Its numbers were few, and were lessened by removals from time to time, so that they could not offer sufficient support for the maintenance of a permanent minister. In 1666, when John Cotton, Jr., was called to the pastorate, there were only forty-seven resident members.

Duxbury, on the north side of the bay, was the first offshoot from Plymouth, in 1632, though its first pastor, Ralph Partridge, was not settled till 1637. Marshfield came next, being set off with great reluctance by the mother church. Edward Winslow was one of its original members. In September, 1634, John Lothrop arrived at Scituate with about thirty people of whom he had been pastor, as successor of Henry Jacob, in the church at Southwark, London. That church was organized in 1616. Mr. Lothrop had endured severe persecutions in England,

including imprisonment. He had been set free after much suffering, on condition that he would leave the country. He was acquainted with some of the people from Kent, England, who had settled in Scituate, and for that reason, probably, decided to unite his fortune with theirs. Mr. Lothrop's company, with thirteen persons dismissed from Plymouth, organized a church at Scituate by joining in a covenant, January 8, 1635, and he was chosen pastor. But its first years were stormy, chiefly because of differences of opinion on the subject of baptism, some of its members advocating immersion. In consequence the majority of the church, with permission of the General Court, removed in a body with the pastor and formed a settlement at Barnstable, in 1639, while those who remained at Scituate organized a new church. It was no more united than was the former organization before the majority withdrew. In 1641, it called Charles Chauncey to be its pastor and he accepted, though his coming was opposed by a large minority who, the next year, organized a new church, which they claimed to be the first, on the ground that Mr. Chauncey and his followers had not kept their covenant. The controversy was long continued. Indeed, divisions between the churches of Plymouth colony have not altogether ceased even to this day.

Miss Elizabeth Poole, with one or more ministers and a considerable company, emigrated from Taunton, England, and settled in the wilderness of Titicut, about twenty-six miles from Plymouth, in 1637. They named their new settlement Taunton. There a church was organized about the end of that year, with William Hooke as its pastor, and Nicholas Street, teacher.

Both were ordained by members of the church appointed for that purpose. Churches were also formed at Yarmouth in 1639, and at Sandwich in 1640. Some of the churches of the colony were quite prosperous. Cotton Mather says that in the year 1642 they had altogether "above a dozen ministers," some of whom were "stars of the first magnitude." But their early history soon became clouded by doctrinal disagreements, to whose consequences the same author refers as the "hour of temptation, wherein the fondness of the people for the prophesyings of the brethren produced those disagreements unto their ministers, that almost all the ministers left the colony." At the time of its union with Massachusetts under a new charter, in 1692, Plymouth colony contained seventeen towns. In all except three of these towns, Congregational churches had been formed.

The growth of the churches of Massachusetts colony has been described in preceding chapters. These churches, up to 1640, were organized in the following order: Salem, 1629; Dorchester, Boston, Watertown, 1630; Lynn, Roxbury, Charlestown, 1632; Cambridge, 1633; Ipswich, 1634; Newbury, Weymouth, Hingham, Cambridge 2d, 1635; Concord, Dorchester 2d, 1636; Dedham, Salisbury, 1638; Quincy, Rowley, 1639; Sudbury, 1640.

The Connecticut colony began by the immigration of the first churches of Dorchester and Cambridge, which settled at Windsor and Hartford. A company also went about the same time from Watertown, of whom six or seven took letters of dismissal to form a new church. This company settled at Wethersfield. In the autumn of 1635 about twenty men from Eng-

land, with John Winthrop, Jr., son of Governor Winthrop, built a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River, and called the place Saybrook, in honor of two of the persons, Lord Say and Sele, and Lord Brook, who held the patent for land covering the whole territory of what is now the State of Connecticut. John Higginson, son of the first Salem pastor, was the minister of the garrison. This settlement became incorporated with Connecticut in 1644.

The New Haven colony, under the lead of John Davenport, with Samuel Eaton, arrived at Quinnipiack, and kept their first Sabbath there April 18, 1638. They set apart a day for fasting and prayer and adopted a Plantation Covenant, agreeing to be "ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them." June 4, the planters came together in a barn, and Mr. Davenport preached from Proverbs xi. 1, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars." He argued that the church should be founded with seven principal men, to which others should be added. Twelve men were appointed to choose from their number the seven pillars. In August the choice was made and the church organized. October 25 the seven pillars, who were called The Court, formed the Body of Freemen, to which all the members of the church were admitted. A governor and other officers of the new colony were duly chosen, and thus a church-commonwealth was begun. A church was also formed at New Haven on the same general plan, which in the following February settled at Milford. Its members were mostly persons from Wethersfield. Peter Prudden was ordained pastor. In 1640 land was purchased at Guilford,

where a church was organized by seven pillars in 1643. Henry Whitfield was there received as pastor without being ordained, since he had brought with him from England a considerable part of the church. His house is still standing and is one of the oldest in the United States. John Higginson, from Saybrook, was chosen teacher. A church was organized at Stratford in 1640, and in Fairfield in 1650, though at the latter place John Jones, an Oxford scholar, had been preaching since 1639. In 1665, when the colonies of New Haven and Connecticut were united under a new charter from Charles II., they included fifteen churches, all Congregational, with about twenty ministers. The population at that time was somewhat over eight thousand, making about one minister to every one hundred families.

New Hampshire was first settled under the leadership of two members of the Plymouth Council, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason. These two men, having associated with them several English merchants, sent out two colonies in 1623, one of which located at Little Harbor, now Rye, at the mouth of the Pascataqua River. The other party went eight miles further up the river and began to build at Dover. But though much money was spent and many skilled workmen from England from time to time joined these colonies, the elements of power which were fitted to conquer the difficulties of the new country were not among them, and for a number of years the efforts made resulted in successive failures.

It was not till 1633 that any minister appeared among them. In that year a number of families from the west of England, of "good estates and of some

account for religion," arrived at Dover under the auspices of Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brook, bringing with them William Leverich, a Cambridge graduate and an able Puritan minister. But the support given him was so meager that in about two years he left the place, and was succeeded by a



HANSERD KNOLLYS, FIRST MINISTER OF
FIRST CHURCH, DOVER, N. H.

shrewd but unprincipled adventurer, George Burdett. He did what he could to prejudice people in England against the Massachusetts colonists, especially in correspondence with Archbishop Laud, and finally succeeded in becoming governor of the plantation. But being detected in immoralities he was compelled to leave

Dover, and finally, having entered the royalist army, he was captured, and ended his career in an English prison.

After Burdett left Dover, Hanserd Knollys, formerly a very learned school-teacher in Gainesborough, England, came and organized the first church in that town in December, 1638. He had a short and stormy pastorate. But in 1641 he went to London, where he organized a Baptist Church, and lived to the great age of ninety-three years. Neale says he was "universally

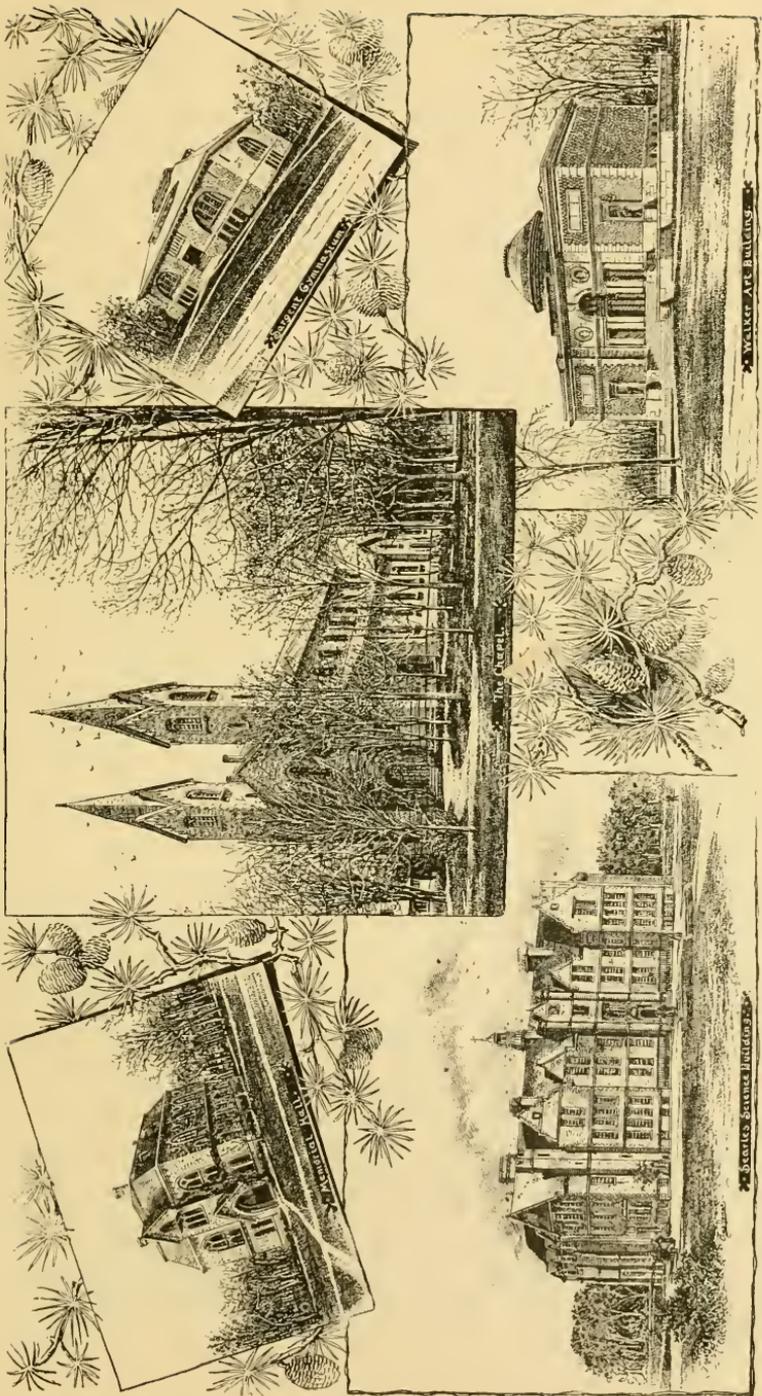
esteemed and beloved by all his brethren" in England. Thomas Larkam drove Knollys out of the pastorate at Dover and succeeded him. He was of brilliant parts, but he proved a sad though short-lived misfit. The dispute was practically between Knollys the Puritan, and Larkam, the defender of the practices of the Church of England. In 1643 Daniel Maud, a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge, followed Larkam, having left the leadership of the Boston Latin School for that purpose, and had a successful pastorate of thirteen years. He was followed in 1655 by John Reyner, who came from eighteen years' service at Plymouth. Not far from 1639 appears a church at Hampton, on lands taken possession of by Massachusetts in 1636. Stephen Bachelor was pastor, and after about a year was joined by Timothy Dalton as teacher. This is the only instance in New Hampshire where a pastor and teacher were at the same time laboring in one parish. The arrangement worked badly, the church and town being divided into two factions, one led by the pastor and the other by the teacher. Mr. Dalton's party were in the majority, and Mr. Bachelor left the town about 1641, though the contentions continued for a long time afterward. Mr. Dalton remained with the church till his death in 1661.

John Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinson's brother-in-law, when he was banished from Massachusetts, settled at Exeter in 1638 with a number of sympathizers, and the following year organized there a church of nine members. But three years later this plantation, with Dover and Portsmouth, was incorporated with the Massachusetts colony; and as Mr.

Wheelwright, being still under sentence of banishment, was compelled to leave the jurisdiction, the church was at once broken up. In 1644 the people tried to organize a church, but the General Court forbade them to do it. Later they had Samuel Dudley as their minister for thirty-three years, but no church was formed there till 1698.

At Portsmouth no provision was made for public worship till 1640, and no church was organized till 1671, though a minister was resident there a considerable part of the intervening time; and Joshua Moody, the first pastor of the church, was the minister of Portsmouth by vote of the town from 1658. He continued pastor till 1684, when he was imprisoned and finally banished from the province by the arbitrary authority of Lieutenant Governor Cranfield. He was invited in that year to the presidency of Harvard College, but did not accept. He returned to Portsmouth after Cranfield retired from office, and died there in 1697. A church was formed at Nashua in 1675, but that town was then supposed to be in Massachusetts. No other churches were organized in New Hampshire before the end of the seventeenth century.

The first attempt at a settlement in Maine was made in 1607 by a company of one hundred and twenty persons, led by Captain George Popham, a brother of Lord Chief Justice Popham of England, and Raleigh Gilbert, a nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh. They landed at St. George's Island, where the first sermon ever preached in New England was delivered August 9, 1607. They formed a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec River, but the colonists were not suited



BOWDOIN COLLEGE, BRUNSWICK, ME.

to endure the hardships of life in the wilderness, and the next year the enterprise was abandoned. Probably no permanent settlement was made on the Maine coast before 1622. From that time on several fishing and trading communities were established at the island of Monhegan, at Saco, and several other points. But the people for a long time organized neither schools nor churches. This coast seems to have been a kind of dumping ground for people who could not endure the rigid discipline of Massachusetts.

The charter of the Province of Maine, given by Charles I. in 1639, required that the established church should be the Church of England, but it does not appear that any Episcopal church was planted there, though Richard Gibson, an Episcopal clergyman, appears to have officiated in several plantations between 1636 and 1642. During those years also several ministers from Massachusetts visited different points in Maine, and there seems to have been stated preaching for a time at Agamenticus, which is now York. Yet it is probable that the church in that town now generally regarded as the oldest in the State was not formed till 1673. When Mr. Wheelwright left Hampton, N. H., he went to the Province of Maine, and in 1643 laid out the town of Wells. It is probable that he organized a church there, though no distinct record of it remains. The church which now exists there was formed about 1701.

Thomas Jenner was probably the first Congregational minister at Saco, where he remained from 1641 to 1646. But there was no great prosperity in the Maine settlements till they came under the government of Massachusetts about 1653. After that time

the towns were required to maintain public worship and to support ministers if they were able. But there was little Congregationalism in Maine till after the end of the seventeenth century.

Rhode Island gathered to itself the religious fanatics who were banished from Massachusetts. The first of these was Roger Williams, who settled at Providence in 1636. He there founded the first Baptist church in America in March, 1638, nearly three years after his arrival there. The church consisted of twelve members. One of them, Ezekiel Holman, first immersed Mr. Williams, who then immersed Mr. Holman and the others. Within four months, however, Williams left the church with three others, and renounced its baptism and ministry. A few years later the church divided over the question whether or not hands should be laid on the heads of newly baptized persons. There could not have been much enthusiasm among them for public worship, for no meeting house was built by them before the end of the century.

When Mrs. Hutchinson was banished from Massachusetts she intended joining her brother-in-law, Mr. Wheelwright, at Exeter, but for some unknown reason turned her footsteps toward Rhode Island. Her company included sixteen persons, led by Mr. John Clarke, who had been a London physician, and who had been disarmed in Boston as an antinomian. They settled first at Pocasset, but early in 1639 the colony removed to Newport, where they organized a Congregational church. Dr. Clarke officiated as minister, expecting that Mr. Wheelwright would come to be their pastor. However, Wheelwright did not seem to be in full

sympathy with their peculiar views, and in 1640 they secured the services of Robert Lenthall. Samuel Gorton was one of Mrs. Hutchinson's earliest sympathizers there, a man of honorable character, but by temperament a constant fomentor of strife. He soon managed to create a schism among Mrs. Hutchinson's followers, and made his way into Roger Williams' territory, who describes him as "bewitching and madding poor Providence." The disturbances he stirred up among the Indians and in Massachusetts colony do not claim place here, but they would serve to illustrate the reasons why no very friendly relations existed between the churches of Massachusetts and the church at Newport. After three or four years Dr. Clarke and several others with him became Baptists, and the church seems to have disbanded.

The oldest Congregational church in Rhode Island is probably that at Barrington, organized in 1670. Another church was formed at Bristol in 1687. The next was at Little Compton in 1704.

Long Island early attracted the attention of New Englanders. In 1640 a company from Lynn and Ipswich, having obtained a grant of land on the island from Lord Stirling, and having made an agreement with the Indians, settled at Southampton. The emigrants had already organized a church before leaving Lynn, and secured Abraham Pierson as their pastor. In the same year also Southold was settled, the church having been gathered at New Haven with John Young as pastor. Other settlements on the island with Congregational churches were made between 1640 and 1660 at Hempstead, East Hampton, Newton, Crookhaven, Jamaica and one or two other

places. Some of these churches remained Congregational for a long time, that at Southold for nearly two hundred years ; but they finally united with Presbytery.

Congregationalism in the days of the early English settlements of the Atlantic Coast had a foothold at many points, stretching across the island groups also. In 1624 Henry Jacob, founder of the first permanent Congregational church in London, was called to settle in Virginia, but died soon after his arrival. In 1642 letters signed by seventy-one persons were received at Boston from Nansemond County, Virginia, asking for ministers, and saying that there were three parishes in Virginia ready to receive pastors from New England. Great interest was excited, and three ministers were selected to go as missionaries. They were cordially received, but were forbidden to preach because the Church of England was the established church of the colony. The people met, however, in private houses, and a Congregational church was formed, which in a few years numbered one hundred and eighteen communicants. But, their pastor having been banished, and later the entire body, they removed to Maryland, near where now stands the city of Annapolis, and named their settlement Providence. There the church finally became extinct.

Congregationalists were scattered, in considerable numbers, among the early settlers of the island groups to the southeast of the mainland of North America ; and a church was organized on one of the Bermuda islands, another at New Providence, and a third on the island of Barbadoes ; but the surroundings were not favorable to their growth, and in a few years they disappeared.

Most remarkable of all, in these early years of growth and expansion, were the efforts made to Christianize the Indians. This purpose was prominent among the plans both of the Pilgrims and the Puritans when they first came to New England. But the unexpected difficulties encountered in planting homes and forming governments in the wilderness, and in putting into practice the New Testament polity of the churches, for a time held their missionary zeal in check. Perhaps, also, they found the savages of the New World less open to the gospel message than they had expected. Yet at no time were they indifferent to the spiritual welfare of the natives. They were, in general, scrupulously honest in their business transactions with them. They welcomed gratefully such signs as appeared that some of the Indians were interested in the Christian religion. Bradford recorded with much satisfaction that Squanto, near his death, would have the governor pray "that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven," and that Hobbomok left "some good hopes in their hearts that his soul went to rest." Indian boys and girls were received into families as servants and were taught the simple facts of the Christian religion. Some of them attended public worship and seemed to be impressed by what they heard.

In 1644, when the people began to have leisure to consider other matters than those which had been of pressing necessity to the preservation of their own existence, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an act instructing the county courts to take measures to civilize the Indians and instruct them "in the knowledge and worship of God," and counseling the elders of the churches to consider how "to bring the natives

to the knowledge of God and His ways." In 1646 the General Court ordered that the elders should annually appoint two ministers as missionaries to the Indians with the consent of their churches, and that an allowance should be made to them for this work by the court. But already, the week before this order was passed, John Eliot had made his first attempt to preach to the Indians. He had been for fourteen years the honored teacher of the church at Roxbury, and had for some time, with a native interpreter, been studying the Indian language.

His first sermon to the Indians was preached in a hut on the Charles River, near Watertown, October 28, 1646. It lasted an hour and a quarter, and was followed by a number of questions from his audience, which he and three friends with him answered, also asking questions of the Indians. The service closed with prayer, after which Eliot gave the children some apples and the men some tobacco. The work thus begun was continued with practical and wise efforts both to convert and to civilize the natives. Plans were soon put into operation to bring them into compact settlements, to train them to industrial habits in farming and in simple mechanical arts, and to gather their children into schools. The ministers became greatly interested in the work. Henry Dunster, president of Harvard College, gave earnest attention to it. The General Court co-operated by making arrangements for the purchase of land for the Indians on which they might live together in an orderly way, and by voting a gratuity to Mr. Eliot. The subject was discussed with great interest at the meetings of the Cambridge Synod. Requests came to Mr. Eliot from

Indians in various sections of the country, urging him to come and preach to them. He went among them on missionary journeys, to Concord, to "a great fishing place on one of the falls of the Merrimac," to "remote places about Cape Cod," westward to Brookfield, and everywhere found some who were eager for instruction.

About the same time Thomas Mayhew and his son, having gone from Watertown to Martha's Vineyard, became much interested in preaching to the Indians there. One of the natives, Hiacoomes, became a preacher to his own people. In 1650, the younger Mayhew wrote, "There are now by the grace of God, thirty-nine Indian men of this meeting, besides women that are looking this way, which we suppose to exceed the number of the men."

Tidings of this work created great interest in England, where accounts of it were published by Edward Winslow, then in London. Parliament passed an act "for the promoting and propagating of the gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." A corporation, which might not inappropriately have been called a Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was appointed, with authority to hold property, and a general collection for this work was ordered in all the parishes of England and Wales. Mr. Winslow's services were of great value in this movement. Within seven years about seventeen hundred pounds were remitted to New England for this missionary work. Messrs. Eliot and Mayhew were each paid a salary of fifty pounds. A number of persons, both whites and natives, were employed as their assistants. Several young Indians were selected to be educated at Harvard as mission-

aries to their own race. Notwithstanding much opposition, especially from chiefs of the Indian tribes, and some criticism from Englishmen, the work grew steadily under Mr. Eliot's indefatigable leadership. He organized, in 1650, an Indian community at Natick, with a simple scheme of government; the Indians, as the white people had done, entering with solemn ceremonies "into covenant with God and each other to be the Lord's people, and to be governed by the Word of the Lord in all things." A similar community was gathered at Ponkapog, now Stoughton, and the General Court authorized the establishment of Indian towns at several other places. Daniel Gookin was appointed by the General Court, in 1656, to be superintendent of the Indians within the district of Massachusetts, and continued in that office, doing excellent service, till his death in 1687.

In due time Eliot completed the translation of the Bible into the Indian language, and it was published in 1663. He also prepared a catechism in the same language, and a version of the metrical paraphrase of the Book of Psalms.

From this necessarily brief survey of the early growth of Congregationalism in New England, it will be seen that to the end of the seventeenth century it continued to represent, almost exclusively, the religious life of the people; that it largely influenced the organization of government in these formative years; and that it well fulfilled its opportunities, both in occupying the towns and plantations of English settlements and in educating and Christianizing the Indians. In 1647 there were 43 churches in New England. In 1650 the number had grown to 58, and in 1674 to 82, including three

on Long Island and one on Martha's Vineyard. In 1674 there were also in Massachusetts 14 towns of "praying Indians," with a total population of about 1100. In 1685 there were in Plymouth colony 1400 adult "praying Indians." Among the 300 Indian families in Martha's Vineyard, there were three churches and 10 teachers of Indian blood. In Nantucket, with perhaps one-half as many Indians, there were three towns and one church. In 1696 there were in New England over 130 white churches, and 30 Indian towns supplied by Indian preachers. The total population amounted to about 140,000, of which perhaps 20,000 were Indians.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HALFWAY COVENANT.

THE New England churches held that only those who had consciously experienced the new birth, and their children, were fitted for membership. During the first and second generations this condition occasioned no perplexity. All parents who were church members offered their children in baptism, on the ground that they were included in the covenant. Cotton stated the common belief in these words: "The same covenant which God made with the National Church of Israel and their seed, it is the very same . . . which the Lord maketh with any Congregational church and our seed." These children received baptism not as a condition of admission into the church, but because, being in the church by birth, they were entitled to this rite.

But some of these children, as they grew up, could not claim the experience of the new birth, which was held to be essential to church membership. They were in the church without being fully entitled to its privileges. They made no public confession of their faith, and therefore were not admitted to the Lord's Supper. Some of these persons had children. The question whether such parents had the right to present their children for baptism disturbed New England churches for more than a century.

As early as 1634 a member of the church in Dor-

chester desired baptism for his grandchild, neither of whose parents were church members. The advice of the Boston church was sought, and given in these words: "We do therefore profess it to be the judgment of our church . . . that the grandfather, a member of the church, may claim the privilege of baptism to his grandchild, though his next seed, the parents of the child, be not received themselves into church covenant." Other occasions for discussing the question arose from time to time. Hooker, Davenport and others held that only the children of "visible saints" should be baptized. Others, like Phillips of Watertown, affirmed that all descendants of visible saints belong within the church. But all agreed that only those baptized children could properly be admitted into full communion, that is, to the Lord's table, who had been personally renewed by the Holy Spirit. Thus there arose in every community a third class, as related to the church. The first class was composed of church members in full communion, the second were the unregenerate, with no connection with the church. This third class were persons who had been born and baptized in the church, believers in the Bible, educated in Christian faith, who lived according to the teachings of the Christian religion and wished to train their children in the same ways, but who could not say with confidence that they had experienced the new birth.

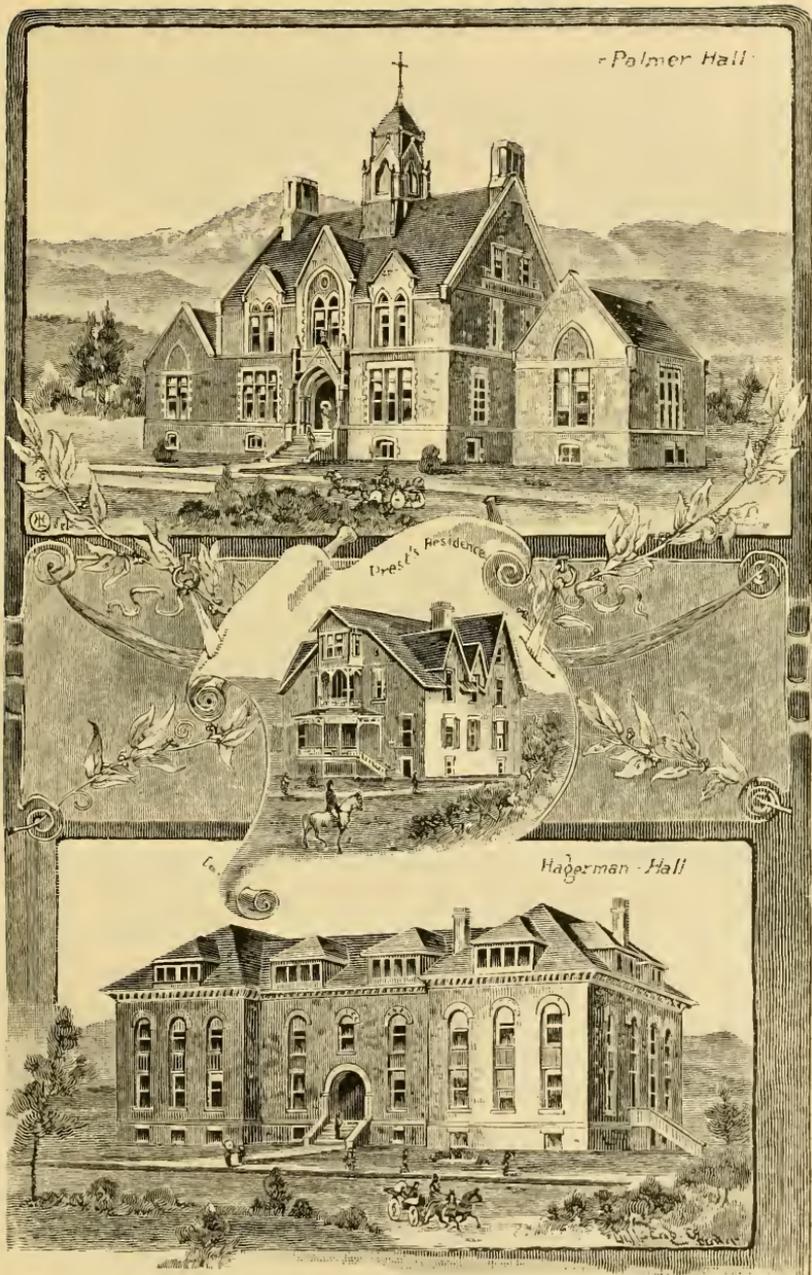
To have admitted this third class to the full privileges of membership would have been against the fundamental principle of the New England churches, that only those consciously united to Christ by the new birth were members of His church. It would have brought the church down to the level of the English

Church, which the Puritans had so earnestly sought to reform, which received to full fellowship all persons of outwardly moral life. To have rejected them altogether would have been to have weakened the influence of the church in the community, and to have shut out from the covenant some who by birth belonged to it. That could be done only by excommunication, for the churches held that the only doors of withdrawal from the covenant were death, dismissal to another church or excommunication. Besides, it was not felt to be just to withhold the much valued privileges of Christian training from those sons and daughters of believers, who, as Cotton Mather said, were "sober persons, who professed themselves desirous to renew their baptismal covenant, and submit unto the church discipline," and so have their houses also marked for the Lord's; but who were not able to "come up to that experimental account of their own regeneration which would sufficiently embolden their access to the other sacrament."

This third class was constantly increasing in number, many of them were men of character and influence in their communities, yet they had no vote nor voice in calling a pastor nor in managing church affairs. It was natural that this condition should arouse excited feeling and that it should constantly tend to increase. Prominent among the causes which led to the calling of the Cambridge Synod in 1646 was the complaint to the General Court of Massachusetts by Dr. Child and others that their children were "debarred from the seals of the covenant." The court, in calling that synod, had especially commended to its attention this subject of the baptism of children,

declaring that the views and practices of the churches had become so diverse that they would, "if not timely remedied, beget such differences as will be displeasing to the Lord, offensive to others and dangerous to ourselves." This subject was discussed in the synod, and a declaration was inserted in its Platform that the proper subjects of baptism were converted adults who joined in fellowship with a visible church, their children "and all their seed after them that cast not off the covenant of God by some scandalous and obstinate going on in sin." This statement, however, was omitted from the final draft of the Platform, though favored by the majority. The violent opposition of some leading men, among whom President Chauncey of Harvard College was specially prominent, caused it to be abandoned.

That action did not quiet discussion. Traces of it abound in the epistolary correspondence of that period. Henry Smith of Wethersfield, Conn., wrote to Richard Mather in 1647 that his people were at a loss as to the admission of members' children to the communion because the synod had not made any deliverance concerning it. He favored the larger view. Messrs. Stone of Hartford and Wareham of Windsor agreed with Mr. Smith. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge approved of the same position. John Cotton thought that these non-regenerate children of church members, though not fit to come to the Lord's Supper, might make profession full enough to admit their children to baptism, "or to the same estate Ishmael stood in after circumcision." In 1650 Mr. Stone of Hartford expressed his conviction that unless a synod should be called



that very year to settle the matter the Connecticut churches would put in practice these new views, which were called halfway covenant principles. By 1654 the Salem church had accepted them, though they were not put in practice till several years later. In 1655 the church in Dorchester discussed the subject earnestly, and being divided in opinion, sent letters to the churches of Boston, Roxbury, Dedham and Braintree, expressing their purpose, unless it should be offensive to these churches, to baptize the children of non-regenerate parents who had inherited the privileges of the church. In 1656 the church at Ipswich voted to adopt the new system. It declared that children who were not more than fourteen years old when their parents joined the church were themselves also members of the church; that the pastor should call on them to take the covenant; and that, when they came to maturity, their children should be baptized; but that these persons should not be admitted to the Lord's table without evidence that they had experienced a work of faith and repentance.

But while most of the pastors were in favor of the new theories, many of the laity were strongly opposed to them. The opinions of the ministers would naturally find fullest expression and record; but there is sufficient evidence of strong conservatism among the lay brethren, many of whom regarded the new movement as undermining the safeguards of the purity of the church, and as bringing into New England the corruptions from which they had fled in the old country. Yet, opposed to these conservatives within the church were those outside of it who contributed to its support, believed in its doctrines, were

in sympathy with its aims, but who were in a sense ostracized because they could not comply with the terms of membership by recounting a religious experience satisfactory to the church. These had also many friends within the church. The feeling in behalf of these persons was especially strong in Connecticut. It seems to have been intensified by a quarrel which lasted several years, from 1653 to 1659, between Samuel Stone, the teacher, and William Goodwin, the ruling elder of the Hartford church, concerning the choice of a successor to Mr. Hooker. This quarrel finally resulted in the withdrawal of a number of the members of that church and the formation of a new settlement at Hadley, Mass. It does not seem to have been particularly concerned with the extent to which baptism might be practiced, but it undoubtedly helped to prompt the petition which was presented to the Connecticut General Court in May, 1656, asking that grievances might be removed. The court appointed a committee of seven to consider these grievances and to prepare questions concerning them to be presented to the courts of the colonies. In response to the questions sent by this committee, the Massachusetts General Court appointed thirteen ministers to meet to consider them June 4, 1657, and advised the other colonies of the proposed meeting. Plymouth took no action. New Haven declined to take part, and expressed its continued adherence to the old ways. Connecticut sent four ministers to the meeting, which was held in Boston at the time appointed. It continued in session two weeks. It answered the twenty-one questions which had been put before it, all of which concerned the same subject, the baptism of the

children of non-regenerate but baptized persons. The general conclusion of the assembly was that the children of church members who were come to maturity, but were not yet fit for the Lord's Supper, were still members of the church, and ought "to own the covenant they made with their parents by entering thereinto in their own persons." Yet it was decided that while the children of those thus owning the covenant ought to be admitted to baptism, they themselves ought not to come to the Lord's table, nor vote in church affairs, till they had made a profession of personal regeneration.

This decision only excited further discussion, which grew so sharp in some instances as to threaten division in the churches. It is difficult for us to understand how feeling could have risen so high on a subject which is now left to the conscience of the individual minister and believer. But in those days political and social standing was closely connected with church standing. In all the colonies government practically inhered in the churches. Christian character was generally regarded as necessary to citizenship. Only persons whom God approved were fit to be trusted with power, and the evidence of God's approval was such a personal experience as assured the believer that his heart had been changed by the Holy Spirit. Besides, the accession of Charles II. to the throne of England in 1660 threatened anew to overthrow the New England church ways and to introduce those which were most repugnant to the Puritans.

So strong was the opposition to the new theories that the General Court of Massachusetts, December 31, 1661, ordered the churches of the colony to send

their pastors and delegates to a synod to be held in Boston on the second Tuesday of March following, "to discuss and declare what they shall judge to be the mind of God, revealed in His Word, concerning such questions as shall be propounded to them by the order of this court." Those were days when the jurisdiction of the Legislature over the church seems not to have been questioned. The court propounded to the synod two questions: (1) Who are the subjects of baptism? (2) Ought there to be a consociation of churches, and if so, what should be the manner of it? The synod gave a general affirmative answer to the second question, but its attention was mainly concentrated on the subject of baptism. The synod was composed of about seventy persons, many of them famous in the history of Massachusetts churches. Most prominent in favor of the Halfway Covenant was Jonathan Mitchell, the young and brilliant Cambridge pastor. His most formidable opponent was the venerable President Chauncey. For a fortnight the matter was discussed without approaching a conclusion; when an adjournment was had to June 10. A second adjournment followed to September 10. It must have been evident by that time that the large majority were in favor of the conclusions adopted by the assembly of ministers five years before. But the conservative party was determined not to yield till every effort to resist had failed. John Davenport of New Haven was appealed to, and sent in writing his objections to the views of the majority. Increase Mather undertook to read these objections to the body, but John Norton prevented him. However, he published them, and so got them before the delegates.

It seems to have been agreed by all that children of church members are by birth in the same covenant with their parents. But to the doctrine that the children of such children might be admitted to baptism the opposition was weighty, though the persons on that side were not numerous. Finally, however, seven propositions were adopted, declaring in substance what the assembly of ministers had agreed on in 1657, that members of the visible church are subjects of baptism : that believers who have entered into covenant and their minor children are members of the visible church, and that the children of church members admitted in minority who are not scandalous in life and have owned the covenant are also to be baptized. These propositions were adopted by a vote of sixty in the affirmative to less than ten against, and presented to the General Court. But the opposition presented its objections and urged them with force ; and though the court paid little attention to the protest, the synodists and anti-synodists for a long time kept the Cambridge presses hot with the pamphlets they issued on the controversy. Chauncey, Davenport and Increase Mather wrote vigorously against the action of the synod, while Mitchell, Allen, and Richard Mather as earnestly defended it. Their arguments won Increase Mather to their side, and within less than ten years he became the most conspicuous defender of the synod's conclusions. Curiously enough both parties urged the same reasons for their opposing positions. The conservatives declared that the Halfway Covenant would result in filling the churches with unregenerate persons and so break down the distinction between the

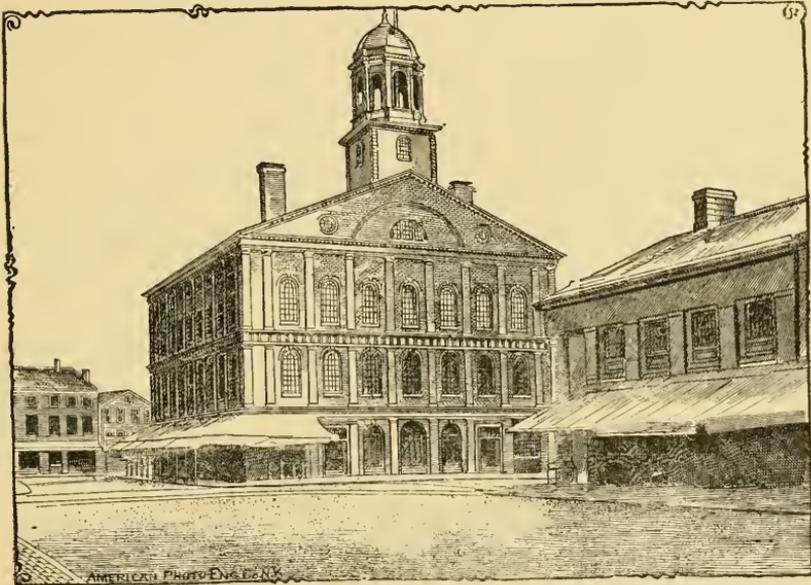
church and the world. The advocates of the new measure urged that, unless it should be adopted, the churches could not be prevented from so lowering the terms of communion as to admit unsuitable persons to all privileges. They held that the Halfway Covenant would prove a barrier to guard full communion more effectually.

Meanwhile the churches were threatened by two kinds of danger. The first came from those who denounced and sought to break them up from without; the second from those who sought to enter them without suitable qualifications. The sect of Quakers arose in England about 1648, with George Fox as their founder. He was a thoughtful and devout young man who relied much on inward revelations. He, and the followers who gathered around him, soon began to believe it to be their duty to denounce churches as idol temples and to cry out against those who worshiped in them. He commanded a magistrate who caused his arrest to "tremble at the word of the Lord," and the magistrate gave him the nickname of Quaker, a title which was quickly taken up and popularly applied to him and his followers. Many of them were whipped, beaten, imprisoned and otherwise abused in England.

The news of this new sect soon reached New England. The memory of the troubles with Mrs. Hutchinson was yet fresh. New strife would threaten the independence of the still infant colonies. When some of the books of the Quakers appeared in Massachusetts in 1654 they were burned by order of the General Court. In 1656 two Quaker women came to Boston from the Barbadoes. Governor Endecott sent them back on the same ship which brought them. A

little later eight others arrived from England and were treated in the same way. Each of the five colonies, on the recommendation of the Federal Commissioners, took steps to prohibit Quakers and other heretics from coming within their bounds. In 1657, the same year the assembly of ministers met in Boston to decide on the question concerning the Halfway Covenant, fifteen Quakers, some of whom had been sent away the year before, arrived in New England. Several were imprisoned, and some were whipped. Severer laws were passed against them amid general alarm. The Federal Commissioners advised that they be banished under pain of severe corporal punishment if they returned; and that if any returned after a second banishment they should be put to death. Massachusetts alone of the colonies adopted the extreme penalty. It seemed probable that the Legislature thought that if the law were passed it would be sufficient to deter Quakers from coming into the colony. But that proved to be a mistaken idea. Marmaduke Stevenson, in the Barbadoes, heard of the law and started at once for New England. Arrived at Rhode Island, "the word of the Lord came to him, saying, Go to Boston with thy brother, William Robinson." Mary Dyer heard of the law, and "was moved of the Lord to come to Boston." Nicholas Davis came also. All four received sentence of banishment. They departed, but in about a month Robinson and Stevenson felt constrained of the Lord to come back to Boston and suffer martyrdom. When they arrived they found that Mary Dyer had also returned. All three were sentenced to be hanged. The sentence was executed on both men. Mary Dyer was delivered

into the charge of her son, who promised to take her home and keep her there. But the next spring she returned again to Boston, was again condemned to die and was hung. William Leddra and Wenlock Christison were also sentenced to death, and the former was hung in March, 1661. By that time public sentiment revolted against putting persons to death because of



FANEUIL HALL, THE CRADLE OF AMERICAN LIBERTY. BUILT 1742.

their opinions and the persecution stopped. The Quakers had conquered the Puritans. For some time they continued their absurd antics. They interrupted public meetings. A young woman in Salem went naked about the streets. Another with the same absence of clothing attended church at Newbury. Others went about in strange disguises and disfigurements. But when the authorities ceased punishing them they gradually ceased offending.

During these years, also, there were persecutions

against the Baptists. In 1644 the General Court passed an order banishing those who held and taught Baptist views. In 1651 three Baptists were arrested for holding a public meeting and sent to jail. One of them was whipped, choosing that punishment rather than pay his fine. In 1665 a Baptist church was organized at Charlestown, which ultimately became the First Baptist Church of Boston. Five of its members, who were freemen, were disfranchised. Two were imprisoned for nearly a year. Three of the leaders were sentenced to banishment; but these persecutions appear soon to have ceased, for in 1670 the agents of the colony in England were instructed to say concerning the Baptists: "They are now subject to no other penal statutes than those of the Congregational way."

The facts concerning these persecutions of Quakers and Baptists have been here impartially set down. Judged in the light of our time they would be without excuse. But it must be remembered that while some thirty Quakers were punished in various ways by order of the Massachusetts General Court, some thousands underwent similar punishments in England. When in 1662 Charles II. wrote to the Massachusetts Government directing that greater liberty in worship should be allowed, he expressly excepted Quakers. He wrote: "We cannot be understood hereby to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers, whose being is inconsistent with any kind of government. We have found it necessary by the advice of our Parliament here to make sharp laws against them, and are well content that you do the like there." The Puritans undertook

to establish on land which they had fairly acquired a theocracy, according to what they believed to be the laws of God. They insisted that these laws, as they understood them, should be obeyed within their own boundaries. It must be remembered that Quakers usually denied the authority of all civil government. The Puritans only asked that those who would not obey should leave them. They believed that their liberties were imperiled by persistent invaders, and when these refused to depart they inflicted punishments which in our judgment were severe and cruel. It is fortunate that they learned so soon the futility of attempting to protect their government by these means.

But while the peace of the churches was disturbed by those from the outside who condemned it, their purity was threatened by those who sought to enter without possessing the requirements of admission on which the churches had insisted. John Norton and Simon Bradstreet had been sent to England to propitiate the new king, Charles II., and to secure a continuation of the charter of Massachusetts. In this they were successful, but they also brought back instructions that the use of the Prayer Book should be permitted to all who might desire to use it; that church membership should no longer be a necessary qualification for freemen, and that all persons of good, honest lives should be admitted to the Lord's Supper and their children to baptism. Mr. Norton became very unpopular as a consequence of being the bearer of these messages, and died a few months afterward, having been greatly depressed by his reception on his return from England.

This attack from the king on the strictness of early

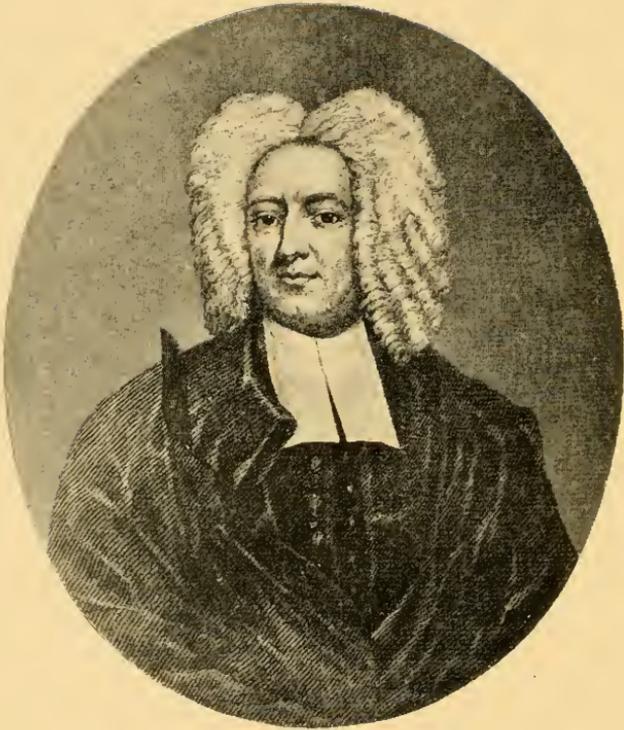
Congregationalism was strengthened by a petition to the General Court of Connecticut, presented in October, 1664, by several persons of good standing, asking the court to compel ministers to admit them to the Lord's table and their children to baptism, or else to relieve them from contributing to the support of any minister who should refuse. The court called on the ministers to consider whether it was not their duty to receive into church fellowship such persons as were of good conversation and desired to enter into the covenant, and whether baptized children who had grown up should not be admitted to full communion, if found qualified to share in the Lord's Supper. The court also asked the officers of the churches to consider whether it was not the duty of the court to order the churches to do these things.

These steps promised to open the door into the churches even more widely than was contemplated by the Halfway Covenant. Of course they intensified the opposition, which came from men who felt that they were defending the church of God against invasion. The pastors of Norwalk and Stamford sent to the court a joint letter of protest against the new proposal. The excitement was increased by the reception of a new charter from England uniting in one government the Connecticut and New Haven colonies. Abraham Pierson of Branford and the majority of his people in the spring of 1666 prepared to remove to Newark, N. J., because of their dissatisfaction with this union and with the Halfway Covenant. The church in Stratford was disturbed by a quarrel over the same subject, resulting in division and the planting of a new town at Woodbury. The church in Hartford was

split into two factions, each led by one of its ministers. John Davenport left New Haven, unwilling to remain in the colony after it was united to Connecticut, where the Halfway Covenant views prevailed. "It is no slight matter," he wrote to Governor Winthrop, who had procured the new charter, "but that which concerns the preserving of Christian churches in peace, and gospel ordinances in purity. It is the faith and order of the churches of Christ, which we are called to contend for, that they may be preserved entire and uncorrupted." When John Wilson died, in 1667, Davenport was called to the First Church in Boston by the large majority, who sympathized with his views. His coming was followed by the withdrawal of twenty-eight male members, who formed, by the aid of an *ex parte* council, the Third, which has long been known as the Old South Church. For fourteen years there was no communion between the old church and the new; and the churches of the colony were long divided in sentiment, those who were against the synod favoring the First Church, and those who were for it, the Third Church. In October, 1666, the General Court ordered a synod to be called to meet in May of the next year to settle a number of questions which had arisen in these unhappy controversies. One of these questions was whether the whole congregation were obliged to accept the choice of a minister by the church, or whether dissatisfied persons had any other source of appeal.

But the synod, though it met as ordered, was shrewdly managed by those who opposed the Halfway Covenant, and never accomplished any result. It adjourned to October, and before that time the Federal Commissioners were induced to vote to sug-

gest the calling of a synod representing all the churches of the colonies. To this the Connecticut Court agreed, but the Massachusetts Court failed to take up the matter. In 1669 the Connecticut Court voted to approve both the churches which practiced the Half-way Covenant and those which opposed it, and to permit churches divided on the question to separate. This action the two factions of the Hartford Church at once took advantage of, and the Second Church was formed. When the churches found that neither view was to be insisted on as the only orthodox way, the intensity of discussion subsided; but it had already introduced lines of cleavage deeply into the life of the churches, and its evil results will appear more distinctly in the records which conclude the eighteenth century.



COTTON MATHER, D. D.

CHAPTER X.

RELIGIOUS DECLENSION AND REFORMATION.

WITH the passing away of the first generation of Pilgrims and Puritans much of the spirit of self-sacrifice in planting a new nation with high Christian principles also passed away. Ministers were less able and had less commanding influence. The dissensions in local churches, especially bitter in the chief towns, such as Boston and Hartford, weakened their power over the communities, and diminished their spiritual fervor. The subjects discussed, in which prominent persons became involved and in some instances their characters questioned, produced opposing parties, not in the churches only but in the political organizations of the colonies. Immediate personal relations with God became of less interest to Christians as compared with disputes concerning personal relations with the churches. From 1670 to 1680 only three churches were organized in Massachusetts, a smaller number than in any other decade of her history. Few persons were received into full communion. Grave lapses of members, which compelled discipline, increased.

Evidences that this religious decline was felt and deplored abound in the annual election sermons during and just previous to this decade. Year after year the governor and legislature were reminded by the prophets of the day that the glory of New England was departing. "We have abated in our esteem of ordinances, in our hungering and thirsting after the rich provisions

of the house of God," says Mr. Stoughton in 1668. "Ah, how doth the unsoundness, the rottenness, the hypocrisy of too many amongst us make itself known." "Have we not reason to expect that ere long our mourners will go up and down, and say, How is New England fallen! The land that was a land of holiness hath lost her holiness!" exclaimed Mr. Walley in 1669. "Doth not a careless, remiss, flat, dry, cold, dead frame of spirit grow upon you secretly, strongly, prodigiously?" appealed Mr. Danforth in 1670. In sermons like these there is a profound pathos and terrible earnestness on the part of ministers which must have been intensified by the spiritual deadness of the people who could hear such appeals without response.

Disasters to persons and property, and threatening dangers to the political life of the colonies, made the dearth of religious interests more ominous. The people had been trained to believe that calamities were signs of God's displeasure. Their fasts and thanksgivings had been national recognitions of His providences in all their affairs. They had experienced many wonderful and continued signs of divine favor. The Indians, whom their fathers had naturally feared, had been friendly. For fifty years there had been peace between Indians and English except during the brief Pequot war of 1637. During the civil strifes of the mother country they had been left at peace, and through the times of Charles I., of Cromwell and his son, and in the earlier years of the reign of Charles II. they had retained their charter undisturbed. Trade had flourished in spite of some persistent efforts by England to restrict it; and the harvests had usually been abundant.

But now the crops had repeatedly failed. Unusual disasters had occurred at sea. Severe epidemics, especially the smallpox, had fallen on the colonies. The visit of the royal commissioners from England in 1664 had awakened alarms and anxieties which were long in subsiding. The disputes with the mother country were revived in 1676, when Edward Randolph came to Massachusetts with a message from King Charles complaining of the colony's infraction of its privileges, and demanding that the authorities should send representatives to England to defend its claims to its charter. The contest continued till in 1684 the English Court of Chancery vacated the charter. King Philip's war, 1674-1676, which had aimed at nothing less than the extermination of Englishmen, had brought to every community unspeakable horrors. At least one in every twelve men of military age had been killed, many of them with horrible barbarities. Almost every family was in mourning. The loss of property had been terrible. Some entire towns had been destroyed, and the colonies were almost bankrupt because of the heavy debts imposed by the war.

Oppressed by these circumstances and by the sense of religious decline in the churches, Increase Mather, pastor of the Second Church in Boston and the leading minister in New England, prepared a petition to the Massachusetts General Court, and secured to it the signatures of eighteen prominent ministers. The petition requested the court to call a synod of the churches, with a view to "inquiring into the causes and state of God's controversy with us," and to reform the evil conditions which had fallen on them. The court, to which the petition was presented May 28,

1679, promptly responded, and ordered the churches to assemble by their messengers on the second Wednesday of September following to revise the Platform agreed on in 1647; and they were ordered to provide for the expenses of the meeting. At this time there seems to have been little question of the propriety of the civil government issuing such orders, though the First Church of Boston voted that it did not see the necessity for calling the synod, but was willing to send messengers to it, "though whatever is there determined, we look upon and judge to be no further binding to us than the light of God's Word is thereby cleared to our consciences." These two questions, which were appended to the request from the ministers, formed the subjects of discussion by the synod: (1) "What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring His judgment on New England?" (2) "What is to be done that those evils may be reformed?"

After full and free discussion, occupying several days, the synod unanimously adopted a result, including answers to both questions. It mentioned thirteen evils as prevalent: the decay of godliness among professing Christians; pride as shown in insubordination, strife and extravagance in dress; neglect of baptism and church fellowship, and of testifying against Quakers and Baptists; profanity and irreverence; Sabbath-breaking; neglect of family worship and discipline; quarrels, slanders and lawsuits between church members; intemperance; lustful behavior and adultery; untruthfulness; worldly ambition and covetousness, leading to stinginess and unfair dealing in business; leniency toward sin; indifference to the public welfare,

and sins against the gospel by refusing to repent and by general unfruitfulness.

For these evils the synod prescribed twelve remedies, namely, that prominent persons should be careful to set good examples; that the Cambridge Platform be reaffirmed; that only regenerate persons be admitted to the Lord's Supper; that church discipline be faithfully enforced; that efforts be made to have the churches fully officered, with pastor, teacher and ruling elders; that the magistrates see that these officers are suitably supported; that righteous laws be enforced and the best persons be chosen to do it; that the churches solemnly renew their covenant; that they engage against the sins of the times; that they clearly express in their covenants their purposes of holy living and labor; that they promote diligently the cause of education in the college and the schools: and that all "cry mightily unto God . . . that he would be pleased to rain down righteousness."

Besides answering these two questions in this summary of evils and the remedies proposed for them, the synod appointed a committee to prepare a confession of faith, and report at a second session, which was held May 12, 1680. This committee was practically relieved of labor by a synod of Congregationalists, or Independents, as they were called in England, which had been held in the Savoy Palace in London in 1658. The confession prepared by the Westminster Assembly, and adopted by Parliament ten years before, was mainly the work of the Presbyterians. As the Independents rose into power, it was natural that they should determine to have a confession of their own. The Savoy Synod, though

not officially summoned by the English government, was called by the Congregational ministers in and about London, who had been summoned by the Clerk of the Council of State to take action. The synod was in session only twelve working days. A number of those who composed it had been active also in the Westminster Assembly. The confession prepared by the earlier body had been altered to some extent by Parliament before it was adopted. Some further alterations of a minor nature were made, especial emphasis being laid on the rightfulness of toleration and on the more gracious aspects of the gospel, the result being the doctrinal part of the Savoy declaration. To this were added thirty sections concerning church order, setting forth compactly and clearly the grand outlines of the Congregational polity. The whole formed "A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and Practiced in the Congregational churches in England."

This confession had little effect on the churches whose representatives prepared it. But Increase Mather, and President Urian Oakes, of Harvard, who were the leading members of the Committee of the Massachusetts Synod of 1679, had been in England at the time of the Savoy Synod; and no doubt through their influence the Savoy Confession, with slight alterations, was now adopted as the creed of the Massachusetts churches. Though it was not meant to and did not supplant the creeds of local churches, it appears to have been adopted by the Old South Church of Boston, and the First Church of Cambridge, and perhaps by some others. The Massachusetts General Court commended the action of the synod

to the consideration of all the churches and enjoined all persons to diligent reformation of the evils which the synod had named, and ordered its deliverance concerning them, as also the confession of faith, to be printed.

The action of the synod produced good fruit. Cotton Mather says it was followed, "not only by a great advancement of holiness in the people but also by a great addition of converts to their holy fellowship." Many of the churches of Massachusetts solemnly renewed their covenants; and their example was followed extensively by those of the other colonies. Singularly, however, very many of the additions were not to full communion, but were of persons received by the Halfway Covenant. In the Old South Church, for example, April 30, 1680, seventy-nine persons "owned the covenant." They were nearly all young people. The additions to the same church the following year were only two. In subsequent years those received into fellowship were largely of the class which did not come into full communion, though no doubt in many cases this step was followed later by a profession of religious experience. The records of the First Church in Hartford, for example, show that within a month, in 1696, one hundred and ninety-two persons, probably nearly all the young people in the congregation, signed their names to the covenant. Two years after the final session of the Reforming Synod, as it has been known in our history, and perhaps as one of its results, the First and Third (Old South) churches of Boston, which for fourteen years had not fellowshiped each other, were reconciled, and "both the churches kept a solemn day

together, wherein, lamenting the infirmities that had attended their former contentions, they gave thanks to the great Peace Maker for effecting this joyful reconciliation."

But notwithstanding this temporary revival of religious interest, yet darker clouds were gathering over New England, brooding most heavily on Massachusetts. The decree vacating its charter, which was made final October 23, 1684, was the downfall of the Puritan commonwealth. The humiliation of Massachusetts was made complete by the appointment of the brutal Colonel Kirk as its governor, and though his coming was defeated by the death of the king, before the close of the next year Sir Edmund Andros had arrived with a commission as governor of New England. A few months later he seized the Old South meeting house in which to hold the services of the Church of England. The church from whose persecutions the Puritans had fled now thrust itself into their very sanctuaries, and threatened to levy on them taxes for its support. Palfrey says, "If the demand had been for the use of the building for a mass, or for a carriage-house for Juggernaut, it could scarcely have been to the generality of the people more offensive." The act of seizure was not only a humiliating reminder that the people were now deprived of their rights of self-government, but it was also a threat that the religious system they had planted might be suppressed, and a menace to all their titles to their homes and property. This, indeed, was but one incident in a course of despotism which was certain to rouse the spirits of Englishmen to revolution. Another illustration of the odious rule of Andros arose in connection

with his attempt to impose an arbitrary tax on the people. John Wise, minister of Ipswich, protested against this, and as a punishment was imprisoned and fined fifty pounds, and suspended from the ministry.

About this time there began to rise into prominence in Massachusetts a young man who became the most famous minister in New England during the close of the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth centuries. Cotton Mather was born in Boston, February 12, 1663. His mother was the only daughter of John Cotton, long the illustrious minister of the First Church. On his father's side, he was the grandson of Richard Mather, the honored first pastor of the church in Dorchester. His father, Increase Mather, has already often been mentioned in these pages, the pastor of the Second, or North Church in Boston, a man of eminence on both sides of the ocean. About this time, 1685, Increase Mather was chosen President of Harvard College, which position he held for sixteen years besides his pastorate.

Cotton Mather received the bachelor's degree from Harvard in 1678. In all the history of that institution only two persons have received that degree at an earlier age than he. In May, 1685, he was ordained as colleague pastor with his father. He began his ministry in stormy times. In April, 1688, his father went to England to try to procure a restoration of the charter and relief from the hated rule of Andros, and also to secure a royal charter for Harvard College. In December of that year the brief reign of James II. came to an end, and two weeks later William and Mary ascended the throne of England. When the news reached Boston, April 4, 1689, that William had

landed in England, the citizens seized and imprisoned Andros and his chief assistants, and formed a provisional government. The ministers of Boston were active in that revolution. Cotton Mather appears to have been one of the leaders in it and to have done much to prevent undue violence. When the news arrived, May 26, of the accession of William and Mary, Simon Bradstreet, then in his eighty-seventh year, the only survivor of the Puritan leaders of the first generation, was again made governor, which office he held till 1692, when he was succeeded by Sir William Phips, the first governor under the new charter. That charter was the result of the diplomacy of Increase Mather.

The last ten years of the seventeenth century have been called the "woeful decade" for New England. In the spring of 1692 the famous witchcraft panic broke out in Salem. It was no new thing to believe in witchcraft nor to punish witches. In 1648 Margaret Jones had been condemned as a witch by the judicious Governor Winthrop and executed. In 1651 Martha Parsons was put to death at Springfield. In 1653 another woman was hanged in Hartford under the same accusation. From time to time during the intervening period before 1692 several persons, eight or nine in all, had been condemned in New England as witches. The epidemic of witchcraft which threw Massachusetts into convulsions was brief in time and small in its results, as compared with the excitement which spread over Europe. James Russell Lowell says: "Puritanism had nothing to do with it. They acted under a delusion which, with an exception here and there, darkened the understanding of all Chris-

tendom. . . The proceedings of the Salem trial are sometimes spoken of as if they were exceptionally cruel. But in fact, if compared with others of the same kind, they were exceptionally humane." The witchcraft delusion, as it has been called, broke out again and again in Europe as a storm of terror. It has been estimated that in the British Islands thirty thousand suffered death for witchcraft, seventy-five thousand in France, one hundred thousand in Germany, and many thousands in other countries of Europe. In the New England colonies thirty-two were executed, of whom twenty were in Salem. Beyond question the publication of stories of witches and of their trials before the courts in England had great influence in exciting the fears and passions of the people of Massachusetts, and in causing the tragedies at Salem.

It was the common belief in those days that current events were directly caused by supernatural powers, benignant or malicious. Diseases which we trace to bad drainage the people of that time believed were the infliction of bad spirits. They had frequent visions of angels and of devils. To them the Indians and their territory were subject to Satan. He was fighting the Puritans, making use to that end of unregenerate souls who had surrendered to his influence, and they were striving in the name of God to overcome him. Ministers fasted and prayed against the works of the devil, and saw portents of his presence in storms and lightnings and fires and plagues. In 1684 Increase Mather wrote a book against witchcraft. Two years later Cotton Mather heard of a maid in Woburn possessed of the devil, resolved to study the action

of "those evil humors," and set apart days of secret prayer and fasting to cast out devils. About that time he recorded the appearance of a glorious angel, who foretold to him the great influence he should have through his mind and books, "not only in America, but in Europe," and as a consequence of his vision he had prayed: "From the wiles of the devil, I beseech thee, deliver and defend thy most unworthy servant."

In brief, the story of the Salem witchcraft began by the seizure of the children of the minister, Mr. Paris, with strange disorders early in 1692. They accused their neighbors of bewitching them. Their story was believed. The panic spread. The people were stricken with terror. No one knew on whom suspicion might fall, or what dark deeds Satan was meditating. The governor, Sir William Phips, appointed a special court to try the accused. June 2 Bridget Bishop, who had been accused several years before of being a witch, was condemned, and June 10 she was executed. The court then asked the advice of the ministers of Boston and vicinity. June 15 they replied at length in a Return written by Cotton Mather. They said: "We judge that in the prosecution of these and all such witchcrafts there is need of a very critical and exquisite caution, lest by too much credulity for things received only upon the devil's authority there be a door opened for a long train of miserable consequences, and Satan get an advantage over us." They urged "that all proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding tenderness toward those that may be complained of, especially if they have been persons formerly of an unblemished reputation."

The number of those who claimed to be bewitched, however, rapidly increased. Multitudes thought themselves possessed by the devil. Accusations multiplied. Many prominent people were denounced as witches. Cotton Mather says: "The devil improves the darkness of this affair to push us into a blind man's buffet, and we are ready to be sinfully, yea, hotly and madly, mauling one another in the dark." Before the excitement had entirely passed, he himself was accused by a young woman of having bewitched her. By the 22d of September nineteen persons in Salem had been hung, and one had been pressed to death. Among the victims was George Burroughs, a minister of some twenty years' standing, and a graduate of Harvard. The craze passed away almost as speedily as it sprang up. In January, 1693, the special court of Oyer and Terminer gave way to the regular Superior Court, which refused to admit "spectral evidence:" that is, it declined to receive as testimony the ravings of bewitched people. The next May all the accused who had been committed to jail, probably as many as two hundred, were released by the order of the governor. "Such a jail delivery," says Hutchinson, "has never been known in New England."

Cotton Mather has been accused, but without any adequate evidence, of dishonesty in seeking the punishment of witchcraft. Beyond doubt he believed in its reality, and was intensely in earnest to destroy it. But to any candid reader of his diary and other writings on the subject the idea that he was actuated by malice is simply incredible. He and other ministers exercised a restraining influence on the public mind

during those terrible days. Some eminent men, among whom were Simon Bradstreet, Increase Mather and Samuel Willard, pastor of the Old South Church, earnestly opposed the witchcraft proceedings. Three years later Samuel Sewall, one of the judges who had officially condemned those who had been executed, at a day of public fast openly confessed his blame and shame in connection with the court, asked the pardon of men and their prayers that he might have the forgiveness of God. But long after, Cotton Mather wrote in his diary, concerning his deliverances about witchcraft: "Upon the severest examination, and the solemnest supplication, I still think that for the main I have written right."

The seventeenth century closed with mingled gains and losses to the churches. The Puritan commonwealth, which had fallen in 1684, came to a final end with the issuance of the new provincial charter in 1692. From that time the church ceased to be the ruling power in the colony of Massachusetts. Before that only church members could vote, and the proportion of voters to the population had dwindled till less than one adult in five was a freeman. By the new charter only a property qualification was to be required of voters. The governor was to be appointed by the Crown, but the right of the people to choose their own legislature was expressly confirmed. The exclusive right of the legislature to impose taxes was also confirmed, but its laws must be sent to England for royal approval. As a matter of course, the leading ministers regarded this passing away from the church of the civil power as the defeat of the great purpose

for which their fathers had planted the colonies. With all their might they resisted the change, and mourned over the opposition of the worldly and the indifference of many within the church. They felt that if they could no longer rule, righteousness would cease. The intrusion of Episcopacy threatened their civil liberty as much as their religious supremacy. The building of King's Chapel, finished in 1689, for whose erection the ruling powers had in all ways, short of direct coercion, sought to compel them to contribute, they regarded as a menace to their rights. The sermons and other published utterances of the fathers at that time show that the close of the century seemed to them the dawning of the day of doom.

Yet the important advantages to the churches far exceeded these apparent losses, as afterward plainly appeared. The diminishing temptation to join the church on account of worldly advantages connected with it tended to promote its purity. The separation of the church from the state restored the independence which already the churches had found to be a large price to pay for their pre-eminence in civil affairs. Puritan Congregationalism had so firmly fixed itself in New England soil that no political changes could uproot it or alter its essential character. The close of the century found seventy-six Congregational churches within the present bounds of Massachusetts, beside eight Indian churches. There were also two Baptist churches in Boston and one Episcopal, and a company of Quakers who had built a small meeting house. There were thirty-five churches in Connecticut, seven in New Hampshire, and two in

Maine, all Congregational. In Rhode Island there were two or three Baptist churches, and some motley communities without definite organizations. The predominant, almost the entire organized religious life of New England, was still Puritan Congregationalism.

CHAPTER XI.

CONFLICTING TENDENCIES IN CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

THE closing years of the seventeenth century and the first decade of the eighteenth witnessed the development of conflicting tendencies in church government, whose influences extended through the whole of the latter century and beyond it. Many of the churches, especially in the frontier settlements, were small in numbers, weakened by poverty and the Indian wars. They could not have continued to exist without financial aid. The Massachusetts Legislature became in a sense a home missionary society. Between 1693 and 1710 more than fifty applications for help were made to it from these feeble churches, and granted by appropriations from the public treasury. Earnest efforts were made to strengthen these churches by a closer union of their pastors; and the natural tendency was to increase the power of the ministers and the organizations formed by them over the churches. Besides the inroads of Episcopacy, lax tendencies developing with respect to terms of admission to membership, the participation in church government of those not admitted to full communion, the weakening of the influence of ministers in the civil government, and increasing restlessness under their efforts to guide spiritual and social affairs were occasions of alarm to many who feared in these movements

the decline of the power of the churches and of vital godliness.

Those most zealous to maintain the old order of things turned to ministerial organizations as a means of quickening the life of the churches and establishing their authority more firmly. One of these, the Ministers' Convention, had existed from the beginning of the Massachusetts colony. It had held annual sessions in connection with the opening of the general court in May. Its advice had often been asked by the court on important matters. The ministers of the other colonies had followed its example by meeting also in connection with the sessions of the general courts. After a time it became the custom to have a sermon preached to the convention annually, the day after the election of the governor by the lower house, in the presence of the governor and the legislature. This convention was not a synod, and did not claim to be an authoritative body, but it discussed matters most prominent in the churches and in the moral concerns of the commonwealth. Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia," written in 1698, says that in its meetings "every pastor that meets with singular difficulties has opportunity to bring them under consideration. But the question most usually now considered is, 'What may be further proposed for the preserving and promoting of true piety in the land?'"

Other gatherings of ministers had been regularly held in the early history of Massachusetts. There was a regular fortnightly meeting of this sort in Boston and vicinity as early as 1633. But it met with some opposition through fear that it might grow into a presbytery, and it appears after some years to have

ceased. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge in 1672 said that he remembered such meetings in his childhood. John Wise in 1710 declared that thirty years before that time there were no such meetings. But in the autumn of 1690 an association was organized of the ministers in the neighborhood of Boston. It was the first permanent district association, and seems to have been begun by Charles Morton, minister of Charlestown. It was modeled after a similar body which had arisen in county Cornwall, England, in 1655, but which was shortlived. Its meetings were held on Monday mornings at Harvard College once in six weeks or oftener. Other associations appear to have been early formed in Essex County, in the neighborhoods of Weymouth and Sherburne, and in Bristol County.

These associations, especially the one at Cambridge, seem to have been one means of developing the tendencies of two conflicting parties, each of which led the churches in different directions further away from the earlier Congregationalism. The conservative party sought to restrain the independence of the local churches and of individual ministers by the influence of ministerial, and a little later by church, associations. They aimed to do this by making, through these associations, declarations of the will of the churches, by limiting the choice of pastors to such persons as met their approval, and by guarding against the organization of new churches which would favor loose ways. As Harvard College was the source from which most of the ministers were expected to come, it seemed to them especially important to guard it against false teaching and undesirable teachers.

Cotton Mather gives a long list of the topics discussed by the Cambridge association, which indicates the direction of its interests and its purposes. Among them were these: who chooses a minister; powers of ministers in their churches; rights of a minister to officiate in a church not his own; resignation of ministry; inquiries by pastors into scandals; use of instrumental music and of ceremonies in public worship; relations of church discipline to civil conviction; powers of councils. The drift of the association toward assuming authority over churches is indicated by its deliverances, of which the following are illustrations:

“Synods, duly composed of messengers chosen by those whom they are to represent, and proceeding with a due regard unto the will of God in His Word, are to be revered, as determining the mind of the Holy Spirit concerning things necessary to be received and practiced in order to the edification of the churches therein represented.”

“Synods, being of Apostolical example, recommended, as a necessary ordinance, it is but reasonable, that their judgment be acknowledged as *decisive*, in the affairs for which they are ordained.”

These deliverances referred, so far as form is concerned, to occasional gatherings, now called ecclesiastical councils.

The leaders of the conservative party were the Mathers, father and son. With them were James Allen, pastor of the First Church, Boston, John Higginson and Nicholas Noyes of Salem, William Hubbard of Ipswich, and several others, mostly of the older ministers. To these men were opposed a party, mainly

of younger ministers, who steadily gained in power. John Leverett and William Brattle were graduates of Harvard in 1680, and became tutors in the college in 1685, the year of Increase Mather's election to the presidency. Thomas Brattle, an older brother of William, graduated in 1676 and was treasurer of the college from 1693 to 1713. Ebenezer Pemberton graduated in 1691, and was tutor in the college till 1700, when he became colleague pastor with Samuel Willard in the Old South Church. William Brattle became pastor of the Cambridge Church in 1696. These four became the leaders of the liberal party. Mr. Willard, who in fact, though not in name, succeeded Increase Mather as President of Harvard when the latter was practically deposed in 1701, occupied a position midway between the two parties, though leaning toward the liberal side.

The aims of the liberal party were, first, to relieve candidates for admission into the church from making a public statement of their experience; second, to extend the right of voting for the choice of a pastor to all male adults in the congregation, at least to all who had been baptized; third, to extend the right of baptism to all children presented by any professing Christians who would stand sponsors for their religious training; fourth, to bring into the services of public worship the reading of the Scriptures without comment and the repetition of the Lord's Prayer. Congregational churches from the first had resisted, as savoring of the Prayer Book, what was called "dumb reading" of the Bible and the use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship. The feeling between the two parties may be traced in church records and in various publications

issued during this period. Evidently it found expression in private conversation and in public meetings, by which it was made to grow in intensity. For example, when Benjamin Wadsworth was ordained colleague pastor of the First Church, September 8, 1696, Increase Mather gave him the right hand of fellowship, of which Judge Sewall records in his diary that Mr. Mather "spake notably of some young men who had apostatized from New England principles, contrary to the light of their education; was glad that he [Mr. Wadsworth] was of another spirit." The next year, 1697, Cotton Mather published his life of Jonathan Mitchell, and his father wrote the preface. In it the elder Mather referred to places which had had a faithful ministry, but which had become through "young, profane mockers, and scornful neuters, overgrown with thorns and nettles, so that the glory of the Lord had departed." He especially admonished the tutors in the college not to "become degenerate plants, or prove themselves apostate." It was impossible to avoid seeing, in sentences like these, allusions to those persons whose views the conservative party opposed. The same year, in August, the Second Church in Boston, of which the Mathers were pastors, admonished by letter the Charlestown church "for betraying the liberties of the churches in their late putting into the hands of the whole inhabitants the choice of a minister."

About this time the growing strength of the liberal movement led to the organization of a fourth church. For a score of years after the first settlement of Boston, the First Church stood alone. In 1650 the Second, or North Church had been formed simply because the first was overcrowded. The Old South

had come into existence in 1669 as the result of a bitter controversy in the First Church, and though its pastor sympathized to some extent with the new party, some of its prominent members were strongly conservative. But the First and Second churches strenuously opposed the movement for another church, and they were very large and influential. The liberal party felt the necessity of a new church in which the new measures could be put into practice. Thomas Brattle was wealthy and owned land in what became known later as Brattle Square. On this land, which he transferred to a body of associates, a new meeting house, a plain, unpainted structure, was built. In May, 1699, an invitation was sent to Benjamin Colman, a brilliant young graduate of Harvard, then in England, to become pastor of the proposed new church. He accepted the call, and having been advised by his friends that the Boston churches would not receive him with favor, he secured ordination at the hands of the London presbytery, under whose authority he was then preaching. He arrived in Boston November 1, 1699, and at once began preaching in the new meeting house. Those actively interested in the new movement issued a statement of their views and principles, November 17, in which they declared their adherence to the doctrines of the Westminster Confession, and their desire for the fellowship of the churches; but affirmed that those seeking admission into the church should be required to relate their religious experience to the pastor only; that children had the right to baptism when presented by any professing Christians willing to stand sponsor for them; that all adults who contributed to the support of the pastor should have

a voice in electing him, and that the devotional reading of the Scriptures without comment was a proper exercise in public worship. They called their statement a "manifesto," and for a long time afterward their organization bore the name of the Manifesto Church.

The church was formed December 12, and consisted of fourteen members, several of whom came from the Old South. No council was called, though the new church voted to invite the others to keep with it a day of fasting and prayer. But in its formation, in the reception of its minister without the usual installation into office by the co-operation of the neighboring churches, and in its declaration of principles, it had distinctly departed from time-honored practices of New England Congregationalism. James Allen and Increase Mather, representing the First and Second churches, replied to the invitation to a fast that they could not join in it unless the new organization should give the satisfaction which the law of Christ required for its disorderly proceedings. John Higginson and Nicholas Noyes sent an earnest reproof to the new church. The intensity of feeling may be inferred from various records in Cotton Mather's diary, of which the following, under date of January 5, 1700, is a specimen :

"I see Satan beginning a terrible shake unto the churches of New England, and the Innovators that have set up a new church in Boston, (a new one indeed!) have made a day of temptation among us. The men are ignorant, arrogant, obstinate, and full of malice and slander, and they fill the land with lies, in the representations whereof I am a singular sufferer.

Wherefore I set apart this day again for prayer in my study, to cry mightily unto God."

Yet there were many who strove for peace. Lieutenant Governor Stoughton and Judge Sewall, with Mr. Willard and others, finally secured the signatures of Mr. Colman and his friends to an agreement drawn up by William Brattle, and the ministers consented to join in a fast recognizing the new church. This was held January 31. Mr. Colman preached, and Increase Mather also, whose text was "Follow peace with all men, and holiness." His theme was that peace must be followed so far as it is consistent with holiness. But it is evident that he was not persuaded that peace under existing conditions was consistent with holiness; for the cessation of hostilities was only a truce. Already he had prepared a tract, one of the most remarkable in Congregational literature, attacking the new movement and its leaders. The observance of the fast seems to have postponed the publication of the tract, but it was issued March 1, 1700. The same day Cotton Mather wrote in his diary, "The venom of that malignant company who have lately built a new church in Boston disposes them to add unto the storm of my present persecution: for it may be never had any men more of that character of grievous revolvers, to be walking with slanders, than many of that poor people have." The tract was entitled "The Order of the Gospel." It mentioned no names; but its tone and temper may be inferred from the following extract:

"If we Espouse such principles as these, Namely, That Churches are not to Enquire into the Regeneration of those whom they admit unto their Communion. That Admission to Sacraments is to be left wholly to

the prudence and Conscience of the Minister. That Explicit Covenanting with God and with the Church is needless. That Persons not Qualified for Communion in special Ordinances shall Elect Pastors of Churches. That all Professed Christians have a right to Baptism. That Brethren are to have no voice in Ecclesiastical Councils. That the Essence of a Minister's call is not in the Election of the People, but in the Ceremony of Imposing hands. That Persons may be Established in the Pastoral Office without the Approbation of Neighboring Churches or Elders ; We then give away the whole Congregational cause at once, and a great part of the Presbyterian Discipline also."

Mather characterized Colman, without naming him, as "a wandering Levite who has no flock." He called on the churches to pray that the college might have "tutors that will be true to Christ's interests and ways and not hanker after new and loose ways." When the Ministers' Convention assembled, May 30, Mather led them, in order "to prevent the great mischief to the evangelical interests that may arise from the unadvised proceedings of people to gather churches," to vote to republish the deliverance of the Synod of 1662 concerning the consociation of churches. He was requested by the convention to issue an address to the churches, accompanying this document, urging them to see that "the irregular proceedings of any people hereafter, contrary to that advice, be not encouraged." This was one of the ways in which the conservative party hoped to use ministerial organizations as a bulwark against threatened innovations. But it availed little. An anonymous reply to Increase Mather's tract was issued, entitled "Gospel Order

Revived." It was probably the product of Colman and some of his friends. It was personal in its attack on Mr. Mather; it ridiculed some of his statements, and it affirmed in its preface that the press in Boston was so much under Mr. Mather's influence that the printer would not print the tract.

But the battle was not waged between the churches only. As President of Harvard, Increase Mather had for years been struggling against opposers. He had made many attempts to secure a charter which would preserve the college to the interests of the churches, but in vain. He was senior pastor of the largest church in Boston, and he greatly disliked to live in Cambridge. Yet pressure had repeatedly been brought to bear on him to live in the neighborhood of the college. The General Court had voted, in 1693, 1695, and again in 1698, that the president should reside in Cambridge. The last time the court had joined with the proposal an increase of salary. But to these votes Mr. Mather made no response. July 10, 1700, the court positively insisted that he should live at Cambridge. He was accordingly persuaded to make the change, but in a few weeks he was back in Boston, and wrote to Lieutenant Governor Stoughton asking that another president be thought of. Probably he did not mean to resign his office. He wanted to keep it while at the same time he retained his pastorate; and he intensely desired to be sent again to England to secure a new charter for the college. But in February 1701, Samuel Willard, pastor of the Old South Church, was made Vice President. In September following, the General Court voted to commit the care of the college to Mr. Willard, and though Mr.

Mather nominally retained his position as president, his control of the college then ended.

Increase Mather had for many years been the most influential minister in Massachusetts. He had with great ability represented the interests of the colony in England. His services had been of the highest value to Harvard College. His defeat and removal from authority as its president was a disappointment whose bitterness continued with him and his son to the end of their lives. It meant to them and their friends the surrender of Harvard to men not in sympathy with the aims of the conservative party in the churches, and the further history of the college showed that their alarm and distress were not without reason.

But the steps they took to guard against the innovation of new customs led toward other dangers to the liberty of the churches, not less perilous to Congregationalism. And singularly enough, some, at least, of the men whom they had opposed joined them in these measures to strengthen Congregationalism by bringing increased power into associations of ministers and churches. In June, 1704, the Ministers' Convention issued a circular letter urging pastors, by pastoral visits and personal interviews, to fresh endeavors to bring all the people to make public covenant with God; to be faithful in church discipline, and not to shield any in other churches from discipline; and to take measures "that the associations of the ministers in the several parts of the country may be strengthened." This was signed by twenty-three ministers, including Pemberton, Colman, James Allen and Cotton Mather. In November following the Cambridge Association re-enforced the letter of the convention, laying especial emphasis

on the importance of associations of ministers consulting with one another to promote "a watchful regard unto the great interests of religion among us."

September 11, 1705, a meeting was held in Boston of nine delegates, representing the five ministerial associations of Boston, Weymouth, Salem, Sherburne and Bristol. It is not known how these delegates were appointed, or what body propounded the question they sought to answer. That question was: "What further steps are to be taken, that the councils may have due constitution and efficiency in supporting, preserving and well ordering the interests of the churches in the country?" Their answer is known as the Proposals of 1705. The plan proposed ministerial associations, with stated moderators, having power to call meetings: these bodies to try ministers accused of scandal or heresy, calling a council if necessary; to examine all candidates for the ministry, the churches to employ none without recommendation of an association; to answer applications for ministers from pastorless churches; to direct churches how to proceed in calling councils, and to discipline ministers neglecting these associations. It was also proposed that the pastors in each association should, with "a proper number of delegates," to be chosen annually from the churches, constitute a standing council to meet as often as once in each year to examine into the affairs of the churches and advise what ought to be done for their welfare; that the determinations of the standing council should be looked on as decisive and final unless appeal should be allowed for further hearing; that if any church disregarded the advice of such a council, the churches should withdraw com-

munion from it, making provision that such of its members as submitted to the "advice" might be received into other churches.

In some respects these Proposals evidently were in the direction of needed reform. It was important that ministers should have proper credentials; and the association of pastors and churches for mutual helpfulness and closer acquaintance commended itself to all. The suggestions looking to this end were cordially received and to a considerable extent put into practice. The whole body of the Proposals was formally approved by the Ministers' Convention May 30, 1706. It would seem that Pemberton and Colman favored them as heartily as did the Mathers. But standing councils never found a foothold in Massachusetts. The Proposals for them savored altogether too strongly of Presbyterianism, of power lodged in permanent representative bodies over both ministers and churches, such as Congregationalism had from its beginning emphatically repudiated. From the time these Proposals were issued they were opposed, says Cotton Mather, by "some very considerable persons among the ministers as well as of the brethren, who thought the liberties of particular persons to be in danger of being too much limited and infringed in them." Four years after these proposals were approved by the Ministers' Convention, they were attacked by John Wise of Chebacco, now Essex, in a very clever satire entitled "The Churches' Quarrel Espoused, Etc." In this treatise Wise sought to stir the churches to a sense of the danger to which their liberties were exposed by this attempt to concentrate power in standing authoritative councils; to show that the Proposals

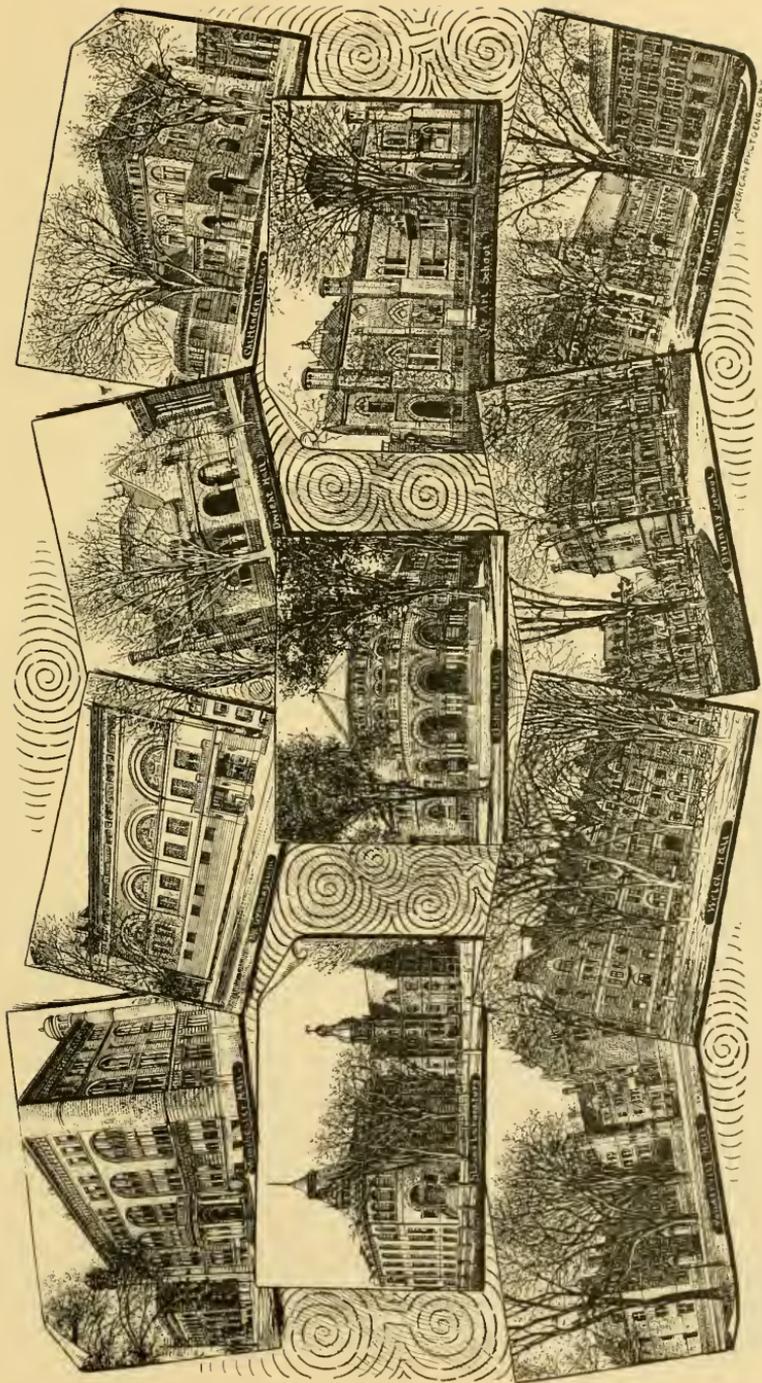
were hostile to the polity of Congregationalism, and to rouse laymen to defend their rights. He declared that these new propositions had that in them which "smells so strong of the pope's cooks and kitchen, . . . that they are enough to strangle a freeborn Englishman, and much more these churches that have lived in such a clear air and under such enlargements so long a time."

Wise followed this treatise seven years later by another, "A Vindication of the Government of the New England Churches, etc.," in which he affirmed that "Democracy is Christ's government in church and state." The conclusion of his argument was "that the people or fraternity, under the gospel, are the first subject of power; . . . that a democracy in church or state is a very honorable and regular government, according to the dictates of right reason; that these churches in their ancient constitution of church order, it being a democracy, are manifestly justified and defended by the law and light of nature." This little book of one hundred and five pages, with the one which preceded it, presents the strongest arguments for democratic principles in ecclesiastical and civil government which the eighteenth century produced.

These two tracts were reprinted in 1772, and had a remarkable influence in kindling the patriotism and shaping the principles of those who led in the contest for American independence. But their influence at the time of their first issue was not less notable. Dr. Dexter says that they "provoked a discussion which in time revolutionized the internal philosophy of the New England polity, cast out Barrowism with all its belongings, and brought back the original Brownism,

purged of its connate inconsistencies and harmonized and perfected for the great uses of the future."

But the failure of the movement for stricter ecclesiastical government in Massachusetts was accompanied by the success of a similar movement in Connecticut, whose beginnings seem to have been connected with the founding of Yale College. As early as 1654 an attempt had been made to plant a college in New Haven, and a considerable sum of money had been raised by gifts and appropriations from the Legislature for that purpose. These efforts, however, resulted only in the founding of the Hopkins Grammar School, which still continues in that city. But as the colony increased in numbers and in wealth toward the end of the century, its leading men began to consider again the advisability of founding a college for their sons in Connecticut. In the year 1700 some decisive steps seem to have been taken at a meeting of ministers in New Haven and at another meeting in Branford. They had the cordial sympathy of the conservative party led by the Mathers in Boston, whose grief at their loss of control of Harvard seems to have been somewhat mitigated by the hope that an institution representing sound doctrine and polity would be built up in the neighboring colony. August 7, 1701, five Connecticut ministers wrote to Judge Sewall and Isaac Addington of Boston, asking for a draft of a charter for the college they proposed to found. Among them were Abraham Pierson of Killingworth, who became the first president of the college, and Gurdon Saltonstall of New London, who was governor of Connecticut from 1707 to 1724. Sewall and Addington sent the paper asked for, October 6, saying: "We should be very glad to hear of



YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

flourishing schools and a college at Connecticut, and it would be some relief to us against the sorrow we have conceived for the decay of them in this province." Though Yale College was founded because of an independent desire of Connecticut citizens for higher education, its beginnings were fostered by the active sympathy of those in Massachusetts who were disappointed at the recent turn of affairs in Harvard. There is in the archives of Yale a "Scheme for a College," indorsed in the handwriting of Cotton Mather, written before 1701; and it was through his efforts that Elihu Yale bestowed his gifts on the college. It was at Mather's suggestion that the college received its name. Not long before the draft for a charter was received by the Connecticut ministers Increase Mather wrote to two of them, offering suggestions about the organization of the college.

The college was started at Saybrook and its trustees, ten leading ministers, naturally exerted great influence over the churches. They did not confine themselves, in their meetings, to the business of the college, but took into earnest consideration the ecclesiastical affairs of the colony. When they met in Guilford, in 1703, they prepared and issued a circular letter to the ministers, calling attention to "the godly examples of our brethren in other parts" to preserve the people and their posterity from heresy and apostasy, suggesting that the ministers of Connecticut examine the Westminster Confession of Faith and also that made by the Synod of Boston in 1680, and that the government should be asked to recommend to the people the Confession as adopted by the Boston Synod. Two years after this letter was issued the

Massachusetts Proposals already described appeared. In May, 1708, the Upper House of Connecticut, of which the minister, Governor Saltonstall, was a member, passed a bill ordering the ministers, with representatives of the churches, to meet in their county towns on the last Monday in June, and prepare "rules for the management of ecclesiastical discipline." Each meeting was instructed to appoint two or more of its members to be delegates to a joint meeting to be held at Saybrook at the next college commencement, "when they shall compare the results of the ministers of the several counties, and out of and from them draw a form of ecclesiastical discipline."

This Saybrook Synod, whose members were chosen by the instructions of the General Court, was composed of twelve ministers and four laymen. Eight of the ministers were trustees of the college. James Noyes and Thomas Buckingham were the moderators. The Synod met September 9, 1708. It promptly disposed of the doctrinal question by recommending, in accordance with the suggestion of the ministers' letter of 1703, that the Savoy Confession, as adopted by the Massachusetts Synod of 1680, should be the doctrinal basis of the churches. In taking up the subject of church government it turned to the Heads of Agreement, adopted as a basis of union between Congregationalists and Presbyterians in England in 1691. The persecutions and legal restrictions imposed on non-episcopal ministers and churches in the mother country had brought Congregationalists and Presbyterians continually nearer together, from the time of the end of the Commonwealth in 1660 till the passage of the Toleration Act of 1689, which gave to Dis-

senters the right to maintain public worship. Following that act a movement arose in the vicinity of London to unite the two denominations. It appears to have been confined to the ministers, the churches as such taking no part in it. Increase Mather, then in England representing Massachusetts colony, his son Cotton tells us was most prominent in the movement, and that without him the union would not have been effected. It accomplished little in England, but like the Savoy Synod its results were remembered in this country long after they were forgotten abroad. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists about London soon got into a doctrinal controversy about a document written nearly fifty years before, but which was first published about the time the Union was formed; and the discussion speedily brought the Union to an end. The Heads of Agreement were sufficiently vague to avoid sharp dissent by either party, but they in the main represented the Congregational way at that time. They declared that the time and manner of regeneration are not to be insisted on as evidence of fitness for partaking of the Lord's Supper; that neighboring ministers should examine candidates for installation into the pastorate; that the officers of a church should manage its affairs, but that if the people object to their doings efforts should be made to satisfy them; that the churches should associate together for mutual advice and help, and that their advice ought to be followed.

These Heads of Agreement were adopted by the Saybrook Synod, but they did not furnish rules for that stricter government of the churches which the Legislature had called for. Therefore another docu-

ment was prepared, consisting mainly of the draft of rules proposed by the New Haven county meeting, but modified by suggestions from the Hartford representatives leaning further toward Presbyterianism. It consisted of fifteen "Articles for the Administration of Church Discipline." These articles affirmed that the elder or elders of a church ought to administer church discipline; that the churches of each county should unite in a consociation; that all cases of scandal should be tried before a council of such churches; that all such cases should be decided by the majority vote of the council; that fellowship should be withdrawn from any pastor or church refusing to abide by such decision; that in any case of difficulty not satisfactorily settled by such a council, an appeal might under certain conditions be taken to a larger council; that a church might call a council of the churches with which it is consociated, but that an offending brother could not have the privilege without the consent of the church; that a council should be permanent till new delegates should be chosen. It was also provided that permanent associations of ministers should be formed to consider the interests of the churches, to examine candidates for the ministry, and to look after cases of ministerial heresy or scandal. To these associations churches wanting pastors were directed to apply, and in case any such church should not promptly seek a pastor the association should complain of its neglect to the General Court. The last of the fifteen articles recommended that the several county associations should meet annually by delegates in a general association.

The similarity of this scheme to that of the Pro-

posals of 1705 is apparent. Indeed, the language of the fifteen articles is in some parts identical with that of the Proposals. The consociations of churches were intended to be, in effect, standing councils, and the ministerial associations were meant, not only to preserve the doctrinal and moral purity of the ministry, but to guard authoritatively the general interests of the churches. In Massachusetts the Proposals received no indorsement from the civil authorities. But in Connecticut the General Court, the month following the meeting of the Saybrook Synod, made its "Confession of Faith, Heads of Agreement, and Regulations in the Administrations of Church Discipline," a part of the law of the colony, ordaining "that all the churches within this government that are or shall be thus united in doctrine, worship and discipline, be, and for the future shall be owned and acknowledged established by law." The court ordered the symbols adopted at Saybrook to be printed and distributed at the expense of the colony. The volume, the first book ever published in Connecticut, was printed in New London in 1710.

The action of the synod and its confirmation by the General Court produced various effects. In each county a consociation of churches and an association of ministers were formed; in Hartford County two of each. Some individual churches opposed the system, with results which in later years caused sharp disputes. The New Haven consociation found it too strict and the Fairfield consociation too liberal. Each body placed on record its own interpretation of the rules of church discipline. New Haven inclined toward the principles of Congregationalism, laying special emphasis on the Heads of Agreement; but Fairfield, placing

a strict interpretation on the fifteen articles, practically constituted itself a court with power to declare sentence of excommunication against an offending church. The results of this ecclesiastical law will appear in the later history when we come to consider the Plan of Union entered into between Congregationalists and Presbyterians in 1801.

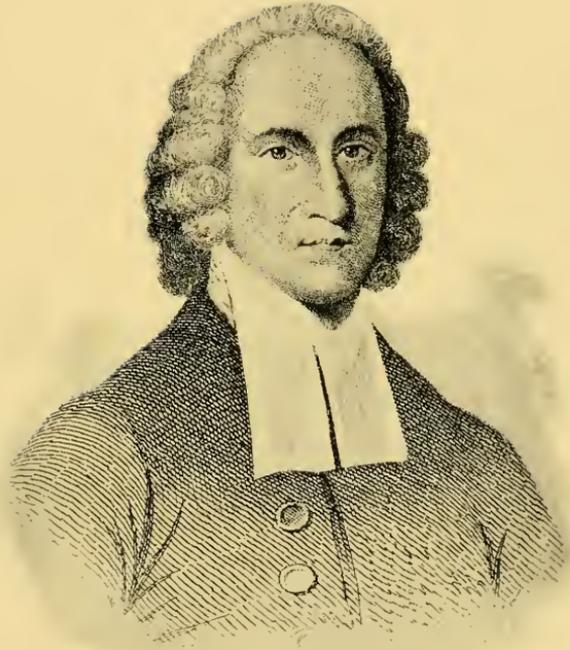
The Saybrook Platform ceased to be civil law in 1784 when the statutes of Connecticut were revised. When the present State constitution was adopted in 1818 all special privileges were withdrawn from the Congregational body, and all religious associations in the State were left purely voluntary. The true Congregational principle then prevailed. But though the churches were at that time legally disestablished the consociation system survived. In 1841 all except fifteen of the two hundred and forty-six Congregational churches of Connecticut were consociated, and in 1892 four consociations, the Fairfield East and West, the New Haven East and the Litchfield South, survived, with a membership of seventy-one out of three hundred and six churches. The authority of these bodies, however, has been more and more limited till the ecclesiastical government established by the Saybrook Synod has practically passed away. The integrity and sufficiency of each Congregational church in Connecticut is maintained as in every other State. Yet, as results of the movements we have described in Massachusetts and Connecticut, we have the local and general organizations of churches now to be found in every State and the associations of ministers, which still, in some parts of the country, examine and approve candidates for the ministry.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GREAT AWAKENING.

DURING the entire first quarter of the eighteenth century war was being waged, with greater or less intensity, between the New England colonies and the Indians; and during the preceding twenty-five years, since the beginning of King Philip's war in 1674, the country had known hardly a single year of peace. The French ceased active hostilities from the time of the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. But they continued to incite the Indians to pillage the English settlements, especially along the eastern frontier, and they killed or carried into captivity many of the settlers. War inflames the passions of men, and indisposes communities to a high degree of spiritual life.

Internal dissensions also engaged and at times absorbed the attention of the people. The administration of Thomas Dudley, as governor of Massachusetts, from 1702 to 1715, was one continuous struggle between him and the representatives of the people in the Lower House, in which some of the ministers bore a not inconspicuous part. The career of his successor, Samuel Shute, was not much more peaceful. Cotton Mather had considerable influence in securing Dudley's appointment; but he afterward bitterly regretted it. Dudley had in his earlier years spoken of Dr. Increase Mather as his spiritual father; and at one time when Dudley was preparing for the



JONATHAN EDWARDS.

ministry, Dr. Mather had expressed to his church the hope that he would be his assistant. But when Dudley, after a residence of more than ten years in England, returned to Massachusetts as governor of the colony, he was favorably inclined toward the Episcopal Church. He also allied himself with the party in Harvard College which opposed the Mathers. Dudley called on Cotton Mather very soon after his arrival in Boston in 1702, when the latter took occasion to warn the new governor to beware of undue influence from Mr. Byfield and Mr. Leverett, tutors in the college and leaders of the opposing party. But Mather records in his diary that "The wretch went unto those men and told them that I had advised him to be no ways advised by them; and inflamed them to an implacable rage against me."

By 1708 suspicion had grown and spread that Governor Dudley was not trustworthy; but was carrying on illicit dealings with the French, who were waging war against New England. Increase Mather wrote him a sharp letter accusing him of plotting against the liberties of the province, of accepting a bribe, of hypocrisy in the affairs of the college and of forsaking the worship of God. Cotton Mather followed his father's letter with another, of the same date, heaping on the governor the same accusations in a larger measure. These passionate charges contained enough of truth to give some justification to the wrath of the Mathers, while Dudley's retort that their letters were prompted by their disappointment at losing control of the college was also in part true. The election of John Leverett to succeed Samuel Willard as President of Harvard was keenly felt by Cotton Mather, who was then, at forty-four years of age, in the

prime of his manhood, and thought himself best qualified for that office. The bitterness and personalities of this contest found their way into the pulpits. Judge Sewall's diary records of a sermon by Mr. Pemberton at the Old South Church about this time,



OLD SOUTH MEETING-HOUSE, BOSTON.
ERECTED 1730.

“’Tis reckoned he lashed Dr. Mather and Mr. Cotton Mather and Mr. Bridge for what they have written, preached and prayed about the present contest with the governor.” Such a temper on the part of the ministers and leading laymen was not calculated to promote revivals of religion.

Meanwhile efforts to build up Episcopacy were a constant source of irritation.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, organized in England in 1701 for the purpose of Christianizing the American Indians, had become in the hands of its promoters a society for aiding the Church of England in the American provinces. Dudley, though he did not sever his membership with the Congregational church in Roxbury, allowed himself to be counted as a member of

King's Chapel congregation, and often worshiped there. A public discussion began in 1711 between Dr. Colman and Dean Kennett, afterward Bishop of Peterborough, England, concerning the purpose of the Episcopal authorities to establish Episcopacy in America. In 1713 Queen Anne issued an order intended to secure such an establishment. Up to this time King's Chapel was the only Episcopal Church in the colony, but efforts were now made to establish others at Braintree, Newbury, Marblehead and several other places. These efforts caused much ill-feeling throughout the province.

This movement especially awakened alarm by its success in Connecticut. Yale College, after years of uncertainty as to its location, was fixed in 1716 at New Haven. In 1719 Timothy Cutler of Stratford was chosen resident rector of the college, which the year before had adopted the name of its benefactor, Elihu Yale. But in 1722 Mr. Cutler and one of the tutors, Mr. Brown, announced themselves converts to the Church of England, and with them two neighboring ministers, Mr. Johnson of West Haven and Mr. Wetmore of North Haven. Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall, then governor of Connecticut, publicly disputed with Mr. Cutler concerning his position. The alarm was increased by the belief that other prominent clergymen had joined in a scheme to go over to Episcopacy and take the people of Connecticut with them. Mr. Cutler was promptly relieved by the trustees from all official connection with the college, and Mr. Brown's resignation was accepted. The four converts soon went to England, where they received Episcopal orders. Brown died soon after. The other three returned to

America as Episcopal missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Dr. Cutler, who had received his degree from Oxford and Cambridge Universities, became rector, with Mr. Miles, of King's Chapel, Boston. The disputes concerning church order which arose from these changes were calculated to turn the minds of Christians from the subject of personal religion and their responsibility for the unconverted, into lines of controversy.

The trustees of Yale voted that thereafter all persons elected to the office of rector or tutor should, before being accepted, be examined as to "the soundness of their faith, in opposition to Arminian and prelatical corruptions," and should be required to give their assent to the confession of faith of the Saybrook Platform.

In August, 1723, at the age of eighty-four, Dr. Increase Mather died, deploring the degeneracy of the times and the decay of vital religion, but prophesying that Boston would yet be preserved through the godly people living in it. "There is," he said, "a grievous decay of piety in the land and a leaving of the first love, and the beauties of holiness are not to be seen as they once were. The very interest of New England seems to be changed from a religious to a worldly one." The feeling of this, one of the greatest of New England Puritans, in his declining years, had long been shared by many, especially of the ministers. From time to time attempts had been made, but without great success, to rouse the people to a deeper sense of their sins and of their responsibility to God. The legislatures of Connecticut and Massachusetts had been addressed with the hope that they would use their

authority to spread the gospel and to command its acceptance. In 1714 the General Court of Connecticut requested the governor to recommend to the ministers to inquire strictly into the state of religion in every parish, asking, "What are the sins and evils that provoke the just majesty of Heaven to walk contrary to us in the ways of His providence: that thereby all possible means may be used for our healing and recovery from our degeneracy."

An attempt was made by the ministers in Massachusetts, in 1715, to move the General Court to call a synod to seek remedies for the low state of religion, but it failed. In 1725 the final effort was made to use the civil government in this country to arouse the churches to more effective work. The convention of Congregational ministers of Massachusetts, May 27, led by Cotton Mather, passed a vote, calling on the legislature to summon the churches to meet in a synod to consider, "What are the miscarriages whereof we have reason to think the judgments of Heaven upon us call us to be more generally sensible, and what may be the most evangelical and effectual expedients to put a stop unto those or the like miscarriages?" The Upper House approved the plan. The Lower House refused to concur. Dr. Cutler and Mr. Miles, the Episcopal clergymen of Boston, remonstrated, and both Houses rebuked their remonstrance. But the subject was postponed to the next session of the Legislature, and before that time the appeals of Cutler and Miles to their superiors in England had brought such influence to bear on the English government that the Lord Justices declared that a synod could not be held without the King's consent, and intimated that further

efforts in that direction might be followed by prosecution for misdemeanor. Thus, by the interference of a religious denomination which was an exotic in New England, the great service was unintentionally rendered to the Congregational churches of Massachusetts of leading them to abandon hope of reviving their spiritual power through action of the civil authorities. This, in a way quite different from that intended, was one important step toward the great revival of religion which was to follow, not many years later.

Cotton Mather had for a long time been most zealous among the leaders who were laboring and praying for a revived interest in personal religion. He died February 13, 1728, at the age of sixty-five years. He was the most prolific author in the history of New England Puritanism. His unrestrained frankness in committing his feelings and experiences to writing, and his great self-esteem, have given to his critics abundant opportunities to misjudge him, of which they have freely taken advantage. His publications, during his whole public life, about three hundred and eighty in all, appeared with such regularity and frequency as almost to entitle him to be called the journalist of his time. Certainly no man of that age surpassed him in appreciation of the power of the press. During the last four years of his life at least fifty publications were issued by him, an average of more than one every month, and at some periods the number was considerably greater. He did a great service to New England, not only by portraying for coming generations living pictures of the times, but by recording in permanent form the important events of history and the principles which were then controlling in church and state. Mak-

ing all allowance also for his faults of egotism and of temper, he was a man of great intellectual ability, devout spirit and strong affections. The impression he made on New England life was deep, abiding and in the main salutary, the work of a leader chosen and honored by God.

But at the time Cotton Mather died there was already beginning to be known a young man who stands without a rival in the religious history of the eighteenth century, the peer of the greatest theologians of any age, and whose influence in Great Britain came to be, perhaps, not less potent than in America. Jonathan Edwards was born at East Windsor, Conn., in 1703, where his father, a graduate of Harvard, was long an honored minister, and his mother was the daughter of Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, Mass. He graduated from Yale when not quite seventeen, with the highest graduating honors which that young institution could bestow. After two years spent at New Haven in theological studies he had a brief pastorate with a newly organized Presbyterian church in New York City, and then for two years, 1724-26, he was a tutor at Yale, following the withdrawal of Dr. Cutler and Mr. Brown.

Like Cotton Mather, Edwards left to posterity a diary of his early years; but, unlike Mather's, it is uncolored by any appearance of consciousness that he is displaying himself for the admiration of others. It is a succession of pictures of a youthful soul whose eyes of brilliant but chastened imagination look unflinchingly toward God, and whose aspirations after the highest ideals revealed in the Bible seem never to tire. His early studies were philosophical, and had he pur-

sued them as a profession he might have rivaled Kant, his contemporary and the greatest philosopher of that century. But his idea of God was ever controlling in his mind. He had rapturous visions of the excellences of the divine nature, but visions did not divert him from the practical purpose to become transformed into the divine likeness, and to that end he regulated the habits of thought, recreation, study, of his whole life.

Early in 1727 Edwards was ordained as colleague pastor with his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, at Northampton. Stoddard was then eighty-three years old, and had held his pastorate since 1672. He had long been a conspicuous leader, not only in local affairs but in the wider interests of the churches throughout New England. His ministry had been marked by five periods of revival, and in its entire course had been able, devout and fruitful. The Northampton church was, in wealth and numbers, the strongest in Massachusetts outside of Boston. Edwards was rarely fortunate in his marriage. Sarah Pierrepont of New Haven, who became his wife at the early age of seventeen, had as high an ideal as her husband and as practical a purpose to realize it; and she saw in him a nearer approach to it than in any other human being. The attractions of her person were not less remarkable than those of her mind and spirit. She made a home renowned for its charms and its hospitality, which witnessed eloquently to its guests the advantages of married life. When George Whitefield had been entertained there for some days, he wrote in his diary that Mr. Edwards "is a son himself and hath also a daughter of Abraham for

his wife. A sweeter couple I have not seen. . . She caused me to renew those prayers which for some months I have put up to God, that He would send me a daughter of Abraham to be my wife. I find upon many accounts it is my duty to marry."

For eight years Edwards preached at Northampton before he witnessed that first spiritual quickening in his congregation which marks the beginning of a new era in Christian history both in this country and in Great Britain. It is not difficult to describe the background of religious conditions on which shone the brilliant logic and fervent appeals of the young minister which burned conviction into the souls of his hearers, melted them to repentance, and lifted them into ecstasy in the new sense of being forgiven for their sins and received into the favor of God. During the half century in which the provinces had been distracted and impoverished by wars, the churches had not willingly sunk into spiritual indifference. Many of their pastors had been faithful and diligent in preaching the gospel. They had made use of calamities large and small to direct attention to the displeasure of God because of the sins of the people. The evils of war had emphasized their appeals. In the terrible epidemic of smallpox of 1721 there were over five thousand cases and seven hundred and sixty-one deaths within three months in the town of Boston, and other towns suffered in like proportion. The earthquake in 1727 furnished an impressive theme. Days of fasting and prayer from time to time are recorded for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. There were in local communities from time to time seasons

of spiritual refreshing in which considerable numbers were added to the churches.

But the efforts after revival laid constantly increasing emphasis on outward reformation, till the idea came to prevail that by diligent attention to good works men could win the favor of God and gain entrance into heaven. The history of the first thirty years of the eighteenth century furnishes abundant illustrations of this tendency. In 1711 the Hartford North Association, to arrest religious declension, recommended its churches to call on all those in their parishes to own the baptismal covenant, if they had not yet done so; to urge those who had owned it to renew their consent; and to call on all the people to keep the Sabbath, attend public worship regularly, to observe the divine ordinances, to avoid profanity, immorality, drunkenness and lying; to be honest in business, to maintain family discipline; to obey their superiors in the family, church and commonwealth, and to watch over one another that all might be stimulated to perform their duties as Christians. In 1715 the General Court of Connecticut passed an act prompting judges and justices of the peace to suppress immoralities; directing selectmen to see that families without Bibles supplied themselves, and were "furnished with a suitable number of orthodox catechisms, and other good books of practical godliness, viz., such as treat on, encourage and duly prepare for the right attendance on that great duty, the Lord's Supper."

This last clause still further illustrates the formal orthodoxy, if it may be so called, of that period. The Halfway Covenant had taught the people that they could have acceptable relations with God without hav-

ing evidence that their lives were renewed by His Spirit, and that performing religious duties would lead to spiritual renewal. Those who had been baptized were regarded as inheriting through Christian parents relations of sonship toward God. They were expected not to wait for the testimony of personal experience, but to bring their children to the church for baptism, and to make for themselves the promises of regenerate souls. The next logical step in this direction was to urge upon all persons, whether renewed or not, that participation in the Lord's Supper was a duty. For many years after the Halfway Covenant became common practice this conclusion was avoided; those who owned the covenant while admittedly unregenerate being excluded from the Lord's Supper. But the distinction in many places gradually faded away; and in 1707 Mr. Stoddard, in a sermon which he published, maintained that "the Lord's Supper is a converting ordinance." The sermon provoked earnest discussion, and in 1709 Mr. Stoddard, in reply to the arguments against it by Dr. Increase Mather and others, published his "Appeal to the Learned; being a Vindication of the Right of Visible Saints to the Lord's Supper, though they be destitute of a Saving Work of God's Spirit on their Hearts." This position, that there were saints who had not been born anew, though it was not universally accepted, was affirmed by able and godly leaders among the churches, and it extensively prevailed.

The churches, thus receiving increasing numbers who did not claim to be converted, grew lax in discipline. The ruling sentiment put honor on church membership. To neglect religious duties lowered persons

socially. The advantages of belonging to the church moved many to seek fellowship in it who did not claim fellowship with God. Under such circumstances the churches themselves could not be expected to feel deeply the danger of the unconverted, nor the sense of their guilt. They sought, indeed, to persuade men to prepare themselves for heaven. But present business and pleasures were pressing, and when men were persuaded that they could, at their own will, prepare themselves for heaven, they put off doing it for what they more enjoyed doing; and in spite of legislatures and exhortations of ministers, worldliness increased and morals grew lax. It is probable, also, that men found their way into the ministry with whom the saving of souls was not the overmastering purpose, but who desired that office because it was an honored and influential profession. There was, no doubt, some reason for the charge made by Whitefield and others that the churches were filled with unconverted ministers. In a word, the churches were busy, so far as they were busy at all, in persuading men to do, in order to become Christians, what renewed souls love to do because they are Christians. Thus there grew up, in part at least as the result of the Halfway Covenant, what was then called "the new-fashioned divinity," "the Arminian scheme of justification by our own virtues."

Into these conditions the preaching of Jonathan Edwards came as a purifying stream from a divine fountain. He accepted at first the condition of the Northampton church as he found it under the long administration of his grandfather. He received to the Lord's Supper those who did not profess to have been converted, though in due time he vigorously opposed

the practice. But his lofty visions of God and His holiness, his profound sense of his own unworthiness, his meditation on the solemn and somber questions raised in dealing with the religious experiences of his people, steadily tended to define and confirm in his mind those interpretations of Calvinism by which he shaped anew and largely informed New England theology. When only twenty-eight years of age, in 1731, he preached by invitation in Boston a sermon which made a profound impression, and to whose excellence the ministers of that town bore formal testimony. Its title was "God glorified in Man's Dependence." It was a solemn affirmation of the sovereign right of God to give or withhold salvation according to his pleasure. It presented the cardinal principle of Edwards' theology. In his view man, because of the fall, is totally undeserving of the divine favor. God is under no obligation whatever to save anyone. He has determined, of His mere gracious condescension, to save some persons. Upon others He has determined to pronounce the sentence of reprobation to eternal death. "His sovereignty is involved in His freedom to take whom He pleases, and to leave whom He pleases to perish." Man has no power of himself to please God. Those whom God has chosen to salvation are the subjects of His special grace. Upon all others and in all the spheres of ordinary life God exercises His common grace, but this exerts no saving efficacy. To His elect God reveals His will by the impartation of divine and supernatural light, by His Spirit dwelling in them communicating His thought to them. This is the immediate action of the Holy Spirit on the human soul. That light God withdrew from the human race when

our first parents fell. He restores it only to those whom He has chosen to salvation. All others are by their nature and determination opposed to God, in utter and hopeless spiritual darkness. The common grace of God operates to restrain human wickedness so that men do not fully realize their enmity to Him. But when this restraint is removed from unrenewed men, as it will be in the next world, they will find themselves in the flames of hell, forever hating God in their utter misery, while He in turn hates them as essentially hateful.

But while as an infinite sovereign God may pardon or reject whom He will, as the moral governor of the universe it is necessary that His justice should receive satisfaction from those whom He redeems. To this end Jesus Christ died, that the elect might receive the forgiveness of sins while the honor and righteousness of God are vindicated. Christ bore a penalty which is equivalent to the endless suffering of those whom He has redeemed. Therefore, their debt is paid. The righteousness of Christ is imputed to the sinner who commits himself to Him. "To him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness."

This brief and necessarily imperfect summary of Edwards' theology has for its center the doctrine which he preached most effectively in rousing men's consciences and bringing them to conviction of their sins, justification through faith alone. No one could do anything to win the favor of God. No one could tell whether or not he was one of the elect. But an awakened sense of guilt was an evidence that the Holy Spirit was operating on the soul. When the awak-

ened sinner confessed his utter ill desert, freely admitted that God would be just if He should condemn him to eternal misery, and cast himself at the feet of Christ for pardon, then in that self-renunciation there might come to him the sense of inward peace which is the assurance that he is accepted of God and that his sins are forgiven. The more intense his conviction of his own sinfulness and the deeper his despair, the greater his joy when the burden of guilt was removed, the fear of punishment at an end, and the prospect of eternal happiness in serving God in heaven unfolded on his view.

One can imagine the effect of proclaiming such doctrines as these to a community persuaded that religion consisted in performing faithfully common duties and in regular attendance on church ordinances, and assured that those who did these things without reproach from their neighbors were in the way to attain eternal life. From some lips these doctrines might have fallen unheeded. From others they might have provoked only opposition. But Edwards was a unique personality. His towering intellect was reinforced by a vivid imagination, and his personal influence was emphasized by a majestic purity of life. He was, in the ancient Bible sense of the word, a seer. He saw God in the infinite grandeur of His holiness, and he saw in himself the depths of unworthiness which he described as existing in others. He saw himself a sinner redeemed through infinite mercy, and in loving self-renunciation he cast himself at the feet of Jesus Christ his Redeemer. To his vision eternal punishment was awful beyond description, and all mankind except the elect were doomed to it; while his

soul was enraptured with the felicity of heaven, and he believed that he was an instrument in the hands of God to bring into heaven those who were chosen to salvation.

The effects of his preaching began to be manifested in Northampton toward the close of the year 1734. His themes at this time were justification by faith, the justice of God in condemning sinners, the excellence and glory of Christ, and the duty of seeking with all the heart the kingdom of God. Remarkable instances of conversion began to appear. One of the earliest was that of a gay young woman, who came to him "giving evidence of a heart truly broken and sanctified." Soon the subject of personal religion became the chief topic of conversation in the town. It absorbed alike the attention of business men, of domestic circles and of the children. Meetings in private houses for prayer and religious conversation were thronged. Through the winter and the spring following the interest constantly grew till Northampton seemed to have become almost a heaven on earth. Edwards gives a picture of it on which one loves to linger. He says: "There were remarkable tokens of God's presence in almost every house. . . . Our public assemblies were then beautiful; the congregation was alive in God's service, everyone earnestly intent on the public worship, every hearer eager to drink in the words of the minister as they came from his mouth; the assemblies in general were from time to time in tears while the word was preached; some weeping with sorrow and distress, others with joy and love, others with pity and concern for the souls of their neighbors. Our public praises were then greatly enlivened: God was

then served in our psalmody in some measure in the beauty of holiness."

The revival spread to neighboring towns, and produced in them effects similar to those in Northampton. Several towns in Connecticut also experienced at about the same time gracious visitations of the Holy Spirit. The work was there even more extensive than in Massachusetts. Edwards became intensely interested in studying the experiences through which the converts passed. He found them all characterized by certain marked outlines, though they varied in degrees of intensity. Inquirers were first aroused to a sense of the awful danger of their condition and the necessity of escaping from it at once. Then they became persuaded of their helplessness in their sins, their entire dependence on God and their absolute need of a divine mediator. Then came gracious manifestations of the mercy of God when Christ revealed Himself to the redeemed soul. Edwards warned those under conviction of sin against deceiving themselves with false hopes. He emphasized spiritual joys and delights as evidence of the genuineness of conversion. He took it for granted that those who had been born anew would live in obedience to God.

At about this time, on the request of Dr. Colman of Boston, Edwards wrote an account of the revival, which was printed and copies were sent to England and Scotland. So great interest was awakened that he was induced to write a fuller description with the title, "Narrative of Surprising Conversions," which, with several of his sermons, was published in England and again in Boston. It was read by multitudes on both sides of the ocean. It kindled spiritually great numbers,

not only of the laity but of the ministers. Though the immediate effects of the revival subsided in the early summer of 1735, its influences continued, preparing the way for the far more extensive revival of 1740-42.

George Whitefield first visited the American colonies in 1738. He came to Georgia by the invitation of John and Charles Wesley, then laboring in that State. In the autumn of the same year he went home again to receive ordination as a priest in the Church of England and to raise funds for an orphanage in Georgia. Although he remained in England but nine months his preaching there aroused great interest, especially among the poor, and intense opposition from Episcopal bishops and clergy. His doctrines of the new birth and justification by faith were welcomed as good news by the coal miners, but were attacked by ministers in sermons and pamphlets. In November, 1739, Whitefield arrived in Philadelphia. In that city, in New York and in surrounding towns he preached to great crowds, and many persons were converted. He collected considerable sums for the orphanage, and spent the winter in the South. By invitation of several ministers he visited Boston, arriving there September 18, 1740. New England was prepared for his coming. His fame had preceded him. His picture is thus drawn by one who saw and heard him:

“He is of a sprightly, cheerful temper: acts and moves with great agility and life. The endowments of his mind are very uncommon; his wit is quick and piercing, his imagination lively and florid; and both, as far as I can discern, are under the direction of an exact

and solid judgment. He has a most ready memory, and I think speaks entirely without notes. He has a clear and musical voice, and a wonderful command of it. He uses much gesture, but with great propriety. Every accent of his voice, every motion of his body speaks; and both are natural and unaffected."

The same person thus summarizes the substance of his preaching:

"He loudly proclaims all men by nature to be under sin, and obnoxious to the wrath and curse of God. He maintains the absolute necessity of supernatural grace to bring men out of this state. He asserts the righteousness of Christ to be the alone cause of the justification of a sinner; that this is received by faith; that faith is the gift of God; that where faith is wrought it brings the sinner, under the deepest sense of his guilt and unworthiness, to the footstool of sovereign grace to accept of mercy as the free gift of God only for Christ's sake. He asserts the absolute necessity of the new birth; that this new production is solely the work of God's blessed Spirit; that wherever it is wrought it is a permanent, abiding principle, and that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it."

A brief description of the effect of Whitefield's preaching on an audience will prepare us to understand in some degree the impression of his first visit to New England:

"I never in my life saw so attentive an audience. Mr. Whitefield spake as one having authority. All he said was demonstration, life, and power. The people's eyes and ears hung on his lips. They greedily devoured

every word. I came home astonished. Every scruple vanished; and I said within myself, surely God is with this man." In his prayers, which were extemporaneous, as in his speech, an intense fervor kindled the devotions of those whom he led to the throne of grace.

But this young man, twenty-six years old, with all his gifts and graces, could never have stirred New England as he did, had not the Holy Spirit prepared the hearts of the people to hear his message, and accompanied it with divine power. The first Sunday after his arrival in Boston he preached to a crowded audience in Brattle Street meeting-house, and later to a great throng on the common. The next day at the New South meeting-house a panic occurred during the service, and so great was the crowd that in attempting to escape from the building five persons were killed. He preached at Harvard College, and he made excursions to the neighboring towns. Inquirers everywhere pressed on him for personal conversation concerning their salvation. He collected generous sums for his orphanage in Georgia. He preached his farewell sermon on Boston Common, October 12, to an audience which he estimated at thirty thousand. Governor Belcher bade him farewell, with tears entreating him to pray for him. Whitefield, preaching at prominent points on the way, arrived at Northampton on the following Friday, and spent Sunday with Jonathan Edwards, preaching for him with profound effect. Thence he made his way through Connecticut, preaching to thousands at Springfield, Hartford, New Haven, and other places, arriving at New York October 30. In that city, and in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, he spent

three weeks preaching daily, and then returned to Georgia. He recorded in his diary that in the seventy-four days since he had landed at Newport, R. I., he had preached one hundred and seventy-five times, besides exhorting frequently in private. The effects of his visit among the Congregational churches of New England will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GREAT AWAKENING (*continued*).

THE visit of George Whitefield to New England covered about five weeks. With all the excitement which attended it and its profound impression on the people, it can hardly be regarded as more than the most prominent incident occurring in that revival which characterized the history of Congregationalism in the eighteenth century. It has even been suggested that the revival was delayed by the expectation of his coming; many, in whose hearts a gracious work had begun, waiting with the feeling that they would be called to declare it when he should arrive.

Thomas Prince, then the junior pastor of the Old South Church, aided his son to collect and publish, in 1743 and 1744, extended accounts of the revival, including events occurring both in this country and in England and Scotland. In Boston, after Whitefield's departure, the attendance on the regular services of the churches was greatly increased. A special Tuesday evening lecture was established at Brattle Street meeting-house, which attracted large audiences for many months. The governor, at the request of the House of Representatives, appointed December 3 as a day of fasting and prayer. December 13 Gilbert Tennent, a Presbyterian minister of New Jersey, arrived in Boston. His father and his three brothers were ministers, and the whole family were so prominent in the revival then

in progress in the region where they labored that it was known as the "Tennent revival."

Gilbert Tennent was one of the most powerful revival preachers ever known in this country. But his manner was quite in contrast with that of Whitefield. Mr. Prince says of him: "He seemed to have no regard to please the eyes of his hearers with agreeable gesture, nor their ears with delivery, nor their fancy with language; but to aim directly at their hearts and consciences, to lay open their ruinous delusions, show them their numerous secret, hypocritical shifts in religion, and drive them out of every deceitful refuge wherein they made themselves easy with the form of godliness without the power." He preached the terrors of the law to sinners, "the awful danger they were every moment in of being struck down to hell, and being damned forever, with the amazing miseries of that place of torment." But he was most effective in "laying open their many vain and secret shifts and refuges, counterfeit resemblances of grace, delusive and damning hopes, their utter impotence, and impending danger of destruction."

Mr. Tennent preached in and about Boston for two months and a half. His audiences everywhere were large, the people earnest and solemn. Many were brought under deep conviction of sin, though without any demonstrations of crying out or fainting, such as had occurred in other places. He preached his farewell sermon March 2, 1841, in the Brattle Street meeting-house, and the parting between him and his hearers was affectionate and sad. The religious interest, which was deep and general through the winter, still further increased after his departure. Within three months

Mr. Cooper had six hundred inquirers who came to ask his spiritual counsel, and Mr. Webb more than one thousand. Crowded services were held in several of the churches on Tuesday and Friday evenings; and on the other evenings there were nearly thirty meetings in different parts of the town. During the entire year the ministers were constantly employed in preaching to crowded gatherings in private houses. Large numbers joined the churches, though less than would have done so had not Mr. Tennent very earnestly cautioned the people against taking the Lord's Supper unless they had satisfying evidence that they had been saved. The very face of the town seemed to be strangely altered. Those who had been for some time absent and returned to Boston noted with surprise the strange look and carriage of the people. Good order and sobriety everywhere prevailed. "Thus successfully," says Mr. Prince, "did this divine work, as above described, go on without any lisp, as I remember, of a separation, either in this town or province, for above a year and a half after Mr. Whitefield left us."

The same holy and happy influences were working in other towns throughout the whole of New England. Everywhere there were remarkable evidences of the special presence and blessing of the Holy Spirit. In Connecticut the interest in religion was even deeper than in any other section of the country. Ministers were physically unable to satisfy the demands made on them for preaching and for religious conversation. Many of them visited and labored for some time in other parishes besides their own. Many inquirers came to them for spiritual advice, sometimes from distant places. Many professing Christians became

persuaded that they had been building on false foundations, and sought earnestly for deeper experience and more satisfying evidence that they were born again. The additions to the churches were frequent and numerous, and religion was the one chief topic, not only in the churches, but in the homes and by the wayside.

But within little more than a year the good influences of the revival began to be checked, not less by the indiscretions of some of its promoters than by the opposition of its enemies. Whitefield was a man of intense emotions, and he awakened like feelings in others. His journal abounds in descriptions of great excitement produced by his preaching. "Shrieking, crying, weeping and wailing were to be heard in every corner." "In every part of the congregation somebody or other began to cry out, and almost all melted into tears." He counted too much on these displays of feeling as evidence of the working of the Holy Spirit. Some of his followers exaggerated them far more than he did as evidences of the spiritual power of their preaching and exhorting.

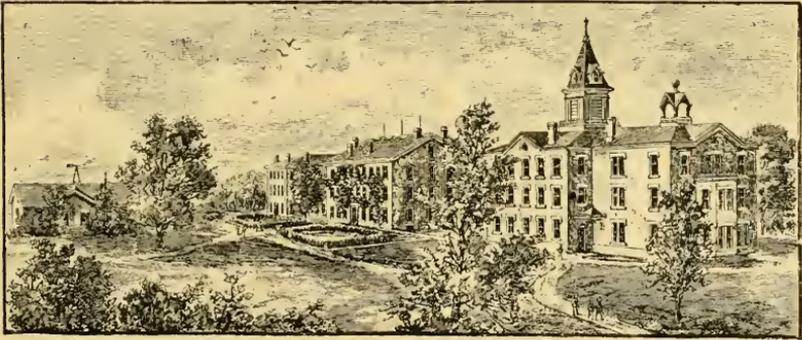
Whitefield had also spoken strongly of unconverted ministers as hindering the work. His own preaching had such effect that he thought those who did not preach with similar power must be unconverted. In the immediate interest kindled by his preaching and presence, the pastors were moved to examine their own hearts rather than to resent the criticism. When, however, his journal, kept during his visit to Boston, was published, containing severe reflections on some of the ministers, it awakened resentment. But while he made sad mistakes in some of his statements about

them, it must not be forgotten that he was at times as unsparing in his criticisms of himself. He says in his journal of an experience in New York: "I could only lie before the Lord and say I was a poor sinner and wonder that God could be gracious to such a wretch."

Gilbert Tennent had also spoken severely against ministers who did not join heartily in the revival movement, charging them with being unregenerate. In New Jersey he had with his father and brothers led a movement in which sharp censures were made upon ministers who opposed them, and which resulted in a division of the synod to which they belonged. A disposition to criticise ministers was developed among some who were most deeply affected by the revival. These sentiments caused the dismissal of Samuel Mather from the pastorate of the Second Church, Boston, in December, 1741. He had been charged with vagueness in preaching on the doctrine of regeneration and with discouraging the work of conversion. But the real ground of complaint against him was want of sympathy with some features of the revival. With him ninety-three members withdrew from the Second Church and formed a new organization.

James Davenport, a minister of Southold, L. I., had been much moved by hearing of Whitefield's labors and had visited him in New Jersey. Whitefield, who was not a profound judge of men, gave him the warmest commendation. A little later Davenport was preaching in company with the Tennents. In 1741 he went to Connecticut, and by his denunciation of ministers as unconverted wrought mischievous dissensions in a number of communities. In New Haven he secured a following which organized a separate church. He was

brought before the General Association at Hartford about June 1, 1742, on complaint of having stirred up disorder in Stratford. The same charge was also brought against Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron. The Connecticut Legislature had just passed laws forbidding any minister to preach in any other parish except his own without the consent of the minister and church of the parish; and forbidding any person to preach in the



RIPON COLLEGE, RIPON, WIS. (*page 375*).

state without license from a regular body of ministers, as provided for in the Saybrook Platform. This unwarrantable method of suppressing disorders only increased them. Pomeroy and Davenport were arrested; the charge against the former was dismissed. Davenport was adjudged insane and sent back to Long Island.

But he soon made his way to Boston. His first Sunday in that vicinity, in June, 1742, he spent at Charlestown, attending church in the morning, but remaining away in the afternoon because he feared that the minister was not converted. On Monday he attended the Ministers' Association in Boston at their invitation, and gave them an account of his work.

They had already heard of him, of his habit of demanding ministers to give accounts of their religious experience, and of his pronouncing many of them unregenerate. They promptly published a declaration to the effect that while they did not question his piety they disapproved of his methods, and that they would not invite him to preach in their pulpits. Davenport began to preach on the Common, and retorted that most of the ministers were unconverted and were "leading their people blindfold to hell." He was arrested and brought before the grand jury late in August for uttering slanderous reports about ministers, and the indictment against him was sustained; but being tried by the court he was adjudged to be not of sound mind and therefore not guilty. He was released from custody and not long after departed. In this action Massachusetts was more generous in her treatment than Connecticut.

But he had diverted the attention of the people from concern about their own conversion, and had sown seeds of discord among the churches. He wrought much greater mischief in Connecticut. The next March he appeared at New London, where he and his followers publicly burned a number of books written by Increase Mather, Colman, Sewall and others, declaring that the smoke ascended like the smoke of the torments of their authors in hell. Davenport represented a class who claimed to have special illumination from the Holy Spirit, who discredited human learning, delighted in hearing the noisy exhortations of those who felt themselves moved by the Spirit to speak, and regarded efforts to repress outcries and displays of physical

excitement at meetings as quenching the Spirit. They made much of visions and trances. They thought they saw Christ bleeding on the cross, or amid the glories of heaven. Ministers who did not approve of these experiences and visions they declared unconverted, and also laymen who expressed doubts of their own conversion.

It does not appear that any of the Connecticut pastors gave countenance to these "impulses," as they were called. But in several places many of the church members were carried away by these delusions, and after a time withdrew and formed independent organizations. To repress such disorders the Connecticut General Court in May, 1743, added to its legislation of the preceding year by repealing the act of 1708 allowing persons, under certain conditions, to worship according to their own views. In October another act was passed, imposing increased penalties on those who should preach without being duly authorized to do so. Under these acts the State authorities proceeded to real persecution of what were called "New Lights." Justices and other officers who were classed with them were removed from office. Many ministers were accused of preaching Arminianism, and dissensions among the clergy rapidly increased. Two young men, brothers, were expelled from Yale College for attending a meeting of Separatists. Two ministers, John Owen of Groton and Benjamin Pomeroy, were arrested for preaching in parishes other than their own without invitation from the ministers of those parishes. Pomeroy, whose offense was scarcely even technical, was heavily fined and suspended from the ministry. Nor was he restored until by act of the legislature in May, 1748. Pastors suspended church

members from communion for going to hear revival preachers; and some of those suspended were kept for many years from the Lord's Supper. In this unhappy controversy both parties forgot the Golden Rule and the laws of Christian courtesy. Ten or more Separatist churches were organized in eastern Connecticut, though a large proportion, probably the majority of the supporters of the revival, disapproved of this movement to withdraw from the churches, and deplored its excesses. In 1744 James Davenport published a confession and retraction of his errors, but those who had been his followers renounced him and kept on as before.

In Massachusetts Jonathan Edwards led those who defended the revival, and Dr. Chauncey of Boston those who opposed it, in the sharp controversy already begun. Edwards admitted and disapproved of the evils connected with it, but laid emphasis on the vast gains from it in the salvation of souls and the spiritual uplift of the churches. Chauncey admitted that there were good results, but exaggerated and lamented the evils connected with it, and therefore condemned it almost without qualification. Edwards' most important work on the subject, published in 1742, was "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England," to which Chauncey replied the next year in a volume entitled "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England." In May, 1743, the General Convention of Ministers in Massachusetts issued a "Testimony" "against several errors in doctrine and disorders in practice, which have of late obtained in various parts of the land." Thirty-eight ministers were recorded as voting for it. Those who sympathized with the

revival were much disturbed and irritated by this action, and called another convention in Cambridge in July, which made a discriminating report, emphasizing the divine power in the revival and the good results from it. It was signed by one hundred and thirteen ministers. These two conventions and their deliverances indicate the excitement, with its accompanying discord and bitterness, which had spread widely through the churches.

Whitefield arrived at York, Me., October 19, 1744, with his wife, on his second visit to New England. His reappearance at once intensified the feelings of the opposing parties. The majority of the Boston pastors welcomed him. But several associations of ministers in the State refused him admission to their pulpits and voted emphatic declarations against him. The faculties of Harvard and Yale colleges issued "testimonies" against him. They charged him with being uncharitable, censorious, slanderous, a deluder of the people, a man led by dreams and impulses. Whitefield replied to these attacks, mainly in a Christian temper, acknowledging that he had made mistakes, disavowing any intention of alienating the minds of the people from their ministers and asking for a charitable judgment. He was, however, compelled to bear, not only the consequences of his own mistakes, but of those of his followers. He remained in Boston till June 19, 1745. He preached to great audiences, and established a series of six o'clock morning lectures, on Genesis, which were attended by such crowds that he was once obliged to climb in at the window. His friends offered to build him "the largest place of worship ever seen in America," but he declined to permit them to do

it. With all the excitement, no such results followed his preaching as on his former visit. Just before he left Boston, the General Association of Connecticut, expecting that he would pass through that state on his way south, voted that "it would by no means be advisable for any of our ministers to admit him into their pulpits or for any of our people to attend his ministrations."

Whitefield returned to New England in 1754, again in 1764, and finally in 1770, in which year he died, September 30, at Newburyport. By the time of his later visits the feeling against him had become softened; and he has long been revered as one of the most eloquent and devoted ministers of any age or country.

Notwithstanding all the evils which grew out of the revival, it stands as the most remarkable quickening of the New England churches during their entire history. The additions to the churches in consequence of it are variously estimated at from twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand, when the population of New England was less than five hundred thousand. Great numbers of church members were brought by it into a deeper Christian experience, and many, no doubt, who had not before been converted, entered into genuine fellowship with Christ. Beyond question, before the revival, there were many unconverted ministers. The right of such men to the sacred office was defended by men eminent in the church. As many as twenty ministers in Boston declared that they had been converted in the revival. It created a much higher estimate of the ministry and led many young men to enter it at the call of God. It exalted notably the moral tone of the entire country,

healed alienations between brethren, increased knowledge of the Bible and reverence for it, promoted the observance of the Sabbath, deepened in multitudes the sense of their sinfulness and exalted their sense of the holiness of God. It may almost be said to have created in this country those nobler sentiments of humanity, one fruit of which, after a century, was the overthrow of slavery. It emphasized the great doctrines of grace and the necessity of vital religion which had characterized the New England churches in their early days. It placed the inward process of conversion foremost in Christian experience; and, especially under the leadership of Edwards, it defined the New England theology with a distinctiveness which makes it the date of a new beginning in theological history.

To Edwards himself, however, the revival was followed by bitter experiences. He was disappointed in its results, which he had at one time hoped would bring in the millennial reign of Christ. In 1746 a memorial from Scotland invited the churches in America to join in prayer for a revival which would accomplish this end, and Edwards welcomed this proposal with a sermon which the following year grew into a treatise entitled "Union in Prayer." About this time he received David Brainerd into his home. Brainerd in 1743 had been unjustly expelled from Yale College, because of an injudicious remark he had made about its faculty which was prompted by his sympathy with the revival. He had met with great success as a missionary to the Indians, but was now in the last stages of consumption. Edwards became intensely interested in Brainerd's rapturous experiences, and after his death wrote his biography.

Edwards had come by this time to the conviction that the avowal and evidence of personal experience of the new birth was necessary to membership in the church. This was the renunciation of the Halfway Covenant, which had in process of time been so far modified that baptized persons had been received into the Northampton church without any profession of Christian experience. Edwards expressed his convictions in his sermons on the "Religious Affections" in 1744. For the next four years no one applied to him for admission to the Lord's Supper. The first person who did apply was told that full terms of admission to the church would be required. This condition was declined. At the same time also Edwards undertook to bring before the church for discipline certain young persons connected with prominent families, whose names he publicly read, who were charged with reading impure literature and immoral practices. In this attempt he failed. He proposed to preach on the necessity of credible evidence of spiritual renewal in order to admission to the church, but the church refused to permit him to do so, and angrily persisted in compelling him to withdraw from his pastorate. An ecclesiastical council, convened not without elements of unfairness, voted by a majority of one to dissolve the pastoral relation, the dissolution to take effect June 22, 1750. The church ratified the decision of the council by a vote of two hundred and twenty, and the town meeting forbade him to preach again in Northampton. Edwards clearly stated his position in a book entitled "Qualifications for Full Communion," and calmly accepted his fate.

Toward the close of the year, with his wife and ten

children, he removed to Stockbridge, then mostly an Indian settlement. During his seven years' pastorate there he wrote his most famous work, on the "Freedom of the Will," and a number of other volumes. In 1757 he accepted a call to the presidency of Princeton College, and there he died of smallpox a few weeks after his arrival.

The religious thought and life of New England has been determined by the influence of Jonathan Edwards more than by that of any other man, and that influence has extended far beyond the bounds of Congregationalism. He revived and gave new meaning and power to the teachings of the founders of this country. He set in motion forces which brought to an end the Half-way Covenant. He made distinct the line dividing the church from the world. He fixed firmly in the churches the conviction that the new birth is the only door of entrance into the kingdom of God, and that the subjects of it have some reliable evidence that they have experienced it. Though, when smarting under the injustice he endured at the hands of the council which dismissed him from his church at Northampton, he declared his preference for the Presbyterian form of church government, he has with good reason been called the father of modern Congregationalism. His sublime and absorbing conception of the absolute sovereignty of God left little room for human freedom, and placed too low an estimate on human worth. But by some of the most eminent men on both sides of the Atlantic who have differed widely from him, as well as by those who have accepted his teachings, he has been regarded as the greatest man of the eighteenth century. Many will accept

without qualification this tribute given to him by Dr. Chalmers :

“ I have long esteemed him as the greatest of theologians, combining in a degree that is unexampled the profoundly intellectual with the devotedly spiritual and sacred, and realizing in his own person a most rare yet most beautiful harmony between the simplicity of the Christian pastor on the one hand, and on the other all the strength and prowess of a giant in philosophy.”

CHAPTER XIV.

CONGREGATIONALISTS IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

A CANDID study of the early history of New England can lead to no other conclusion than this, that the most powerful motive in originating the war of independence was a religious motive. It was the same as that which first brought the Pilgrims to this country, that they might worship God unmolested in the way they believed most pleasing to Him; that they might plant churches of the Congregational order and a civil government in harmony with the principles of such churches. It was the same motive as that which brought the Puritans out of England to plant a colony on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. Year after year from their first settlement, in increasing numbers, up to 1640, they fled not so much from the tyranny of Charles I. as from the persecutions of the High Commission and Archbishop Laud. They loathed the hierarchy of the English church, and, with all their loyalty to the British crown, they dreaded it because the hierarchy was sustained by it. The king was the head of the church. Parliament imposed on the people the laws of the church, its creed and forms of worship. Its bishops and other clergy were really appointed by the government. The Puritans in effect proposed to form a hierarchy of their own, but it was none the less hostile to the English hierarchy.

Laud pursued the Puritans in New England with

the purpose to impose on them the authority of the English church. Hardly had they become settled in their new home before, in 1634, he began his assault on them by securing a commission to examine their charter, and if necessary to revoke it. His plans were interrupted by the civil wars; but his successors pressed those plans with no less zeal, and the Puritans and their successors fought against them for one hundred and fifty years with no less determination till they at last gained their freedom by the peace of 1783. John Adams, the successor of Washington as President of the United States, and one of the wisest statesmen this country ever had, says that "the principles and feelings which contributed to produce the Revolution ought to be traced back for two hundred years, and sought in the history of the country from the first plantations in America." The ruling forces in that early period were the Congregational ministers and the churches under their leadership. The ministers proposed the important laws which were adopted by the General Court. For a number of years the "Judicials" of John Cotton, and after them the "Body of Liberties" of Nathaniel Ward, were the only civil codes of the colony. The master spirit in forming the constitution of Connecticut, which, more than any other document, has influenced the character of our State and national governments, was Thomas Hooker. The churches determinedly resisted the English hierarchy, and came to resist the English government because it sought to enforce the authority of that hierarchy. Mr. Adams says again: "Independence of English church and state was the fundamental principle of the first colonization, has been its general

principle for two hundred years, and now, I hope, is past dispute."

As Episcopacy followed the Puritans and their children to New England and sought to establish itself here, they fought it with the same intensity with which their ancestors had fled from it. To them Episcopacy meant tyranny over conscience, and made monarchy an instrument to compel obedience to it. The "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," formed in England about the beginning of the eighteenth century for the alleged purpose of Christianizing the Indians, came to be used, in the hands of English bishops, to proselyte Congregationalists. It attempted to plant Episcopal churches in towns already amply supplied with churches of the Congregational order on the assumption that such were not genuine churches of Christ. In 1762 that society had thirty-one missionaries in New England. John Adams, writing in 1815 to Dr. Morse, declared that "the apprehension of Episcopacy contributed fifty years ago, as much as any other cause, to arouse the attention not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and to urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of Parliament over the Colonies." Hildreth, in his "History of the United States," referring to the same period, says: "An unseasonable revival of the scheme for a bishop in the colonies had recently excited a bitter controversy . . . which could only tend to confirm the Congregational body in hostility to the extension of English influence." Jonathan Mayhew, pastor of the West Church, Boston, took the lead in that controversy, and after his death Dr. Chauncey continued it. Mayhew's sermon in 1750, on "Unlimited Submission

and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers," which became famous both in America and in England, was a trumpet call in behalf of civil and religious liberty. It had a powerful and continuous influence in leading the New England colonists to the position where they were ready to declare and to fight for their independence. "People have no security," he said, "against being unmercifully priest-ridden but by keeping all imperious bishops, and other clergy who love to lord it over God's heritage, from getting their feet into the stirrup at all." Samuel Adams, the father of the Revolution, writing in 1768 to the agent in London of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, advised him that the persistent attempts of English bishops to establish a Protestant Episcopate in America were "very alarming to a people whose fathers, from the hardships they suffered under such an establishment, were obliged to fly their native country into a wilderness. . . We hope in God such an establishment will 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 toward the support of prelacy as of soldiers and pensioners." The next year, 1769, Dr. Sewall, pastor of the Old South Church, died; and the *Boston Evening Post* said of him: "He was greatly alarmed with every motion to introduce the hierarchy into these colonies, whose predecessors had, at the peril of every earthly comfort, fled from the face of ecclesiastical tyranny. Nor was he less jealous of the attempts made to deprive us of our civil rights and privileges."

Such extracts as these, which might be multiplied, suffice to show how strong was the sentiment of resist-

ance among the Congregational ministers of New England to the ecclesiastical encroachments of Old England, and how their religious zeal re-enforced their patriotism in their appeals to the people to resist unjust taxation and the imposition of unwelcome officers and laws. The presence of General Gage and



MARK HOPKINS MEMORIAL, WILLIAMS COLLEGE, WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS. (*p.* 365).

his redcoats in Boston did not do more to rouse popular resentment than did the presence of clergymen maintained by the Church of England. Civil and ecclesiastical tyranny were alike dreaded, and both were joined together in the minds of the people. While Congregational ministers thundered against the Stamp Act, it was equally plain, as John Adams wrote in his diary in 1765, that "the Church people are many of them favorers of the Stamp Act." It must be remembered, too, that at that time nearly all New England people attended church, and heard preachers

with a reverence by no means now so generally accorded to them. "Twice every week," says Palfrey, "all her people sat down to listen to able men (for the pulpits of New England then admitted no others) accomplished in the best learning of the time; and while their convictions and characters were molded by this vigorous instrumentality, their understandings and their taste received a wholesome stimulus and a generous nurture."

The sermons which have been preserved—and they are many—of those days before and during the war abound with the boldest declarations of civil rights, and of the duty of freemen to resist civil wrongs. Fast Day and Thanksgiving sermons rang with patriotic appeals. Sermons which had been preached long before on the principles of free government were brought out again and eagerly read. The two tracts of Rev. John Wise of Ipswich, more than half a century old, one of which was the "Vindication of the Government of New England Churches," so clearly set forth the leading principles of democracy that they were republished by subscription of laymen in 1772 and widely circulated. The people, too, in their capacity as citizens, and their rulers, regarded the co-operation of ministers and churches as essential to their success in asserting and maintaining their civil rights. When in 1766 General Gage was expected in Boston, the citizens in town meeting voted to ask the ministers of the town to set apart a day of fasting and prayer in view of the dangers threatening the colony. In 1774 the Provisional Congress, with John Hancock at its head, issued an appeal to ministers, asking them to extend their aid to help the people to escape from

the "dreadful slavery" as the Congress called it, of the acts of Parliament. When, later in the same year, General Gage, having superseded Hutchinson as governor, was asked by the General Court to appoint a day of fasting and prayer and refused to do so, the court appealed to the associated ministers of Boston, who proposed to their congregations to set apart Thursday, July 14, 1774, to be religiously kept as a fast in view of threatening calamities. General Gage wrote of it to the Earl of Dartmouth, "The fast day appointed by the faction was kept in this town on the 14th instant as generally and punctually as if it had been appointed by authority. I might say the same of most other places, though it was not universal."

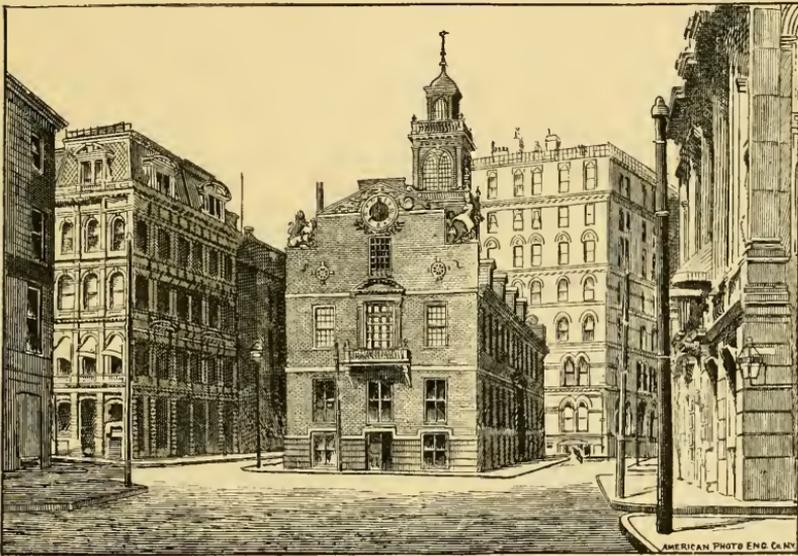
The churches in general followed the leadership of the ministers, though at the first in many of them there were two parties, one favoring the royalists and the other composed of ardent defenders of the cause of liberty. When the struggle with the ruling powers first began to take definite shape, few went so far as to advocate entire separation from the mother country. The majority demanded the repeal of unjust laws and the recognition of the civil rights of the colonies. They came slowly to willingness to relinquish the advantages of the protection of the strong government of England against France and other foreign powers. They cherished inherited sentiments of loyalty to the home of their fathers. They felt that they were fighting the same battle which had long been and was still being waged by the Puritans in Old England against prelatical rule, and against its insistence on the divine right of kings and the religious duty of passive obedience; and they hoped to win under the same govern-

ment with their brethren in England. But it came to be their one purpose to win at all hazards. That was true of them which Macaulay had said of the Puritans in England when they conquered Charles I., that they "brought to civil and military affairs a coolness of judgment and an immutability of purpose which some writers have thought inconsistent with their religious zeal, but which were in fact the necessary effects of it. The intensity of their feelings on one subject made them tranquil on every other."

Massachusetts was the foremost colony in waging war for national independence. She uttered the first defiance to British tyranny. The first battle for freedom was fought on her soil. She furnished nearly one-third of the American soldiers in that war. So far as the churches were a factor in bringing about the Revolution, the preponderant influence of Congregationalists in Massachusetts is made evident by a simple enumeration of their relative strength. In 1770 there were three hundred and thirty-nine ecclesiastical organizations in that colony, of which eleven were Episcopal, sixteen Baptist, eighteen Quaker and two hundred and ninety-four Congregational. At the close of the war there were one Roman Catholic, three Universalist, six Quaker, eleven Episcopal, sixty-eight Baptist and three hundred and thirty Congregational churches. The proportion of Congregational churches was about the same in the other New England States.

The ministers and their churches not only roused and strengthened the spirit of liberty in the people by their work in the pulpit, but they bore their full share of the burdens of war on the field. Of course in the early stages of the conflict the Boston churches were

the most prominent. On November 29, 1773, the Old South meeting house was crowded with people to consider what should be done concerning the tea on which the British government had determined that the people of the Colonies should pay a tax. In and about that house, December 16, an immense company was again



OLD STATE HOUSE, BOSTON, MASS.

gathered to consider the same subject, and from it went men who that night emptied three hundred and forty-two chests of tea from the ships into the waters of the bay. The British officers had an especial spite against the church buildings as breeders of rebellion. They occupied a number of them as barracks. They tore down the steeple of the West Church, because they thought it had been used as a signal staff. They demolished the Old North and used the materials for fuel. They cut to pieces the pulpit, pews and seats of

the Old South and used the building as a stable and a riding school. They wantonly destroyed a large part of a very valuable library of Thomas Prince, a former pastor of the church. Soon after the war broke out most of the ministers left the city, their places of worship having been taken by the British authorities. Dr. Byles of Hollis Street Church, the one Tory, remained; but when his people returned after the evacuation of the city they would not allow him to preach. Of the Boston pastors, Mr. Howe died at Hartford, August 25, 1775, and Mr. Hunt a few months later at Northampton. Dr. Pemberton of the Old South does not appear to have preached after the meeting house was desecrated. He died September 9, 1779.

A few instances, taken from among many by Dr. Joseph S. Clarke, in his "Historical Sketch of Congregational churches in Massachusetts," show the spirit with which ministers everywhere inspired their people to fight for freedom. When the town of Sturbridge voted to provide four casks of powder, with other supplies, for the army, Joshua Paine, the pastor of the Congregational church, offered to pay for one cask, which cost one-fifth of his salary for the year. Samuel Eaton of Brunswick, Me., when the British landed on the coast of that province, preached a sermon which brought forty men in his congregation to enlist to meet them. His text was: "Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood." Thomas Allen of Pittsfield, chaplain at the battle of Bennington, being asked if he had killed any, said he hoped he had prevented some from being killed: "For," said he, "observing a flash often repeated in a bush near by,

which seemed to be succeeded by the fall of some one of our men, I leveled my musket, and firing in that direction put out that flash." There are few of the older towns of New England in which some traditions have not survived of the effective service of Congregational ministers during the stirring scenes of the Revolution.

The influence of Congregational churches was also not less potent in shaping the new government than in throwing off the yoke of the old. Congregationalism was in its nature a democracy, and it was inevitable that its principles of government should prevail in a nation planted by Congregationalists. Sir James Mackintosh declares that Congregationalist ministers first taught to John Locke "those principles of religious liberty which they were the first to disclose to the world." Among those tracts of ministers already alluded to as having been reprinted to influence public sentiment just before the Revolutionary War, one, first issued by a Massachusetts pastor in 1687, bore the significant title, "Democracy is Christ's government." Such influences as these shaped the town meeting and the State governments according to the principles on which Congregational churches were founded. The same influences were powerful also in bringing about the federation of States which has resulted in our united Republic. In 1766 Jonathan Mayhew wrote to James Otis: "You have heard of the communion of churches. . . While I was thinking of this in my bed the great use and importance of a communion of colonies appeared to me in a strong light, which led me immediately to set down these hints to transmit to you." The thoughts of the ministers, who led the

people in religion, were kindled not less by desire to make everyone realize his equality with his brethren in the church under Christ as the one head, than by the desire to bring all the people to gain civil freedom. They inspired men with love of liberty. They taught them that freedom was a condition to be fought for, even with the sacrifice of life ; to be maintained only by a habit of obedience to God, and to be imparted in its fullest meaning only to those who could receive it as a sacred trust.

The idea of a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," was conceived in Congregational churches ; was by them urged and developed into a practical scheme, and without them would never have been realized. The blessings of our Republic háve come to us through Congregationalism and through the men who found in its faith and polity the principles of self-government, together with unswerving loyalty to God.

CHAPTER XV.

THE UNITARIAN DEPARTURE.

THE positive beginnings of Unitarianism in Massachusetts must be sought for in the reaction which followed the Great Awakening of 1740. Signs of its coming may have appeared earlier. Many ministers of that and the following generation regarded the revival of that period as throughout a work of the Holy Spirit. A smaller number believed it to be a work of God, but deplored the excesses which accompanied it. Others, like Dr. Chauncey, though they still believed and preached the doctrines of the fathers, spoke of the revival only with disapproval. A few cared more for their intellectual freedom than for any creed, and were cold at heart toward emotional demonstrations of spiritual life.

It was considerably more than half a century before these different classes gathered into two distinct opposing parties. But during the whole of that period the effect of the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism, as the fathers had maintained them, was developing opposing tendencies. One class, devoutly holding these doctrines but realizing the difficulties which the human reason encountered in accepting them, became increasingly interested in philosophical and metaphysical attempts to justify the ways of God to men. The other class was increasingly disposed to deny the authority

of creeds and confessions and to praise the spirit of free inquiry. While the latter class would naturally be regarded with suspicion, in the first class were the accepted leaders in the churches. Some of them exerted wide influence through the pupils who came, as was the custom in those days, to study with them in preparation for the ministry. They developed distinguishing features of theological teaching, which their pupils reproduced and defended with loyalty to their instructors. Joseph Bellamy of Bethlehem, Conn., and Samuel Hopkins of Newport, R. I., had studied theology with Jonathan Edwards. Each founded a modified system of theology and taught it to his pupils. The Edwardean system evolved into the Hopkinsian, and this in later years passed through further changes in the hands of Nathaniel Emmons of Franklin, Mass., and in the earlier part of the present century was again modified by Nathaniel W. Taylor of New Haven, by Lyman Beecher and others, till it came to be known as "The New Divinity." Some of its expounders, men of great and trained powers of reasoning, became sometimes more interested in discussing the philosophy of the change by which a soul is born into the kingdom of God than in pressing home with fervid appeal the truth which the Holy Spirit uses to bring about that change. For example, Hopkins demonstrated, as he believed, that sinners had natural power but not moral power to believe in Christ; that in the process of the new birth repentance precedes faith; that God exerted His power in such a manner that He purposed it to be followed by the existence of sin, but that He overrules sin to promote good; and that it is a test

of the renewed man that he must be willing to lose his own soul for the glory of God. Discussions on themes like these gathered prejudices against the gospel as it was preached which waited a favorable time for expression.

It must not be supposed that these noted teachers were merely metaphysical theologians. They were also reformers, the vanguard of that army which has wrought the greatest moral advances of this age. Hopkins, settled at Newport in 1770, when a number of his parishioners owned slaves, boldly denounced slavery as a crime. He did this with such effect that his people were induced to free their slaves. Whittier has said of the day when Hopkins preached against slavery: "It may well be doubted whether on that Sabbath day the angels of God in their wide survey looked upon a nobler spectacle than that of the minister of Newport rising up before his slaveholding congregation and demanding in the name of the Highest the deliverance of the captive and the opening of prison doors to them that were bound." Emmons also was an abolitionist and a stanch defender of various reforms, as well as an illustrious expounder and defender of the Congregational polity. Lyman Beecher's famous six sermons against intemperance made him the pioneer in the great work for temperance in this country. The leadership which these men and their compeers maintained in theology was greatly strengthened by their interest in practical reforms.

But on the other hand there was an increasing number of ministers whose impatience with metaphysical subtleties strengthened their indifference to essential

doctrines of the gospel. Some of these were able men, whose earnestness in the time of civil conflict with England found more frequent expression in impassioned love of liberty than in the language of adoration to God. Jonathan Mayhew, of the West Church, Boston, who died in 1766, was one of the earliest of this type of ministers. He was a bold, liberal thinker, as impatient of theological as he was of monarchical restraints. He was not adverse to startling people by extreme statements. He made some allusions to the deity of Christ which even he was ready to acknowledge as too rash. Bellamy said of him, "He boldly ridicules the doctrine of the Trinity and denies the doctrine of justification by faith alone." Yet he would probably never have admitted the truth of such a charge. So far as he did deny these doctrines, he stood almost alone among New England ministers previous to the Revolutionary War. Dr. Chauncey of the First Church, Mayhew's contemporary and his survivor till 1781, bold, unimaginative, with little reverence for the past, carried his bitter opposition to the great revival in later years to like opposition to some of the doctrines prominently preached in that revival. Especially he preached and wrote against the doctrine of eternal retribution, and defended the doctrine of the final restoration of all men. Thacher, pastor of the Brattle Street Church from 1785-1802, declared: "For myself I can say that I believe the true and proper divinity of Jesus Christ; the awful depravity of human nature; the necessity of regeneration and of the agency of the Divine Spirit in effecting the change; the insufficiency of our own works to justify us in the sight of God; the necessity of holiness in heart and life in

order to fit us for heaven ; and the utter futility of the hope that in the future state we shall have the opportunity of rectifying the mistakes as to our own religious character which we make in the present. . . . But great and good men, men much greater and better than I am, have materially differed from me in their ideas on these subjects." Such divergent lines of thinking as were represented by Hopkins and Emmons on one side and Chauncey and Thacher on the other could not but have their legitimate effect on thinking people in the pews. Men turned to one kind of preachers to find themselves met by metaphysical distinctions which they could not understand, and to another kind to find the mysterious and the supernatural set aside as unedifying, with a plea for simplicity which was often only another name for spiritual barrenness. One cannot read the record of these years without earnestly wishing that a wise, consecrated, zealous evangelist might have appeared, with trumpet voice calling the churches to their knees and the unconverted to repentance.

Yet though two opposing parties were forming in the Massachusetts churches for more than fifty years, the division did not distinctly appear till the beginning of the present century. The first church which avowed itself to be Unitarian was not Congregational but Episcopal. For two years after the outbreak of the Revolution, King's Chapel was without a rector. Then for five years it was lent to the Old South Church, whose meeting house had been made unfit for use by British troops. In 1782 the remnant of the organization called James Freeman to be their rector, a brilliant young student from Harvard. The Revolution had made it necessary that the prayer book should be

changed in its references to political rulers. Freeman took advantage of that fact to omit also the passages in which the Trinity was recognized. He met with opposition, but by a vote of twenty to seven the new ritual was adopted. He sought in vain for ordination by Episcopal bishops; and at last in 1787 his wardens laid hands on him in a service of nominal ordination, though seventeen of the members of the parish protested. This was the beginning of organized Unitarianism in Boston.

Unitarianism in Europe was first preached in Poland as Socinianism about the middle of the sixteenth century. Its founder, Socinus, denied the deity of Christ, the moral fall of man, the necessity of an atonement for sin, the resurrection of the body and eternal punishment. From the beginning it was mainly a series of denials of these doctrines. John Biddle was the father of Unitarianism in England. He was banished for his teachings to the Scilly Islands, and finally died in prison in 1662. Thomas Emlyn, born the following year, championed Biddle's views, for which he also suffered punishment inflicted by the government. He published in England near the close of the seventeenth century a "Humble Inquiry into the Scripture Account of Jesus Christ," in which he denied His deity. He died in 1743. In 1756 his book was republished in Boston and attracted considerable attention. Joseph Priestley, born in 1733, became in 1755 a dissenting minister in England, but three years later withdrew from his congregation because he had renounced belief in the atonement. He became not only the foremost defender of Unitarianism in Europe, but one of the most honored among scientific men. He was the dis-

coverer of oxygen and other gases, and his reputation as a scientist gave added weight to his publications in defense of his religious views. Thomas Belsham, a dissenting minister, in 1789 avowed himself a Unitarian, and next to Priestley came to be regarded as the leader of Unitarianism in England. Unitarians there were naturally interested in the progress of their views in America, and Belsham maintained a regular correspondence with Freeman of Boston. Priestley came to America in 1794 and remained in Pennsylvania till his death in 1804. He was disappointed in the results of his visit, and it was not thought wise by those who favored his views to invite him to Boston; but his presence in this country increased the interest here felt in Unitarianism.

As the century drew to its close, a revival of great power spread through the Middle States and further west; and its influence was felt, though with less force, in England. Methodism, which first made its appearance in Massachusetts in 1790, kindled in many communities new religious fervor, and offered an opportunity for religious expression to those evangelical Christians who did not accept the doctrines of Calvinism. In Yale College the powerful and eloquent preaching of President Timothy Dwight turned back the tide of French infidelity which was sweeping over that institution and quickened the religious interest among New England churches. The Congregational Missionary Society of Connecticut was formed in 1798, and the Massachusetts Missionary Society the following year, with Dr. Emmons as its first president. These societies aimed to give the gospel to "the remote parts of our country, where Christ is seldom

preached," and looked beyond "through more distant regions of the earth, as circumstances shall invite and the ability of the society shall admit." Thus the beginning of the present century witnessed the commencement of that organized missionary effort which has become the foremost interest of the churches of our time.

All these movements tended to emphasize the distinction between those who believed and preached the orthodox doctrines and those who were indifferent to or repudiated them. The churches which came to be known as "evangelical," in distinction from those which called themselves "liberal," sympathized with and experienced revivals, and almost exclusively supported the missionary societies. The Boston churches were passing into the leadership of "liberal" ministers. In 1799 William Emerson succeeded Clarke in the pastorate of the First Church. In 1803 William Ellery Channing became pastor of the Federal Street Church. He began his ministry, he afterward said, "by abstaining most scrupulously from every expression which could be construed into an acknowledgment of the Trinity." In 1805 Buckminster succeeded Thacher in the Brattle Street Church. He was known to have adopted Freeman's views of the Trinity. The evangelical ministers were alive to the danger of division and endeavored to strengthen their position. In 1802 they took steps to form a General Association of the ministers of the State. The same year the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine* was begun, to promote pure religion and awaken a missionary spirit. The next year the General Association was formed, though representatives of only five of the twenty-four district

associations participated in the organization. The new body declared "the doctrines of the Westminster Shorter Catechism to be considered as the basis of the union of our churches." In 1810 the Association further declared that the doctrines of that catechism are "understood by us to be distinctly those which from the beginning have been generally embraced by the churches of New England as the doctrines of the gospel."

The formation of the General Association was opposed by many of the district associations. Some of them regarded the step as perilous to the liberty of the churches. Dr. Emmons opposed it because "Associationism leads to Consociationism; Consociationism leads to Presbyterianism; Presbyterianism leads to Episcopacy; Episcopacy leads to Roman Catholicism, and Roman Catholicism is an ultimate fact." But the strongest opposition came from the "liberal" party. The Boston association, in declaring its disapproval of the general association idea in 1805, said that the efforts to agree on a doctrinal basis would result in the "erection of barriers between those who at present are not formally separated," and that "the bonds of union would be strengthened between those only who are already sufficiently cemented."

About this time the excitement in the churches was greatly intensified by a successful attempt to bring the control of Harvard College into the hands of the liberal party. Dr. Archibald Alexander, then President of Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia, writing in later years of a visit to Harvard in 1801, says: "Even at the time of my visit all the young men of talent in Harvard were Unitarians." Referring to a visit to

Dr. Buckminster at Portsmouth, N. H., he says that the younger Buckminster, "the pride of Harvard," was "full of anecdotes such as were current at Cambridge, and which were mostly intended to ridicule evangelical opinions." Mr. Hollis, a merchant of London, had given a partial endowment to support a professor of divinity "of sound orthodox principles." A vacancy having occurred in this professorship by the death of Dr. Tappan in 1804, strenuous efforts were made, and as strenuously resisted, to fill his place with a professor of Unitarian belief. After a contest of a year, two members of the corporation having died, and their places having been filled by "liberal" men, Henry Ware of Hingham was appointed. He was an anti-Calvinist, though he had not then declared himself a Unitarian. The right to examine him with respect to his theological beliefs was denied. Intense and bitter opposition to Dr. Ware's appointment at once manifested itself both within and without the college. Dr. Samuel Spring of Newburyport, a teacher of theological students of the Hopkinsian type, in two published sermons denounced the appointment as the violation of a sacred trust. Dr. Morse of Charlestown, a member of the Board of Overseers, sharply opposed the appointment on similar grounds. The election of Dr. Webber as president the following year confirmed the conviction that Harvard was lost to the evangelical churches. Dr. Eliphalet Pearson, professor of Hebrew and other Oriental languages, who had also been acting as president, now resigned his position and withdrew from the corporation, of which he was a member. Dr. Morse also withdrew. Dr. Pearson went to Andover, where he had formerly been the first

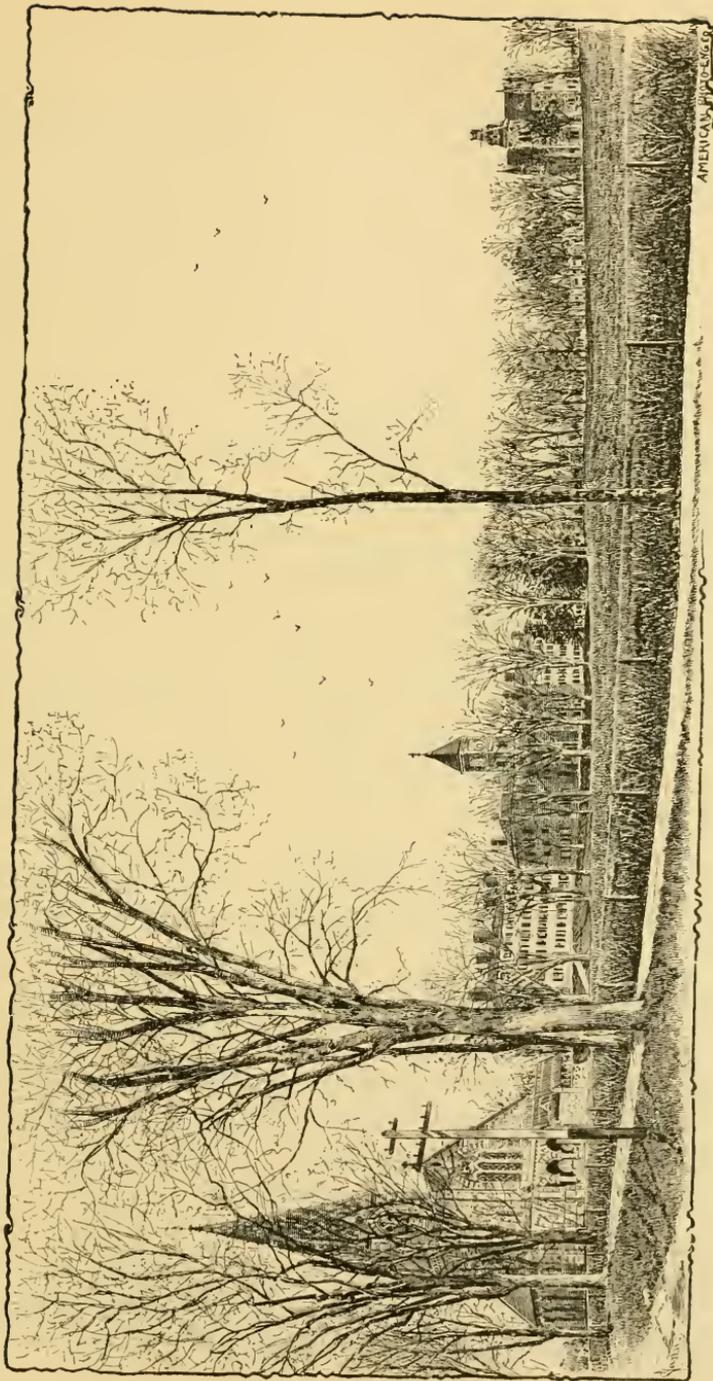
principal of Phillips Academy. The two brothers Phillips, who were the founders of this institution in 1778, had made provision by a fund for the support of students who might wish to pursue theological studies in connection with the academy, and already some dozen or more had availed themselves of this aid. Dr. Pearson at once began to take steps to found a theological institution in connection with the academy. An association for this purpose was formed July 10, 1806, by Drs. Pearson and Morse, Mr. Samuel Abbott, and four other gentlemen. Mr. Abbott had bequeathed his estate to Harvard, to be used for the education of theological students. But after the election of Dr. Ware he revoked his will, and devised the property to the trustees of Phillips Academy for the same purpose. In June, 1807, the General Court authorized these trustees to hold funds for the establishment of a theological institution on the academy foundation.

Meanwhile another movement to found a theological seminary had begun at Newburyport. In this Dr. Spring was interested, and in his congregation, though not a member of the church, was a prosperous young merchant, William Bartlett. Dr. Spring had already a number of students under his instruction. Mr. Bartlett and his friend, Moses Brown, were ready to give a generous sum of money to found a seminary. When those who had begun these two movements became acquainted with each other's purposes, earnest efforts were made to unite them, and this union, though not without many difficulties, was at last happily accomplished in 1808. It brought together the old Calvinists and the Hopkinsians, who had

before made two parties in the denomination, and remanded their difficulties to the background in view of the new errors which both opposed.

Madam Phoebe Phillips and her son, Hon. John Phillips of Andover, erected two buildings, one of which is known as Phillips Hall. Mr. Abbott gave twenty thousand dollars to found a professorship and left to the institution by will one hundred thousand dollars additional. Messrs. Bartlett, Brown and John Norris of Salem, gave ten thousand dollars each, and from each of these persons the seminary later received from twenty-five thousand to seventy-five thousand dollars. These gifts were accompanied by deep and consecrated purpose of the donors to preserve vital religion in the churches of New England and to spread the gospel throughout the world. Mr. Norris was greatly interested in the subject of foreign missions, and had some time before withdrawn ten thousand silver dollars from the bank, put them up in firkins, and consecrated them to this work. Madam Phillips wrote in a letter concerning the building she proposed to erect, "I hope a prayer will be offered for every hod of brick and every bucket of mortar used in its erection."

The seminary was duly organized in the summer of 1808. Dr. Pearson, President of the Board of Trustees, was chosen Professor of Natural Theology, and Rev. Leonard Woods, Professor of Christian Theology. Mr. Woods had been influential in bringing about the union of the two movements in the support of one institution. A strictly orthodox creed was prepared, with the provision that every professor should sign it and repeat in the same way the avowal of his



ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, ANDOVER, MASS.

belief once in every five years. A Board of Visitors was provided for, whose powers were authorized by a special act of the Legislature.

Andover Seminary began at once to be a source of strength to the orthodox churches, a center around which the defenders of the faith of the fathers gathered with renewed courage. Its trustees called able men to serve as instructors, who as writers, teachers and preachers exerted wide and growing influence in support of Calvinistic doctrines. The churches rallied to their support by prayers and gifts and by persuading some of their choicest young men to enter the seminary in preparation for the ministry. During its first year the institution enrolled thirty-six students. In 1809 Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin was inaugurated Professor of Sacred Rhetoric, and the following year Rev. Moses Stuart was made Professor of Sacred Literature. He became one of the ablest of the Scripture exegetists of the first half of this century, and a tower of strength to the seminary.

In other ways also the conflict was waxing sharper between the two bodies whose lines of division were still not fully defined. In 1803 the first treatise against Trinitarian doctrines written by an American was published in Boston. It was a work on the atonement by Hosea Ballou, pastor of the first Universalist Church organized in this country. In 1804 the *Monthly Anthology* was begun, in charge of Emerson of the First Church, under the auspices of the Anthology Club, of fourteen members. It was dedicated to literature, but was used effectually to commend "liberal" religion. In 1805 the *Panoplist* arose, with Drs. Spring and Morse and other orthodox

ministers as its editors. It was an able defender of the Calvinistic doctrines. In 1808 it was united with the *Missionary Magazine*.

The annual Convention Sermon at Boston was an outlet for the expression of conflicting beliefs, as representatives of the opposing parties were successively elected preachers. In 1805, for example, Lyman of Hatfield affirmed the doctrine of total depravity, and declared that Christ "is essentially God and equal with the Father." The next year Reed of Bridgewater defended liberality in belief and denounced "censorious persons," with evident reference to the sermon of Lyman. Thus the forces of the storm were gathering, with no final outbreak as yet. The liberal ministers did not know their strength. The orthodox ministers were divided among themselves. The strict Calvinists resisted earnestly the metaphysical differences affirmed by the Hopkinsians. The liberal party, equally with the orthodox, shrank from open separation, yet saw and felt the signs of its approach. The conflict which had begun between ministers, had then extended to periodicals and had made Harvard College on one side and Andover Seminary on the other centers of opposition, was now spreading through churches and parishes.

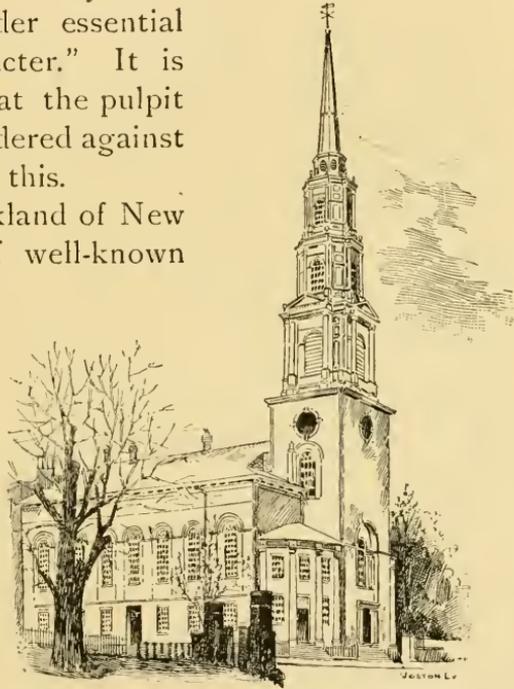
All the churches united in the ordination of Joshua Huntington as associate pastor with Dr. Eckley of the Old South in 1808. But the sermon by Dr. Morse was a vigorous and aggressive plea for doctrinal preaching, while Mr. Channing, in giving the right hand of fellowship, expressed in finished phrases his wish for the continuance of charity and unity. January 1, 1808, the Second Church of Dorchester was

formally recognized by council, and December 7 John Codman was ordained pastor, Mr. Channing preaching the sermon. Mr. Codman, in his letter of acceptance, distinctly avowed his "firm, unshaken faith in those doctrines that are sometimes called the doctrines of the Reformation, the doctrines of the Cross, the peculiar doctrines of the gospel." He also asked that Watts' Psalms and Hymns be restored to the use of the church in place of a collection by Belknap which omitted the doxologies to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. He thus squarely placed himself with the orthodox party in the denomination. On the other hand there was introduced into the First Church, Boston, a collection of hymns prepared by Emerson and Buckminster, which excluded allusions to the deity of Christ, the sacrificial atonement, the personality of the Holy Spirit and future retribution.

In February, 1809, Park Street Church was organized, its members avowing their belief in the Westminster Shorter Catechism, the Confession of 1680, and the Calvinistic doctrines as stated in a creed of their own. That church quickly became another strong rallying point for believers in the doctrine of the fathers. Dr. Griffin of Andover Seminary preached much of the time at Park Street, till he was installed pastor in 1811, when he withdrew from his professorship. His volume of Sabbath Evening lectures published in that year, on "Total Depravity," "Regeneration Supernatural," "Election," and kindred themes, suggests the doctrines which were then most vigorously attacked and defended, and the character of the preaching which caused the place where the meeting house stands to be called "Brimstone Corner."

In 1810 Dr. Porter of Roxbury preached the convention sermon on "Christian Simplicity." He named various doctrines, among which were Original Sin, Trinity in Unity, the Deity of Jesus Christ, the Eternity of Punishment, and said, "I cannot place my finger on any one in the list of doctrines just mentioned, the belief or rejection of which I consider essential to Christian character." It is needless to say that the pulpit of Park Street thundered against such statements as this.

In 1810 Dr. Kirkland of New North Church, of well-known Unitarian sentiments, was elected President of Harvard and it was generally conceded that no hope remained of the recovery of that college to the orthodox faith. In that year the American



PARK STREET MEETING-HOUSE, BOSTON. ERECTED 1810.

Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized by the action of the General Association of Massachusetts, to send missionaries of the gospel to heathen lands, and soon became a new center of interest which drew together believers in the ancient faith. There was considerable difficulty in procuring

for it a charter from the Massachusetts Legislature, owing to opposition from those who did not sympathize with the religious belief of its promoters.

Meanwhile Unitarianism made little progress in Connecticut. In 1805 John Sherman, minister at Mansfield, had published his disbelief in the Trinity and had been deprived of membership in his ministerial association, though he was regularly dismissed by council from the church. In 1811 Abiel Abbott of Coventry, having made a similar avowal, and having been dismissed by the Tolland County Consociation, secured an important council from eastern Massachusetts to sustain him: whereupon the General Association of Connecticut made a "public and solemn declaration that there be neither ministerial nor Christian fellowship" between the members of that council and the consociated churches and pastors. The strong orthodox preaching of President Dwight of Yale and other leading ministers prevented Unitarianism from gaining a foothold in Connecticut. So far as the churches were concerned, the extent of the secession was confined to a single one. In 1809 Buckminster wrote to Belsham, "The State of Connecticut, the greater part of Massachusetts and New Hampshire are filled with what we call Hopkinsian clergymen, or the followers of Jonathan Edwards and others, who pushed the first tenets of Calvinism only to their natural consequence." "It is the prevailing idea all over the United States that the clergy of Boston are little better than Deists."

In Massachusetts, however, the contest between churches and the parishes with which these churches were connected was already going on in 1810. As

early as 1792 the entire church in Taunton, except four members, withdrew from the parish because controlling men in the society were opposed to some of the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith. In 1800 fifty-two members of the old First Church in Plymouth seceded and formed the Third Church, now called the Church of the Pilgrimage. In 1810 the church in New Bedford withdrew in a body, leaving scarcely any members behind to be connected with the parish.

About forty of the parishioners of Mr. Codman of Dorchester expressed disappointment because he had not exchanged with Boston ministers. He refused to make pledges, and finally maintained his position, though not without a severe struggle, which included the calling of two councils. The parish finally put another minister in the pulpit and placed a guard on the pulpit stairs to keep out Mr. Codman. But he preached from the platform and then retired with his congregation, leaving only a handful to hear the parish preacher. Of the one hundred and fifty members of the church, all except seven or eight stood by their pastor. The matter was settled by the withdrawal of the Unitarians, whose pews were purchased at a fair price. In 1811 the parish in Sandwich, by a vote of eighty-three to eighty, declared their pastor, Jonathan Burr, dismissed because he preached Calvinistic doctrines. More than five-sixths of the church adhered to their minister, but they were forced to abandon the meeting-house and to build a new one while the title to the name of the church and its property remained for the time in contest.

Though the strained relations throughout eastern

Massachusetts were such as to maintain constant anxiety, it was probably as yet believed by few that actual division would occur in many churches. Greenwood, the successor of Thacher in the New South Church, years later described it as a time "when in our religious world there was nothing but distrust on one side and fear and evasion on the other; when the self-conceited theologian looked awry on the suspicious heretic, and the object of his suspicion answered him with circumlocution and evasion." Men who afterward avowed themselves Unitarians still resented the charge that they had abandoned orthodox doctrines. When a Socinian publication in London announced that Unitarian sentiments were prevalent in Massachusetts, Francis Parkman, a young minister from Boston, then in London, denied the statement, declaring that "there was scarcely a parishioner in Boston who would not be shocked at having his minister preach the peculiarities of Unitarianism." "We are not," he said, "and permit me to add, as long as we study the Scriptures we shall not become converts to your new doctrine." Parkman became the successor of Eliot in New North Church in 1813, and after the division occurred was prominent among the Unitarian ministers. As opportunity offered, attacks of one side against the other became more and more pronounced, and not less irritating because not distinctly avowed. In 1813, for example, President Kirkland of Harvard preached the convention sermon, of which his friends said that "without directly impugning any of the tenets of the opposite theology, he examined them completely and brushed them away like cobwebs."

Thus the two parties, still connected together under one name, but opposing each other in doctrines, with different rallying centers, leaders and periodicals, simply awaited some signal for a formal separation and for gathering into opposing camps. The Unitarian party held power and prestige in Boston and its vicinity. It had obtained full control of the ancient college. It claimed nearly all the ministers in Boston churches, the strongest in the land in numbers and wealth. But the orthodox forces were better organized. They had a theological seminary already well endowed. They controlled the State Association. Their leaders were being diverted by the peril of division from their own differences with one another in theological beliefs, and they had a deeper stimulus to effort in the missionary organizations already begun with the aim to convert the world to Christ. An occasion for a declaration of separation between the two parties was soon to arise.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE UNITARIAN DEPARTURE (*continued*).

IN the beginning of the year 1815 there appeared in Boston a little pamphlet entitled "A Brief History of the Progress and Present State of Unitarian Churches in America." It at once created intense excitement. It was merely some extracts from a memoir of Theophilus Lindsey, an English Unitarian minister, written by Belsham and published in England in 1812. It contained letters written from time to time by Freeman to Belsham, describing the growth of Unitarianism in America. The memoir had been for two or more years in the library of Harvard College when Dr. Morse, after repeated applications, secured the privilege of reading it. He caused extracts containing the letters to be published. A few specimens will show the significance of these letters. In 1789 Freeman wrote that there were in Massachusetts "many churches in which the worship was strictly Unitarian." In 1794 he wrote again, that he was "acquainted with a number of ministers, particularly in the southern part of Massachusetts, who avowed and publicly preached Unitarian doctrine," while others "more cautious, contented themselves with leading their hearers by a course of rational and prudent sermons, gradually and sensibly to embrace it." Similar letters appeared in this pamphlet from Mr. Wells, a Boston publisher.

This publication at once precipitated the crisis which had long been approaching. The orthodox forces declared that these letters were evidences that the "liberals" had for years been concealing their beliefs and intentions with deliberate design to carry the churches over to Unitarianism. The *Panoplist* published a review of the pamphlet, written by Jeremiah Evarts, presenting the known sentiments of Unitarians in England, and ascribing those views to Unitarians in America who had not avowed their belief. The "liberals" indignantly denied the charge of unworthy concealment. Channing, in a published letter to Thacher, declared that his worship and sentiments had been Unitarian, and that while the great majority of the liberal clergy differed from English Unitarians and believed that Christ was more than man, it was "no crime to believe with Mr. Belsham." Samuel Worcester of Salem replied in the *Panoplist* to Channing, that "it seemed to have been received as an established uncontested fact that ministers of the liberal class were not accustomed to be unreserved and explicit in the public avowal and declaration of their sentiments." Publications on both sides multiplied, the controversy lost dignity: Unitarians disavowed and attacked orthodox doctrines in their pulpits, Trinitarians drew closer together and complete separation was before long established. Trinitarians had already defined their position. Park Street Church had expressed it in its original confession as a "decided attachment to that system of the Christian religion which is distinguishingly denominated Evangelical; more particularly to those doctrines which, in proper sense, are styled doctrines of grace." Unitarians refused to avow these

"doctrines of grace," but pleaded for charity. They charged Trinitarians with illiberality and exclusiveness, and were in turn charged with insincerity and disingenuousness. The Unitarians were trying to retain the name and historic prestige of Congregationalism, while they repudiated its chief doctrines. The contention had increased through the use of the press, especially of the periodicals which represented one or the other party. In 1816 the *Boston Recorder* was begun as representing the Evangelical churches. Two years before the American Tract Society had been formed in Boston. The *Panopolist and Missionary Magazine* published earnest and able articles in defence of Trinitarian belief. The *General Repository*, begun in Cambridge in 1812, represented the Unitarians.

Ministers also drew apart from one another and ranged themselves according to their beliefs. Earnest efforts were made to increase the number of Evangelical ministers, not only by strengthening Andover Seminary but by providing aid for young men preparing for the ministry. In 1815 the American Education Society was organized for this purpose. An attempt was also made to unite the Massachusetts churches in consociation according to the plan established in Connecticut, but this failed. The attempt was based on a manuscript found among the papers of Cotton Mather, and presented to the General Association in 1814. It proved to be the original draft of the Proposals of 1705, which had been printed as late as 1772, but had been forgotten. Of course the lines of division between Congregational ministers were not at once in all cases distinctly drawn. But of the two hundred and seventy-five in Massachusetts at that time

about seventy-five immediately came to be regarded as Unitarian. The churches mostly followed the lead of their ministers. The large majority rallied to the defense of the old faith. But in Boston all except the Old South and Park Street were Unitarian, and their influence, with that of Harvard, was intellectually and socially very great. Many of the churches in eastern Massachusetts were in sympathy with them.

The sharpest controversy, however, came where the dividing line was drawn within the local parishes. Already this had been done in several instances. The cases of Plymouth, New Bedford and Sandwich have already been mentioned. The crucial question soon arose as to what legally constituted the church, and whether church or parish, in case of a division, had a title to the name and property. Each parish was then a religious society for maintaining public worship; and the cost of so doing, including the support of the minister, was usually raised by a tax on the property of the parish. By a law passed in 1754 the deacons of the church were made trustees of property designed for religious and charitable uses.

The first case decided by the courts was that of the First Church, Dedham, which began in 1818. A vacancy having occurred in the pastorate, the parish, contrary to all precedent, took the initiative in calling Mr. Alvan Lamson to be the pastor of the church. The church thereupon decided by a vote of eighteen to fourteen of the male members that it was not ready to call a pastor. An invitation to several churches was then sent out by "the First Parish of Dedham" to assemble in council and install Mr. Lamson. This the representatives of the invited churches proceeded to

do. A few weeks later another council called by the "First Church of Dedham" declared irregular the proceedings of the council called by the parish. The church therefore withdrew from the parish and claimed the title to its name and its own special property. An appeal to the civil courts resulted after two years in a decision by Chief Justice Parker, in 1820, that "the only circumstance which gives a church any legal character is its connection with some regularly constituted society." By this decision all civil power connected with the church belonged to the parish. The court declared that "as to all civil purposes, the secession of a whole church from the parish would be the extinction of the church." In such a case the parish could not only hold its own property, the right to which was conceded, but could organize a church which would inherit the title and property of the seceding church.

This decision established a precedent by which many other similar cases were settled during the next twenty years. In consequence of it a number of churches were deprived of their names, records, church furniture and funds; and in many cases those who took possession of them would have been excluded from the church by the persons who had given this property. A careful review, published in the *Congregational Quarterly* for July, 1863, of the individual instances in which separations occurred between churches and parishes, shows that forty-six churches had been "driven from their houses of worship by town or parish votes, or by measures equivalent to such votes," while thirty-five others had been constrained by conscience to secede as individuals and form distinct churches. Thirty-nine churches became

Unitarian by the acquiescence of their members without division. Of the three hundred and sixty-one Congregational churches in Massachusetts in 1810, the meeting-houses and other property of one hundred and twenty-six churches were eventually lost to the denomination. Great intensity was thus added to the controversy between the two parties. The orthodox denied the justice of the decision, either in law or equity; and some Unitarians have since admitted that the issue raised was perplexing, and that they were not in all cases satisfied with the legal decisions. The distinction between two organizations in the same town, marked by the titles "parish church" and "exiled church," with the sense of triumph on one side and of injustice on the other, brought discord into village life and left evil effects which have scarcely yet disappeared.

Though Unitarian churches came to be known as such in 1815, organized Unitarianism dates from 1825, when the American Unitarian Association was formed in order to consecrate their work and spread their belief by means of missionaries and publications. It is significant that when Unitarians organized their National Conference in 1865 they declined to use the term "Congregational."

To comprehend the nature and issues of this controversy it is necessary to consider both the theological and social factors involved. As to the first, Dr. George E. Ellis, one of the most conservative Unitarians of the older school, in his "Half Century of the Unitarian Controversy," thus answers on its negative side the question, "What is Unitarianism?"

"Unitarianism stands in direct and positive opposition to Orthodoxy on three great doctrines which

Orthodoxy teaches with emphasis as vital to its system, namely: that the nature of human beings has been vitiated, corrupted and disabled in consequence of the sin of Adam, for which God has in judgment doomed our race to suffering and woe; that Jesus Christ is God, and therefore an object of religious homage and prayer; and that the death of Christ is made effectual to human salvation by reconciling God to man and satisfying the claims of an insulted and outraged law. Unitarianism denies that these are doctrines of the gospel, and offers very different doctrines, sustained by Scripture, in their place. The rejection of these three doctrines, and the belief of those which Unitarianism substitutes for them, constitutes Unitarianism."

We have allowed this statement of Dr. Ellis in defining orthodox doctrines to pass, although we should use somewhat different language. But what are these substituted doctrines? Dr. Ellis says that "On all other matters of Christian doctrine a Unitarian may be in entire accordance with the general views of the orthodox and yet be not one whit less a Unitarian." In fact, however, no unity is claimed by Unitarians in positive belief. They agree in denying the moral ruin of the human race in consequence of the sin of Adam, the deity of Jesus Christ, and the vicarious atonement. But as to the atonement, Dr. Ellis says "It would be difficult to make Unitarians as a body responsible for any positive dogma on this subject." Indeed, as to all these three doctrines, "the moment that Unitarianism is made responsible for a belief or a denial about either of them, we have to encounter professions and protests which prove that a supposed sect contains almost as many creeds as individual members."

Negatively, Unitarians are united in the denial of the three doctrines we have named. Positively they are not united on any doctrines. Dr. Ellis says that if one would assail Unitarianism he would find "that it is almost impossible to define and identify his foe." While, then, the new denomination vigorously attacked the body from which it had withdrawn, not only by denying its fundamental doctrines but often by caricaturing them before denial, it avoided counter attacks in a measure by refusing to unite in avowing any positive beliefs concerning the doctrines it denied.

But it took strong advantage of the social prestige it had gained in having secured control of Harvard College, of the churches in the chief city of the Commonwealth and of the name and property of other prominent historic churches. It drew to its support, not only those who were united to it in belief, but those who were attracted to it because of what they did not believe. Representatives sent from the towns and villages to the General Court at Boston heard from Channing and Greenwood, and other Unitarian ministers, eloquent utterances against slavery to creeds and confessions of faith, and returning to their homes gathered about them those who could not endure the severity of orthodox doctrines, those who were attracted to what were called broad and liberal views, those who enjoyed seeing distorted pictures of Calvinism demolished and those who sought to exalt human nature as needing no redemption from sin or moral regeneration. Graduates of Harvard, settling in the different towns in the various professions or in business, carried with them the prevailing sentiments and spirit of the college, and often became leaders in

their communities in religious matters. The college also furnished ministers often of natural eloquence, and always of cultivated tastes, who, while controverting evangelical doctrines, preached much that was honorable and of good report. Lyman Beecher wrote in 1821, "The power of corrupting the youth of the commonwealth by means of Cambridge is silently putting sentinels in all the churches, legislators in the hall and judges on the bench, and scattering everywhere physicians, lawyers and merchants."

Unitarians laid positive emphasis on humanitarianism, on regarding all mankind with benevolent interest, on seeing in all men elements of good which need only to be developed to attain to divine perfection. They defended amusements which the orthodox condemned, as belonging rather to one's social position and tastes than as in any way connected with his religious character. The orthodox charged them with worldliness, and they replied with the charges of narrowness and bigotry. The undecided and prosperous welcomed Unitarianism as gospel, and the orthodox denounced Unitarians as enemies of Christ, denying their Lord who bought them. Communities were divided socially according to their religious affiliations, and the separating lines were even drawn through many families.

Turning from this unhappy picture of social and religious strife, we may trace briefly the important religious events of the last twenty years of this controversy from 1820 to 1840.

In 1819 a Unitarian church was organized in Baltimore, and the sermon of Dr. Channing at the ordination of Jared Sparks as its pastor was widely circulated and started a new phase of the controversy, in which

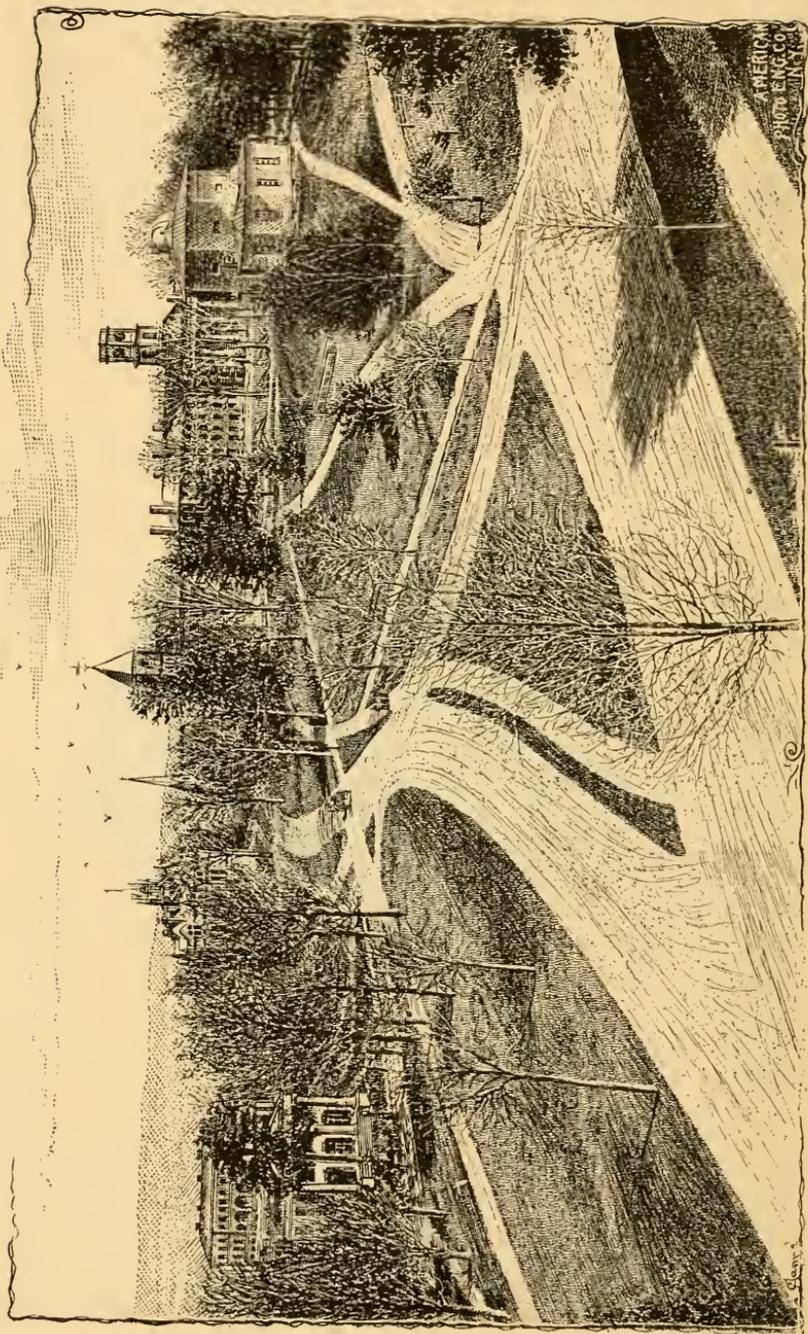


LYMAN BEECHER, D. D.

Professor Stuart of Andover and Professor Miller of Princeton took prominent part. Though both were opposed to Channing, they controverted each other concerning the doctrine of the eternal Sonship of Christ. Professor Woods of Andover and Professor Ware of Harvard were engaged at the same time in a discussion in which were issued "Letters to Unitarians," "Letters to Trinitarians and Calvinists," and various others.

Amherst College was begun in 1821, and at once drew to its support many of the orthodox churches. Its application for a charter was for two years persistently opposed in the Massachusetts Legislature, in part because it was regarded as representing the orthodox faith; but the charter was granted, with conditions, in 1825.

In 1823 Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher of Litchfield, Conn., came to Boston to assist Dr. S. E. Dwight of Park Street Church in revival services. He had for several years taken a deep interest and an active part in the controversy with the Unitarians, and had expressed grave apprehensions on account of their growth in power and prestige. But he was soon encouraged by what he saw in Boston. He wrote: "There is unquestionably a great and auspicious change going on in Boston in respect to evangelical doctrine and piety. The orthodox have for years been delving in their Sabbath Schools and other evangelical efforts, and their zeal and strength and momentum as to preparing the way for a revival are noble, and they are reaping their reward." The religious interest aroused by Dr. Beecher's preaching was deep and lasting. Not only were the orthodox churches greatly strengthened by



AMHERST COLLEGE, AMHERST, MASS.

it, but many Unitarians became interested, impressed by the contrast between the spiritual character of the orthodox meetings and the spiritual apathy in their own circles. The effect of the revival was salutary also in bringing about a change in the nature of the controversy. The orthodox churches, under the pressure of the discussion, had been gradually abandoning the positions of the Old Calvinists which were repellent to human sympathies and human reason. The extent of this change is indicated in a letter written to Dr. Beecher by Dr. Nettleton, an eminent revivalist in Connecticut. He wrote: "Why not take this ground with Unitarians; we feel no concern for Old Calvinism. Let them dispute it as much as they please: we feel bound to make no defense. Come home to the evangelical system now taught in New England. Meet us, if at all, on our own avowed principles, or we shall have nothing to say to you."

In 1826 Dr. Beecher was settled over the newly organized Hanover Street Church, Boston. By this time Unitarianism had begun to change from its boldly aggressive to a defensive policy. Henry Ware, Jr., pastor of the Second Church, about this time wrote: "Dr. Beecher has drawn away some from our societies, and I suspect that orthodoxy rather gains ground. . . . Our greatest evil is want of ministers. Openings appear everywhere, but we cannot make use of them. Our theological seminary is so poor that it almost languishes. Three applicants went away because we had no support for them."

Foreign missions were exciting deep and growing interest in the orthodox churches. In 1812 the first missionaries sent from America to India had been

ordained in the Tabernacle Church, Salem, and tidings of the fruits of their labors were now bringing great encouragement to their supporters. Already cheering results of the mission to the Hawaiian Islands, whose first laborers had been ordained in Park Street Church in 1819, were being brought back to the churches. Unitarians had little interest in missions, and its defenders had to confess, as did a writer in the *Christian Examiner*, that "if Unitarianism chills and deadens the sensibilities of those who receive it to the miseries and wants of those among our fellow men who are unblest with revelation, this is as strong against our opinions even as our opponents represent it to be."

Home missions were also greatly stimulated by the trials of orthodox churches. The Massachusetts Missionary Society, formed in 1799, was helping feeble churches outside the State, but many of the churches which had been deprived of their property by the decisions of the courts also needed help, and their brethren rallied nobly to their support. The Domestic Missionary Society of Massachusetts was organized in 1818 "to assist needy churches, parishes and waste places" within the State. These two organizations were united in 1827. By the year 1830 fifty-seven churches of the "exiles" had been aided through this society, and the sympathy thus expressed and received bound the churches together in a union which greatly increased their strength. The local conferences of churches which have become a universal feature of Congregationalism originated in these years of trial.

Periodical religious literature received a great impulse through this controversy. Since 1822 the *Panoplist* had been merged into the *Missionary Herald*.

The *Christian Spectator* had been published in New Haven, Conn., since 1819. In 1828 appeared the first issue of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, which did valiant service for the orthodox churches. The Unitarians maintained the *Christian Disciple*, its successor, the *Christian Examiner* and the *Unitarian Advocate*, and gathered into their pages the ablest defence of their position which the talent of Harvard and of the many scholarly men in that denomination could furnish.

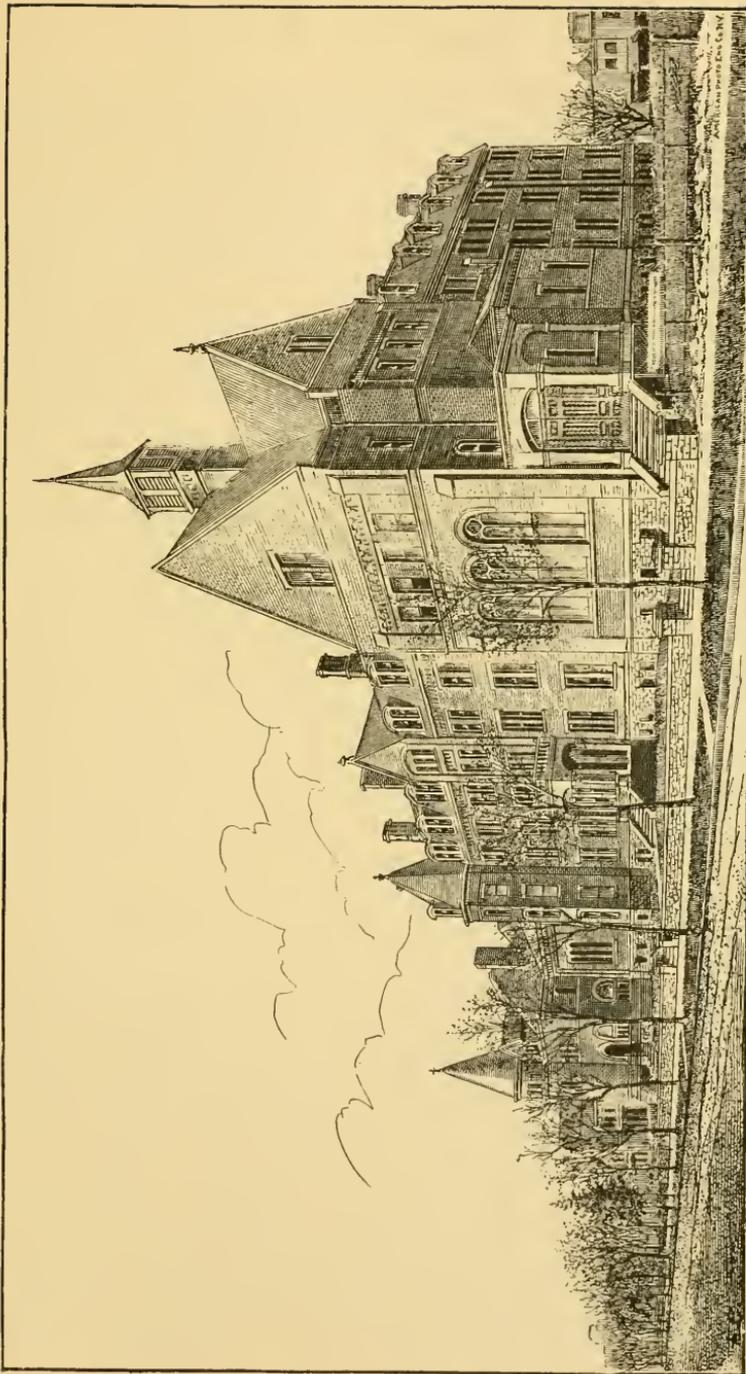
From 1828 to 1833 the defenders of orthodoxy were re-enforced by vigorous sermons and articles from Parsons Cooke of East Ware, later of Lynn, and George B. Cheever of Salem. Mr. Cooke especially created great excitement by a Fast Day sermon, in which he charged that Unitarians, though including not more than one quarter of the citizens, had succeeded in getting possession of nine-tenths of the public offices. Chief Justice Parker made the grave mistake of attempting to answer Mr. Cooke anonymously in the *Christian Examiner*, in which he assumed a dictatorial air and contempt for his young antagonist. Mr. Cooke replied with the enthusiasm of youth, but with facts and arguments so ably presented that no answer to his pamphlet could be attempted. Both parties had wearied of the controversy, and from the time when the Massachusetts Legislature in 1833 passed an act completely severing all official relations between church and state, the warfare between the two denominations, now entirely distinct from each other, gradually ceased.

Dissensions within each body diverted the attention which the two denominations had so long been giving to each other. The Trinitarians be-

came much absorbed in the metaphysical discussions between Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor of the theological department of Yale College and Dr. Bennett Tyler, first President of the Theological Institute at East Windsor, Conn., founded in 1834 to controvert Dr. Taylor's views. The latter institution is now Hartford Theological Seminary. Unitarians found enough to contend against in Ralph Waldo Emerson, pastor of the Second Church, and a little later, in Theodore Parker. Mr. Emerson withdrew in 1832 from his pastorate and from the ministry. Mr. Parker became one of Boston's most brilliant preachers, but was disowned by conservative Unitarians, and for many years drew large audiences, though he could count but few allies among Unitarian ministers.

Looking back over the half century and more which has passed since the scenes we have described were enacted, it is possible to give a just estimate of the relative strength and weakness of both parties in the conflict.

Orthodoxy was strong in its agreement in essential doctrines with the Christian Church in all ages, in its inheritance from the founders of New England, in its loyalty to the Holy Scriptures as the authoritative revelation of the will of God, and in the power of the preached gospel of salvation for sinners through faith in Jesus Christ as the divine Saviour. The issue of the conflict proved also that the ancient polity of Congregationalism was sufficient to withstand even so severe a strain as this, to slough off inconsistent associations, and to guard the ancient faith in the care of the churches which held it, which remained united through the storm and came out of it more thoroughly



HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, HARTFORD, CONN.

homogeneous and better equipped for their work than before the disturbance manifested itself.

Unitarianism was strong in its exaltation of human nature, in its emphasis on the fatherhood of God, and on uprightness of character and benevolent feelings toward all men, in having leaders of natural eloquence and cultivated minds, in possessing Harvard College, the great preponderance of wealth and social prestige in Boston and in the control of the large majority of the public offices of the commonwealth.

Orthodoxy was weak in the undue emphasis which it laid on some of the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism, in the tendency of leaders to become absorbed in metaphysical subtleties, and to dispute concerning them, and in underestimating the graces of intellectual and social culture. Unitarianism was weak in the feebleness of its sense of sin and of its demand for repentance and submission to God; in its practical indifference to the spread of Christian faith through the world; in the fact that it was the offspring of doubt, and that it proclaimed suggestions of doubt whose growth was fostered rather than checked in its disciples, and in the admitted fact that its distinctive doctrines do not spring from the Bible nor accord with its plain meaning. Dr. Ellis, in an address before the Unitarian Club of Boston in 1882, prefacing his remarks with the statement that he made them with the utmost deliberation after fifty years' study of the Bible, said of it:

“The vast majority of its readers, following its letter, its obvious sense, its natural meaning, and yielding to the impression which some of its emphatic texts make upon them, find in it Orthodoxy. Only

that kind of ingenious, special, discriminative, and, in candor, I must add, forced treatment which it receives from us, Liberals, can make the book teach anything but Orthodoxy. The Evangelical sects, so called, are clearly right in maintaining that their view of Scripture and of its doctrines draws a deep and wide division of creed between them and ourselves."

Unitarianism has rendered to Orthodoxy valuable service by turning it from side issues in religion to the defence and proclamation of essential truths, by driving it out from behind the untenable fortresses of old Calvinism, by leading it to a truer sense of the fatherhood of God, and by persuading it to a greater appreciation of the dignity of human nature.

Unitarianism, so far as growth in numbers is concerned, is a complete disappointment to its advocates. Dr. Ellis says that when the controversy opened Unitarians were confident that, before fifty years should be passed, "Orthodoxy would have become a thing of the past, while Unitarianism would be the prevailing type of religion."

Twenty-five years after the controversy broke out in 1815 there were in Massachusetts about 130 Unitarian churches of which the parishes of 96 had been originally orthodox, while about 30 had been organized by parishes from which orthodox churches had removed. There were at that time 414 Trinitarian Congregational churches in the State, 197 of which had been organized since 1815. The growth of the Baptist and Methodist denominations had also been constant and rapid. According to the United States census for 1890 there were in this country 421 Unitarian churches with 67,749 members, more than half of whom are

in Massachusetts. The number of Congregational churches in 1890 was 4868, with 512,771 members.

It is impossible to represent accurately the doctrinal belief of Unitarians, since they differ as widely among themselves as the denomination differs from Trinitarian denominations. The right wing of the body almost touches Orthodoxy. The left wing, as abundant utterances of prominent Unitarians testify, hardly touches Christianity at all. Dr. Bellows said, in 1876, of the right of anyone to be a Unitarian: "He may be a pantheist, or an atheist, and if he calls himself a Christian, and is not immoral in life, he may join the Unitarian Conference, and claim as good ecclesiastical standing as the most conservative believer." In 1886 the Western Unitarian Conference refused to adopt the name "Christian." M. J. Savage, pastor of Unity Church, Boston, has recently said: "We are gradually drifting away from the idea that the Bible has any special significance or authority. We have no reliance on any historic person like Christ." This was precisely what was predicted in the time of the conflict.

The causes also of the failure of Unitarianism have been most forcibly explained by those most closely identified with it. To no man did it owe so much for its temporary success as to Dr. W. E. Channing. In 1839, near the close of his forty years' labors as a Unitarian minister, he wrote: "I would that I could look to Unitarianism with more hope. But this system was, at its recent revival, a protest of the understanding against absurd dogmas, rather than the work of deep religious principle, and was early paralyzed by the mixture of material philosophy, and fell too much into the hands of scholars and political reformers, and

the consequence is a want of vitality and force which gives us little hope of its accomplishing much under its present auspices or in its present form."

Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in a recent address, said that Dr. Palfrey, one of the founders of the Unitarian Association, once remarked to him of the period between 1810 and 1830: "We governed Boston, and we governed Massachusetts; and they let us do it because we did it so well." Dr. Hale asks why the Unitarians do not do it now; and answers: "Because the aristocracy of Massachusetts tried to preach the gospel to the people of America; but for the lack of a miracle of Pentecost, they could not speak the language."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DISASTROUS PLAN OF UNION.

WHILE the Unitarian controversy was withdrawing from the churches of Massachusetts a portion of their strength, the Congregationalists of Connecticut were entering into a compact with the Presbyterian Church which resulted in crippling and almost destroying the growth of Congregationalism in the Middle and Western States for half a century.

Congregational churches, which have disappeared or have become Presbyterian, were formed in Eastern New York in the seventeenth century, and many more in the eighteenth, a few of which still survive. In the list of churches of the New York State Association, including Long Island, twenty are named which were formed previous to 1800, five of them before the close of the Revolutionary War.

Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed that the patents which had been issued to them as colonies covered a large part of the State of New York. In 1786 commissioners granted to Massachusetts in settlement of these claims the right to purchase from the Indians a large tract, amounting to millions of acres, known as Western New York. The land was purchased and advertised for sale in exchange for cultivated farms in New England. In 1790 Congress gave to Connecticut, in lieu of its claim on New York

lands, the title to more than three million acres south of Lake Erie, which came to be known as the Western Reserve, or New Connecticut. The tide of immigrants from New England soon poured rapidly into both these sections. But these immigrants were mostly poor and had to overcome the difficulties which beset settlers in the wilderness. Their brethren in New England promptly recognized their need of aid to maintain religious institutions. As early as 1784 Connecticut ministers went on short mission tours to the "Western Country." In 1788 the General Association of Connecticut recommended all the local associations to send out pastors on brief missions. In 1792 eight pastors were named by the General Association to go to the new fields for four months each. Their compensation was to be \$4.50 per week, with \$4 a week additional to supply their pulpits. In 1798 the General Association organized itself as the Connecticut Missionary Society. In 1800 the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* was begun, to spread tidings of missionary work, and its profits were turned into the treasury of the Missionary Society.

During all this time, and indeed before the war of the Revolution, Connecticut Congregationalists were being drawn into closer sympathy with the Presbyterians of the Middle States. The fear of the inroads of Episcopacy led to a joint convention in 1766 of representatives of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia and of the General Association of Connecticut, on the proposal of the Presbyterian body; and this convention continued to meet annually till war began in 1775. After the war the development of Unitarian tendencies in Massachusetts confirmed the Connecticut churches in their

consociational system according to the Saybrook Platform as protecting them against ministers who practically renounced their faith, and the same tendencies quickened their feeling of kinship for Presbyterians. In 1790 the General Association expressed its desire for closer union with Presbyterians, and four years later, by agreement between the General Association and the Presbyterian General Assembly, delegates from each body attended the meeting of the other with full right to vote. Connecticut Congregationalists seemed even willing in their eagerness to repudiate Massachusetts Unitarianism and to affiliate with Presbyterianism, to renounce their name and history; for in 1799 the Hartford North Association declared that the churches of Connecticut "are not now and never were from the earliest period of our settlement Congregational churches according to the ideas and forms of church order contained in the book of discipline called the Cambridge Platform." In 1805 the General Association characterized the Saybrook Platform as "the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Connecticut."

It was to be expected, then, that when both denominations were found to have representatives in the new Western Country needing missionary aid, some form of union for this work would be brought about between the two bodies. Jonathan Edwards the younger had been for thirty years a Congregational pastor in Connecticut, the most of the time at New Haven. In 1799 he became president of Union College, which was in a section of New York then filling up with settlers. In 1800, when he was attending the Connecticut General Association as a delegate of the Presbyterian General Assembly, the question was raised, probably by him, of

the union of the two denominations in their missionary work. Edwards was appointed on a committee to prepare a report on the subject. As a result, the Connecticut General Association appointed a committee to consider measures "to establish, as far as possible, an uniform system of church government" for Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the new settlements. The next year in May the General Assembly appointed a committee for the same purpose, with President Edwards as chairman, and its report was by the same assembly adopted. The next month it was also adopted by the Connecticut General Association. This report was the Plan of Union, the substance of which is as follows :

"If in the new settlements any church of the Congregational order shall settle a minister of the Presbyterian order, that church may, if they choose, still conduct their discipline according to Congregational principles, settling their difficulties among themselves, or by a council mutually agreed upon for that purpose. But, if any difficulty shall exist between the minister and the church, or any member of it, it shall be referred to the Presbytery to which the minister shall belong, provided both parties agree to it ; if not, to a council consisting of an equal number of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, agreed upon by both parties.

"If a Presbyterian church shall settle a minister of Congregational principles, that church may still conduct their discipline according to Presbyterian principles, excepting that if a difficulty arise between him and his church, or any member of it, the cause shall be tried by the association to which the said minister shall belong, provided both parties agree to it ; other-

wise by a council, one-half Congregationalists and the other Presbyterians mutually agreed upon by the parties.

“ If any congregation consist partly of those who hold the Congregational form of discipline and partly of those who hold the Presbyterian form, we recommend to both parties that this be no obstruction to their uniting in one church and settling a minister ; and that in this case the church choose a standing committee from the communicants of said church, whose business it shall be to call to account every member of the church who shall conduct himself inconsistently with the laws of Christianity, and to give judgment on such conduct. That if the person condemned by their judgment be a Presbyterian, he shall have liberty to appeal to the Presbytery ; if he be a Congregationalist he shall have liberty to appeal to the body of the male communicants of the church. In the former case the determination of the Presbytery shall be final unless the church shall consent to a further appeal to the synod or to the General Assembly ; and in the latter case, if the party condemned shall wish for a trial by a mutual council, the cause shall be referred to such a council. And provided the said standing committee of any church shall depute one of themselves to attend the Presbytery, he may have the same right to sit and act in the Presbytery as a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church.”

There can be no question as to the honesty of either party in entering into this agreement. Its apparent fairness also to both must be conceded. It provided that a Congregational church with a Presbyterian pastor and a Presbyterian church with a Congrega-

tional pastor should each retain its own polity, while the pastor, if he came into discipline, should be tried by the body to which he belonged; or if both parties could not agree to this, by a mutual council composed of an equal number from both denominations. It did indeed provide that a church composed of members of both denominations should have a standing committee on discipline, and that a Congregational member under discipline could get his case before the communicants in the church only by appeal from the committee. But early Congregational history furnished precedents for such government. Where churches were altogether Presbyterian or altogether Congregational they might maintain their own polity without reference to any Plan of Union.

It seems to have been demonstrated also that important advantages resulted from this plan in the early years of its working. The Christian families in Western New York and Ohio included both Congregationalists from New England and Presbyterians from Pennsylvania. Each preferred its own polity. But they were too few to sustain each a separate church in the same settlement. They were a long distance from their home land. The journey from Connecticut to the Western Reserve occupied six weeks. The settlements were remote from each other and generally without roads connecting them. The people held a common faith, and they counted Christian fellowship a great privilege. The labors of the early missionaries, some of whom were Congregationalists sent out by the Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire missionary societies, and others Presbyterians from the synods of New York and Pennsylvania, were re-

warded by the planting of churches and by many conversions. In the beginning of the century, in many settlements, especially in Ohio, there were remarkable revivals of religion.

It seems plain also that Presbyterianism finally prevailed as much because Congregationalists were indifferent to the maintenance of their own polity as because Presbyterians were active in pushing theirs. In Western New York Congregationalism was earliest planted and for the first generation was of strongest growth. According to a writer in the *Congregational Quarterly* for 1859, there are records of nineteen Congregational and four Presbyterian churches organized in this region before 1800; while during the first fifteen years of the present century sixty Congregational and eighteen Presbyterian churches were formed. The missionaries also were supported in the main by Congregational societies. Large and strong associations of Congregational ministers and churches were also formed, such as the Black River, Oneida, Middle, Ontario and Susquehanna associations. During the first decade after the Plan of Union was adopted there was an apparent prospect that Western New York would become as thoroughly Congregational as New England.

In the Western Reserve these two denominations had nearly equal advantages at the start. The first minister was William Wick, a Presbyterian. He was ordained at Youngstown, O., September 3, 1800. A few weeks later Joseph Badger, leaving his pastorate at Blanford, Mass., came to the Reserve under appointment of the Connecticut Missionary Society.

Presbyterian ministers were most numerous from 1806 to 1812, but the majority of the church members were Congregational. Thomas Barr, a Presbyterian pastor at Euclid, in his autobiography, says: "The Reserve was mainly settled by New Englanders. The Christians among them were generally Congregationalists, especially for the first four or five years. The churches they formed were either purely Congregational, or on a mixed plan which was only a slight modification. In nine-tenths of these churches there were no real Presbyterian members." Several Congregational churches were established in the southern part of Ohio about the beginning of the century, the first being at Marietta in 1796. These churches formed the Muskingum Association, meeting first at Springfield in 1809. The first Congregational church on the Reserve was at Austinburg in 1801, followed by that at Hudson in 1802, and others soon after. These churches, before any of them had settled pastors, organized "The Ecclesiastical Convention of New Connecticut." By 1814 Congregational ministers were again largely in the majority, and the churches were nearly all Congregational.

Yet within the next twenty years churches disappeared from the Congregational roll, associations were dissolved, small presbyteries grew in size and power, synods were formed; and Presbyterianism came to be the dominant order both in New York and in the Western Reserve. A Presbyterian contemporary observer estimated that by 1828 a result of the working of the Plan of Union had been the addition of more than six hundred churches to the Presbyterian body; and a careful student of the

history of Congregationalism, Rev. Dr. A. H. Ross, recently affirmed that "the Plan of Union has transformed over two thousand churches, which were in origin and usages Congregational, into Presbyterian churches."

These disastrous results to Congregationalism were brought about as much by the efforts of Congregationalists as by Presbyterians. Presbyteries were organized and ministers were urged to join them without giving up their connection with their own associations. Churches were invited to come under the care of Presbytery while they might retain connection with their own ecclesiastical bodies. A church might come under the Presbytery by a majority vote of its members. It could not withdraw, unless by consent of the Presbytery, without a unanimous vote of its members. The idea was fostered that stronger ecclesiastical bonds were necessary in the new settlements than in New England to guard the purity of the churches. Congregationalists who aided the movement from a distance adopted this idea with even more enthusiasm than the Presbyterians. The Missionary Society of Connecticut instructed its missionaries to use their efforts to promote union between themselves and the Presbyterians. A writer in the *Recorder* says that "the churches evidently showed great reluctance to enter into any organization which should have the name or any of the forms of Presbyterianism," but that such forms were "imposed on reluctant churches by the trustees of the Missionary Society of Connecticut and their missionaries." The defection of Unitarian churches in Massachusetts was adduced as an example of results to be expected from the loose ties which

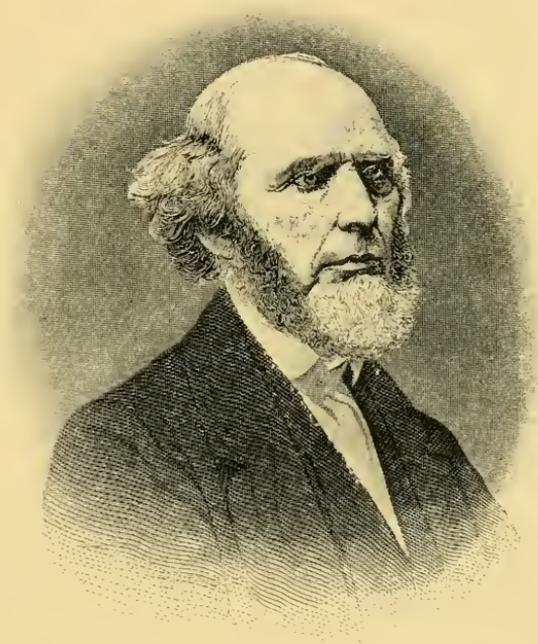
held Congregational churches together; until in the Middle and Western States the idea became prevalent that all Congregationalists were to be regarded with suspicion as unsound in doctrine. It came to be generally accepted, both in New England and out of it, that Congregationalism was indigenous in the New England States, but could not flourish beyond them, and that its western boundary was the Hudson River. Professor Moses Stuart said that in 1829 the directors of the American Education Society were accustomed to recommend "all young men who go from New England into the boundaries of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to unite with the Presbyteries and not to hold on upon Congregationalism," and that "nearly one-half of the young men who have gone from Andover Theological Seminary have become Presbyterians." Even New England churches came to look with indifference, if not with suspicion, on the Congregational churches which struggled to maintain their existence in the West, and advised their members who emigrated to the newer sections to become Presbyterians; and they freely poured out their gifts of money and missionaries to build up Presbyterianism with the advancing tide of emigration.

But if this Plan of Union operated to undermine Congregationalism in the West, it proved to be no less harmful as an element of discord among Presbyterians. The churches formed by this plan eventually introduced inharmonious elements into the Presbyterian body. As early as 1825 the right of representatives of these churches, "committeemen" as they were called, to sit in the General Assembly was questioned. In 1832 the Assembly voted that the Plan of Union did

not authorize any "committeeman" to sit in synod or General Assembly.

The Plan had led the Presbyterian Church to join with Congregationalists both in home and foreign missionary work. The American Board and the American Home Missionary Society, while founded by Congregationalists, came to represent both denominations; but a large section of the Presbyterian Church, especially its southern portion, believed that its missionary work could better be carried on by organizations under its own control. Those who strongly held this conviction were also becoming alarmed at what they considered new indications of doctrinal unsoundness of Congregationalists. In 1822 a theological department was opened in Yale College, with Dr. N. W. Taylor at its head; and in a few years the "New Haven Divinity" came to be prominently discussed in ecclesiastical gatherings. It was a modification of Hopkinsianism, which itself many Presbyterians regarded as hostile to Calvinism. New measures in conducting revivals, in which Rev. C. G. Finney, afterward President of Oberlin College, was prominent, also excited much alarm.

In 1835 representative Presbyterian opposers of the Plan of Union, who had by that time come to be known as the Old School party, held a conference just before the meeting of the General Assembly and determined to force a division from the New School party. They did not succeed that year or the next, but they worked steadily toward that end, with constantly increasing excitement throughout the denomination. In 1837 the Old School party had a decided majority in the General Assembly, which, after long and sharp



REV. CHARLES G. FINNEY.

discussion, abrogated the Plan of Union, declaring that the American Home Missionary Society and the American Education Society were "exceedingly injurious to the peace and purity of the Presbyterian Church," and cut off from that body the four synods which contained the churches formed under the Plan of Union. These four excinded synods were the Western Reserve, Utica, Geneva and Genesee. These synods were "declared to be out of the ecclesiastical connection of the Presbyterian Church, and not in form or in part an integral portion of said Church." The next year when the Assembly met the New School party, finding that they were denied their right of membership, organized on the floor of the house by the appointment of a moderator and clerks and withdrew to another meeting house, where it proceeded to business. Thus the division was consummated, and the New School Presbyterian Church was formed.

The excitement and bitterness between the two parties were enhanced by the ecclesiastical trials for heresy of three Presbyterian ministers, Dr. George Duffield of Carlisle, Pa., Dr. Albert Barnes of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, which had been organized in 1698 as a Congregational church, and Dr. Lyman Beecher, who had gone from Boston in 1830 to be a professor in Lane Seminary and pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati. All three were finally acquitted and became members of the New School body.

If this attempt at division had not succeeded, it is probable that Congregationalists in the Middle and Interior States would earlier have gathered strength to withdraw from their connection with Presbyterians and

to form separate ecclesiastical bodies. But their sympathies were strongly with the New School party, and while the conflict was pending their leaders were urged not to desert their friends. On questions most prominent in the minds of Christians throughout the country New School Presbyterians and Congregationalists were closely in sympathy. They were agreed in the agitation against slavery, which was already assuming large proportions. After the division the New School body continued its missionary work both at home and abroad through the societies which they maintained in common with Congregationalists. Both denominations were also in hearty doctrinal agreement.

Yet already, even before the division of 1838, a spirit of denominational enthusiasm was awakening among Congregationalists. One source of their weakness was their want of acquaintance with one another. There had been no general gathering of representatives of the denomination for nearly two hundred years. In New England Congregationalists had strengthened themselves by state associations, but the effort to follow their example in the early history of Western New York had failed. In 1834, however, the General Association of New York was formed, and in 1836 the General Association of the Western Reserve was organized. Though this latter body after some time dissolved, another and finally successful attempt was made by the organization of a consociation in 1841 of the church in Marietta with several others. This body called a convention at Mansfield in 1852 in which forty-four churches were represented, and this was the beginning of the State Conference of Ohio. The enthusiasm of that meeting and the interest kindled by the gathering

of the churches is thus pictured in a report in the *Christian Press* of Cincinnati: "Those who had stood long years alone, and had felt the discouragement of isolation and had been cut off very much from association and sympathy, were softened to tears when they looked round upon their assembled brethren and felt that the hour so longed for and prayed for had come."

Meanwhile also the churches in neighboring States were forming associations and beginning to realize their vitality for growth and expansion. The Iowa Association was formed in 1840, that of Michigan in 1842, and Illinois in 1844. In 1846 a very important convention of representatives of Western Congregational churches was held in Michigan City, Ind., which unanimously declared their adherence to the fundamental doctrines of the gospel as set forth by the masters of New England theology. This affirmation by the churches of the West of the faith and polity of the fathers did much to convince their New England brethren that the Congregationalists east and west were one in spirit as well as in name.

Before many years serious difficulties began to arise in connection with the administration of the home missionary work of Presbyterians and Congregationalists through the same society. Each denomination felt that its own interests were not sufficiently considered in the planting and support of new churches. Some of the presbyteries acted independently of the society, helping feeble churches of their own order in the west. Some individual Congregationalists and local churches did a similar service for some missionary Congregational churches. The Home Mis-

sionary Society tried various means to induce or compel the churches to send all their gifts through its treasury, but found it difficult to please, in its distribution of funds, two denominations which could hardly help being rivals as they entered into the newly settled sections of the country. The final separation of the society from its alliance with Presbyterians was caused by the action of the Alton Presbytery. This Presbytery, since 1840, had co-operated with the Home Missionary Society as its auxiliary, through a committee of missions. But in 1856 the Presbytery resolved "to employ two missionaries under the sole and only direction of this Presbytery, with no commission from any other source save the Lord Jesus Christ." From that time the Presbytery ceased to collect funds for the Home Missionary Society, but made collections for this separate work from churches sustained by that society, and denounced the society as "aiming a deathblow at their Presbyterial missions." At the same time the Presbytery continued to seek and obtain aid for its feeble churches from the Home Missionary Society. The contributions of the Presbyterians to the society fell from thirty-two per cent. of its receipts in 1855 to nineteen per cent. in 1860. In 1861 the separation between the two denominations in home missionary work was consummated. Such experiences serve to explain the growing disposition in each denomination to consolidate its strength and to carry on its work independently.

At last the new life which for years had been kindling found a way to express itself. In response to an invitation from the General Association of New

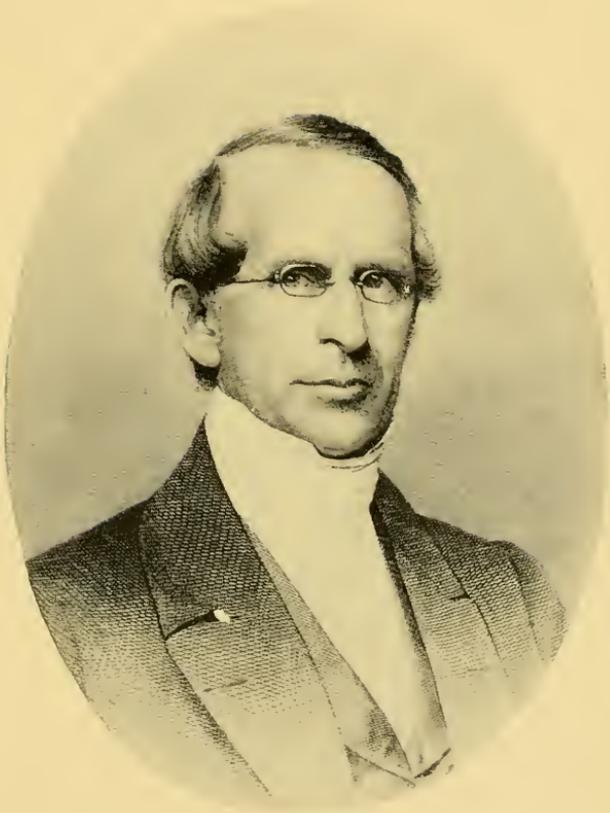
York the first general meeting of the Congregationalists of the United States since the Cambridge synod of 1648 was held at Albany, beginning October 5, 1852. By that convention the Plan of Union was declared at an end. Congregationalists had discovered that their polity was adapted to the entire country, that they had a divinely appointed mission to give the gospel of Christ to the whole world, and that in order to carry out this mission it was necessary that they should know one another, and should become affiliated as one body in such a manner that they could act intelligently and unitedly in fulfilling their great work.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ORGANIZED CHRISTIAN WORK.

MODERN Congregationalism from its beginning was essentially a missionary movement. Its founders were drawn to the New World, not only that they might plant a commonwealth where they could worship God unmolested, but also in the hope that they might give the gospel to the native inhabitants of the new land. This missionary spirit grew with their growth both in themselves and in their descendants. As the colonies expanded into provinces and these into States united and free, the churches promptly extended their aid to their brethren who were struggling to plant Christian institutions in new settlements, and in due time, with their prayers and gifts, they entered on plans to carry into distant lands the truth which they held most precious.

Congregationalists were in the front rank in founding this Republic, in securing its independence of Great Britain and in framing its political institutions; but their most thrilling history is the record of their missionary enterprises at home and abroad. In these are to be found the secret and evidence of their vitality and their promise for the future. Their missionary societies began as they were called into being by the necessities of particular times. In their earlier history other denominations co-operated with them. These



RUFUS ANDERSON, D. D.

organizations were voluntary societies established by individuals and not by the churches. They at first overlapped one another, and have gradually come into their present condition and relations with each other through natural experience and mutual understanding. Necessarily the account of them to be given in this volume must be far briefer than they deserve. But their doings have been woven into the entire history; and in this chapter only the outlines of the societies now existing can be described. They have been placed in the order of their organization.

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN
MISSIONS.

The beginnings of American foreign missions may be traced back to a few men and women of large faith and consecrated spirit. One of these women was the mother of Samuel J. Mills. He entered Williams College in 1806. In that year a missionary prayer meeting was held by a few of the students under the shelter of a haystack, and from the date of that meeting the history of American foreign missions practically begins.

Two years later a society was formed in the college for the purpose of beginning "a mission to the heathen." From Williams College Mills, Gordon Hall and James Richards went to Andover Seminary and there associated others with them in the same purpose. In 1810 Mills, Newell, Nott and Judson requested the Massachusetts General Association, which that year met at Bradford, to further their purpose to preach the gospel to heathen lands. The association welcomed the petition of the young men

and the American Board was organized with nine commissioners, five from Massachusetts and four from Connecticut, selected by the association for one year's service. The next year the General Association of Connecticut selected its own commissioners. The receipts for the first year were \$999.52. The next year, by the will of Mrs. Mary Norris of Salem, whose husband had been one of the founders of Andover Seminary, the Board received \$30,000. This bequest probably was one of the reasons which prompted the Prudential Committee to apply to the Massachusetts Legislature for a charter, which however was bitterly opposed, and not granted till 1812. By the charter the Board was made a self-perpetuating body. In that year, February 6, Judson, Hall, Newell, Nott and Rice were ordained in the Tabernacle Church, Salem, to establish a mission in Asia. In June Judson and Newell, with their wives, landed at Calcutta, but were ordered home by the British East India Company. They found passage on a vessel bound for the Isle of France, which they reached after a long voyage with many hardships. There Mrs. Harriet Newell died at the age of eighteen, after sending home to her friends messages of faith and love. The story of her brief life, and her devotion to the cause to which she gave it, kindled in this country an enthusiasm for missions which doubtless accomplished far more than she could have done if she had lived to do actual service in the field. Not only did money for the work flow freely into the treasury, but multitudes dated their conversion from the time of their reading the memoir of this missionary girl, and churches sprang into being from the story of her willing self-sacrifice.

Judson and Rice became Baptists, and their change of views led to the formation of a Baptist Missionary Society in 1814. Hall and Nott finally reached Bombay, where they gained permission to remain, and by them the first mission of the Board, that to the Maharrattas of Western India, was established, in 1813. In 1816 Daniel Poor, with four associates, opened a mission in Ceylon on the Island of Jaffna. In 1817 a mission was begun with the Cherokee Indians in Georgia, and in 1818 with the Choctaws in Mississippi.

In 1819 a company of seventeen persons sailed from Boston to begin a mission in the Hawaiian Islands, then known as the Sandwich Islands. Henry Obookiah, one of the islanders, had found his way to New Haven, Conn., when fourteen years old, in care of a kind sea captain, and the story of the conversion and early death of the heathen boy produced a flame of missionary zeal like that kindled by the missionary girl whose body had been buried in the Isle of France. That same year two young missionaries sailed for the Holy Land to win back to Christ the people who lived where He had lived.

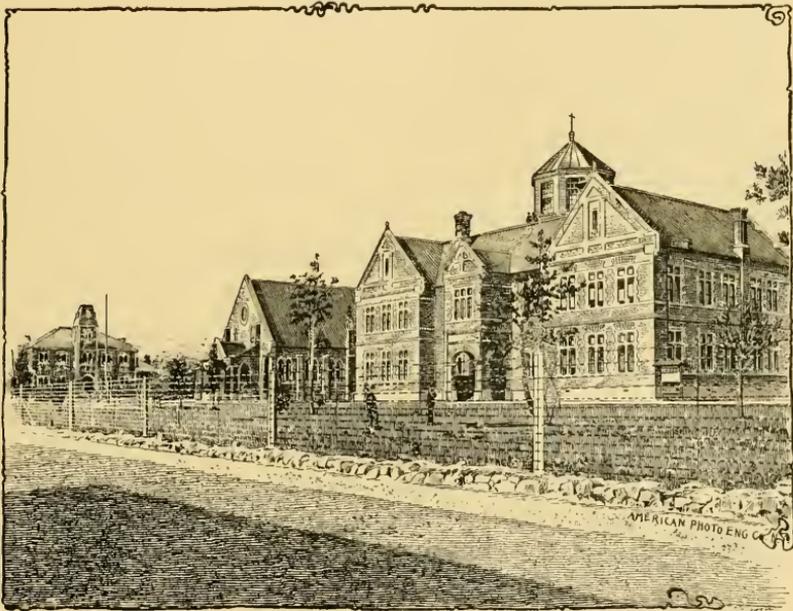
In 1823 the Syrian mission was begun by Messrs. Goodell and Bird at Beirut. In 1829 Bridgman and Abell began the work of the Board in China, at Canton. In 1830 Smith and Dwight went on an exploring tour through Armenia and Persia. In 1831 Joseph King opened a mission at Athens for the Greeks, and Goodell began at Constantinople what is now the Western Turkey Mission. In 1833 missions were commenced in Siam, Singapore, Persia and West Africa. The Madura mission was begun in 1834, and that to the Zulus, in southeastern Africa, in 1835.

During these earlier years of missions comparatively little was known of the countries where they were carried on. Communication between these lands and our own was slow and infrequent. News of the travels and explorations of missionaries was received with great interest. Accounts of their hardships and often of early death kindled among the young people in the churches at home the spirit of self-sacrifice for the salvation of the world. Tidings came of revivals of religion in mission fields, of the brave endurance of persecution by native converts and of the eagerness with which some of the heathen welcomed the gospel of Christ. The Hawaiian Islands were especially a center of great interest. A wonderful revival there in 1837-38 brought multitudes into the churches, whose membership in 1840 numbered sixteen thousand five hundred and eighty-seven. Ten years more passed, and the Hawaiian Missionary Society was formed at Honolulu to carry the gospel to the islands of Micronesia. In 1863 the Hawaiian Islands were regarded as practically Christianized, and the American Board withdrew from that field.

But not less interesting tidings during all these years came from other countries. India, Turkey, Syria, China and Africa furnished wonderful experiences of the providence of God opening closed doors for His Word to enter in. The children of American churches took part gladly in the great work of converting the world. In 1856 they contributed over \$28,000 to equip the first missionary vessel, the "Morning Star," for service in the Pacific Ocean. Since then this "Star" has had three successors, all built by children's gifts. In 1869 Rev. D. C. Greene sailed for

Japan, the first missionary of the Board to that country. The history of missions in Japan has not been surpassed by the wonderful records of any land where missionaries have preached.

The Doshisha, founded at Kyoto in 1876 through the zeal of Joseph Neesima, has become one of the



THE DOSHISHA, KYOTO, JAPAN.

leading educational institutions of that country, while the story of his life is unsurpassed in interest in missionary annals. To Hon. Alpheus Hardy, a Boston merchant, for many years chairman of the Prudential Committee of the Board, is largely due the successful establishment of this university for Japan. Mr. Hardy first befriended Neesima, when he had found his way to this country on one of Mr. Hardy's ships, received

him into his family, enabled him to gain a thorough education at Phillips Academy, Amherst College and Andover Seminary, and gave generously toward the work which, under the wise counsel of his benefactor, Neesima successfully inaugurated in his native land. The Board has had a no less honorable part in establishing missions in the great continent of Africa as during the last fifteen years that country has been explored and opened to travel and commerce.

Certain other denominations, attracted by the enthusiasm for the work, had very early co-operated with this parent society, but later they successively withdrew and organized missionary societies of their own. The Old School Presbyterians took this step at the time of the division in 1837, the Dutch Reformed Churches in 1857, and the New School Presbyterians soon after the reunion in 1870. Some missions were thus amicably transferred to the care of the new societies, but the work of the Board and its receipts have nevertheless been constantly enlarging. In 1810 its income was not quite \$1000 for the year, in 1820 nearly \$40,000, in 1840 over \$240,000, in 1870 over \$460,000 and in 1892 \$840,804. At present, in 1894, the field includes 20 missions with 183 ordained missionaries, 10 of whom are physicians, 18 men not ordained and 356 women, making the total of missionaries of the Board 557. There are also 2741 native workers, of whom 768 are pastors and preachers. There are 444 churches with a membership of 41,522. In 1893, 3461 were received on confession of faith. During its history the churches of the Board have received to membership over 120,000 persons.

In recent years, especially, the educational work has

made great progress. There are now under the care of the Board 1022 common schools, 65 schools for girls, and 80 high, training and theological schools. In the latter are 3819 young men, many of them preparing for the ministry. More than 50,000 persons are under Christian instruction through these schools. Some of the higher institutions are widely known and are fountains of great influence for good. Robert College, Constantinople, was begun in 1863 through the influence of missionaries of the Board. Among the most famous colleges now in the care of the Board, besides the Doshisha, already mentioned, are Central Turkey College at Aintab, established in 1875; Euphrates College at Harpoot, 1878; Constantinople Home, 1870, now chartered as the American College for Girls; Central Turkey Girls' College at Marash, 1886; Ahmednagar and Pasumalai Institutions, recognized by the government as colleges in 1886.

The American Board has been specially fortunate in having as secretaries and other officers men of great ability and consecrated character, who have given to it long terms of service. Its earliest secretaries were Rev. Samuel Worcester and Jeremiah Evarts. From 1832 to 1864 Dr. Rufus Anderson was its corresponding secretary. He made visits to the missions in the Hawaiian Islands, in the Levant, in Turkey and India. The literature he has produced on the subject of missions is of great value. His name is one of the most illustrious on the roll of those who have planned and directed American foreign missions. He was succeeded in 1866 by Rev. Dr. N. G. Clark, who still remains in office. Among honored names in the secretaryships of the Board are Rev. Messrs. S. B. Treat, J. O. Means

and E. K. Alden, the last named having served from 1876 to 1893. Rev. Dr. A. C. Thompson was for forty-four years a member of the Prudential Committee and its chairman for seven years previous to 1893 when he resigned. The list of its presidents is a remarkable succession of honored names—John Treadwell, Joseph Lyman, John Cotton Smith, Theodore Frelinghuysen, Mark Hopkins; and since the death of the last named in 1887 the office has been filled with eminent ability by Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs.

The Board has been not less fortunate also in having, during its entire history, treasurers of eminent financial ability, who have received for their services much less than they could have commanded elsewhere. The financial standing of the Board has always been of the highest character, and the money intrusted to it has been used with greatest care and economy.

The Woman's Board of Missions, through whose treasury goes a large and increasing proportion of the contributions to the Board, was organized in Boston in 1868, the Woman's Board of the Interior, with headquarters at Chicago, in 1869, and the Woman's Board of the Pacific in 1873.

THE AMERICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

From the beginning of the settlement of New England Congregationalists have been deeply interested in raising up and maintaining an educated ministry. For that purpose Harvard College was founded. Yale College was begun by ministers and for ministers. But when Harvard was lost to the evangelical faith and other professions attracted an increasing proportion of the students of Yale, devout men and women mourned

the dearth of ministers. A meeting was held in Boston in 1815, and initial steps were taken to organize a society to encourage and aid young men of ability and Christian character to fit themselves to preach the gospel. At an adjourned meeting that year Dr. Eliphalet Pearson preached, affirming that in the nine Western States and Territories, with a population of 1,758,815, there were only 116 ministers, and that the need of spiritual leaders was also great in the South and even in New England.

At that meeting "The American Society for Educating Pious Youths for the Gospel Ministry" was organized, and it was legally incorporated the following year. Great interest was aroused in its object. Auxiliary organizations were formed in many places. Generous gifts were offered. Within the first year \$4000 were contributed and forty young men were aided in their preparatory studies for the ministry. In the earlier years Presbyterians gave to the society with Congregationalists, but during the most of its history it has been distinctively Congregational. Since its organization it has aided about eight thousand young men to enter the ministry, and has expended for this purpose about \$2,500,000.

But the newly settled and growing West needed not only ministers, but institutions to train them. The young colleges that were springing up were moved to appeal to the older churches for help, and several of their representatives met in New York City in 1843 to discuss the ways in which this need could be met. The result was the organization of "The Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West." During the thirty years of its independent

existence the society distributed about \$1,800,000 to thirty colleges and seminaries. In 1874 it was united with the older organization under the name of the American College and Education Society.

In 1878 an appeal was made to this society to aid in planting academies, and especially to assist two—one just beginning at Salt Lake City, and another at Santa Fé, N. M. The society did not think it wise to assume the added responsibilities. In 1879 the General Association of Illinois appointed a committee to urge the Home Missionary Society to plant Christian schools in Utah as a means of preaching the gospel there and of counteracting the intolerable evils of Mormonism. But that society, after discussions extending over more than two years, decided that, owing to the limitations of its charter and the pressure of other matters, it was not able to take the new work. So deeply, however, was the importance of such an effort felt that the New West Education Commission was organized in 1880, with headquarters at Chicago, and with Rev. Dr. F. A. Noble as President and Rev. C. R. Bliss as General Secretary. Schools and academies were soon established in Utah and New Mexico. Consecrated and able teachers, most of them women, took up the work. Some of them were brought from their fields from time to time to tell the churches what was being done, and what was needed to overthrow Mormonism and Jesuitism in the new territories of the West. They pleaded their cause so effectively, and were so heartily supported by the officers of the society, that the contributions of \$3000 in 1880 increased to \$48,470 in 1885, and to \$82,200 in 1893. The society then had property amounting to \$150,000, six

academies and fifteen schools, with an aggregate enrollment of 2481 pupils. In that year, by advice of the National Council, the New West Commission and the American College and Education Society were consolidated under the title, The American Education Society. This organization, therefore, now includes in its aims ministerial education, colleges, academies and mission schools. It annually aids about 375 young men in course of preparation for the ministry. It is giving assistance to 15 academies and 8 colleges, and to the mission schools transferred to its care by the New West Commission.

THE CONGREGATIONAL HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and other missionary societies have been mentioned in previous chapters. They were organized responses to the call from feeble churches and from destitute fields for help to maintain religious institutions. As emigration increased from the older States into the newer regions, the work of these and other similar societies enlarged. They usually commissioned missionaries to make tours of a few months over large sections of territory, preaching, calling on families, organizing churches and administering the sacraments. Some of these tours reached the Mississippi River and descended to New Orleans. These ministers were entirely supported by the societies sending them. The effects of their labor were largely temporary. Sometimes ministers employed by different societies came into competition on the same fields. The system, or rather the lack of system, was too expensive, and at the same time it was scarcely effective.

In 1822 the United Domestic Missionary Society of New York was formed by the union of two local organizations. In January, 1825, Nathaniel Bouton, afterward pastor of the First Church, Concord, N. H., riding from Andover to Newburyport in a stage-coach with several theological students, suggested the formation of a National Domestic Missionary Society. The idea at once found favor. It was discussed by the students at Andover Seminary in their debating societies and in the columns of religious papers and magazines. It was commended by a meeting of ministers assembled in Boston to ordain four Andover students for home missionary work. In January, 1826, a meeting of prominent New England ministers recommended that the United Domestic Missionary Society of New York should become the American Domestic Missionary Society. The executive committee of that body responded favorably and called a meeting of friends of home missions from all parts of the United States. One hundred and twenty-six persons, representing thirteen States and four religious denominations, responded by assembling in the Brick Presbyterian Church of New York City, May 10. A constitution for the new organization was then proposed, and May 12 it was adopted by the United Domestic Missionary Society, which thus became the American Home Missionary Society. In its first list of officers the Congregational, Presbyterian, Reformed Dutch and Associated Reformed denominations were represented. From the beginning, however, Congregationalists were much the most prominent in gifts and in labors. The societies in the New England States continued to take care of needy churches within their own boundaries, but trans-

ferred to the national society their work for the regions beyond. They thus became auxiliary societies, and from time to time their numbers have been increased as the missionary societies of the younger States have reached self-support. There are now thirteen of these auxiliaries, and in time it is to be expected that the churches in every State will care for their own missionary fields.

The society employs State superintendents, general missionaries and pastors of churches or of groups of churches. It makes appropriations to aid churches in supporting their pastors, constantly encouraging them to self-support, leading fifty or more churches annually to financial independence. The first year after its formation the income of the society was \$18,140, which has increased till in 1893 it amounted to \$689,000. The first year there were 169 missionaries on its roll, who preached statedly to 196 congregations. In 1893 it employed or helped to support 2002 missionaries, who preached to 3841 congregations. In the first year more than two-thirds of its missionaries were in the State of New York. Now it has missionaries in every State in the Union except Delaware and in every Territory except Alaska. It has organized or aided more than 5000 churches, many of which are now among the strongest in the country. Its missionaries have planted schools and colleges throughout the land, have always been in the front with the march of emigration, have molded the characters of commonwealths and have left the impress of their influence on society for good in every part of our land.

The Associated Reformed churches never took any prominent part in the work of the society. In 1832

the Dutch Reformed churches organized their own Board of Missions. In 1861 the Presbyterian General Assembly (New School) instituted its own committee on Home Missions. But the society, though for more than thirty years it had been the organ of Congregationalists only, did not change its name till 1893, when it became the Congregational Home Missionary Society.

This society has within the last ten years largely increased its work for the foreign population in our country, maintaining a superintendent of its German Department, another for the Scandinavian and another for the Slavonic. Women's home missionary organizations co-operating with it have been formed in many of the States with growing interest and efficiency. The educational work of the society, though not extensive, is carried on by the maintenance of schools or academies in Georgia, Arkansas, the Indian Territory and Utah.

THE CONGREGATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL AND PUBLISHING
SOCIETY.

In the earliest years of the present century Sunday schools rapidly grew in importance as auxiliaries of Congregational churches. The Sunday-school movement as begun by Robert Raikes in Gloucester, England, in 1780, was confined to efforts to teach poor and neglected children. But in this country it included all classes. The Massachusetts Sabbath-school Union, formed in Boston in 1825, began as an auxiliary to the American Sunday-school Union organized in Philadelphia the previous year. In 1832 the organization came entirely under the control of Congregationalists, taking the name of the Massachusetts Sabbath-school Society. Rev. Dr. F. E. Clark, in Chapter XXII. of this volume,

has fitly outlined the growth of this Sunday-school work, but a few facts of denominational history properly belong here.

In 1834 Rev. Asa Bullard became the general agent of the society, and continued to be officially connected with it through all its changes of name and expansion in work till his death in 1888. For fifty-four years he was known among the Congregational churches of the land as the children's friend. For more than forty years he edited the *Wellspring*, which is still one of the most popular of Sunday-school papers for children. Lesson helps and Sunday-school books were published and widely circulated. Juvenile missionary associations were formed in New England to help less favored children in the West and in Canada. In 1839 the society became independent of the American Sunday-school Union, and in 1841 it was legally incorporated by the Massachusetts Legislature. Between 1853 and 1860 eleven agents were employed as Sunday-school missionaries in Western States. During the Civil War this missionary work was largely suspended, and the society turned its attention to distributing its publications to the soldiers in camp and hospital and to the Freedmen.

An early demand for other publications than those for Sunday schools led to the formation in 1829 of the Doctrinal Tract and Book Society to promote Hopkinsian theology. This society in 1854 became the Congregational Board of Publication. In 1868 this Board and the Sabbath-school Society were united under the name of the Congregational Sabbath-school and Publishing Society, which two years later became the Congregational Publishing Society.

In 1874 the National Council, hoping to make the society a strictly business enterprise, recommended that its missionary Sunday-school work be transferred to the American Home Missionary Society. The advice was adopted, but the result proved disastrous to Sunday-school missionary interests. The receipts of the Publishing Society fell off largely, while the contributions to the Home Missionary Society for Sunday-school work were small, and interest among Congregationalists in this department of missions languished. The consequent dissatisfaction found expression in the action of several State associations and other bodies requesting the appointment of a general Sunday-school secretary. In 1880 the Publishing Society, to which these requests were addressed, elected A. E. Dunning, then a pastor in Boston, to that office, and he entered on its duties January 1, 1881. In 1882, by agreement between the Home Missionary Society and the Publishing Society, the missionary Sunday-school work of the denomination was transferred to the latter organization. In 1883 the name of the Society was again changed to the Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society. The board of directors was increased to twenty-one, to which, later, five residing in Chicago were added, the majority of all being prominent business men. Sunday-school interests promptly advanced, both in the missionary and publication departments. State superintendents of Sunday-school work were appointed in the interior and western States. Missionaries of the society organized Sundayschools in neglected districts. The energies of the churches were directed to greater and more sympathetic efforts in behalf of the young, and

encouraging results followed. During the four years previous to 1882 the net gain of Congregational Sunday schools throughout the land was 18,837. During the four years including and following 1882 the net gain was 67,504.

The receipts of the society for missionary work for the year 1882 were \$6257; for the year ending March 1, 1893, nearly \$80,000.

The total assets of the business department in 1882 were \$35,125; in 1893 the assets were \$128,560. The total sales of the business department in 1882 were \$84,169. The total sales of both houses in 1893 were about \$250,000.

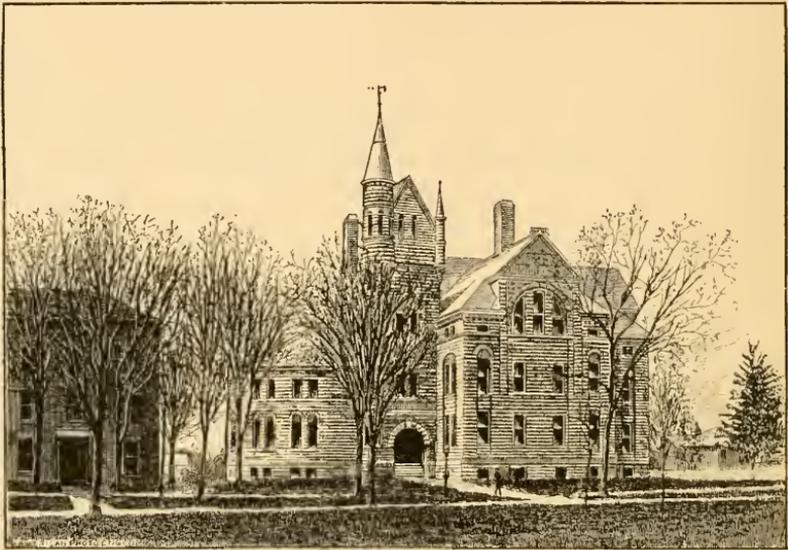
THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

This organization was formed in 1846, not originally for the purpose of giving the gospel to the colored people in the South, but "to conduct Christian missionary and educational operations, and diffuse a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures in our own and other countries." In the opinion of those who were active in forming the association, other missionary societies did not at that time with sufficient earnestness disclaim affiliations with the institution of human slavery. Therefore, they formed a missionary society which refused the contributions and co-operation of slaveholders.

This society inherited the work of three organizations all of which had sprung up within the preceding ten years. One of them, with three missionaries and a shipload of captured slaves whom our civil courts had declared free, had founded a mission in West Africa. Another was maintaining a mission among Freedmen

in the island of Jamaica. A third had been formed by the Western Reserve Association to carry on missionary work among Indians, and was supporting several missionaries among these people in Minnesota.

In all these three movements Oberlin College was deeply interested, and furnished from its students most



PETERS HALL, OBERLIN COLLEGE, OBERLIN, O.

of the missionaries. Nearly forty of them at different times labored in Jamaica. Two of the three missionaries to West Africa went from Oberlin, while more than twenty were missionaries to the Indians, sent out by the Western Evangelical Missionary Society. Oberlin in those years regarded with distrust what its faculty and students considered as the too conservative attitude of the American Board on the subject of slavery. The church of the town did not contribute to the treasury of the Board nor did the students apply to it for mis-

sionary appointments. It may be truly said that the American Missionary Association is the offspring of Oberlin College. Its honored senior secretary, Rev. Dr. M. E. Strieby, who has given his life to the association and whose statesmanlike wisdom has shaped and guided its work, was a graduate of Oberlin.

The association, then, in its earlier years, was both a foreign and a home missionary society. In 1854 it had 79 missionaries in foreign lands and among the North American Indians. In 1860 it employed 112 laborers in our own country, the majority of whom were in the interior States west of New York. At this time it supported 15 missionaries in the Southern States and in Kansas. These labored among white people. Some of them were beaten with stripes, and otherwise persecuted and driven out of the country.

The Civil War, breaking out in 1861, opened to the association new and wonderful opportunities. Large numbers of slaves escaping along the lines of the advance of the Union armies and declared "contraband of war," were gathered at Fortress Monroe and Hampton, Va. Here in September, 1861, a Sunday school and a day school for Freedmen were begun, and during that year and the one following, schools were opened and religious work undertaken in various places by ministers and teachers supported by the association. The Proclamation of Emancipation, dated January 1, 1863, brought thousands of escaping slaves, utterly destitute and very ignorant, within the Union lines, and the appeal made in their behalf met with a generous response from Northern philanthropy. Their pitiable need for food, clothing and education laid suddenly on the American Missionary Association an

immense responsibility, but it promptly rose to the occasion. In 1864 it had 250 missionaries and teachers laboring in all the Southern States then accessible to Union men. In March, 1865, Congress created the Freedmen's Bureau, which expended for the emancipated slaves nearly \$13,000,000. Its Chief Commis-



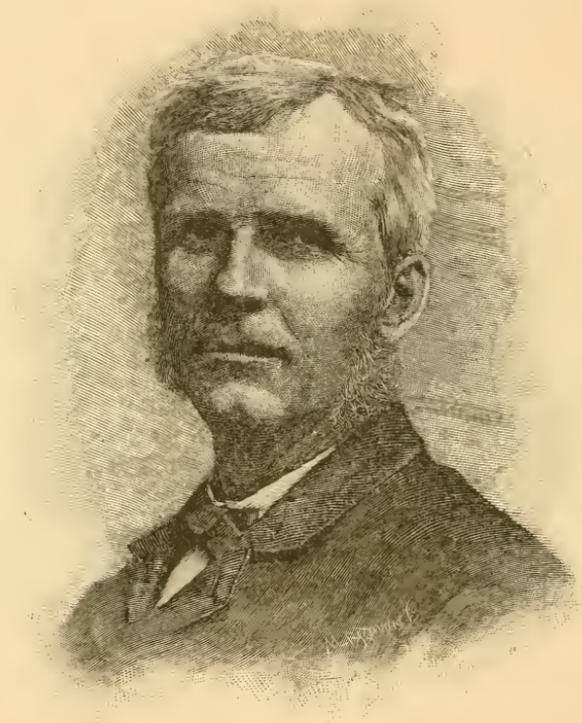
JUBILEE HALL, FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENN.

sioner was Major-General O. O. Howard, now president of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, and in his noble official service he was ever ready to give his aid in extending the beneficent labors of the association.

The Congregational National Council, which met in Boston in 1865, recommended that the churches should at once raise \$250,000 for the Freedmen, to be expended through the association. More than that amount was given. After the close of the war schools

for the Freedmen multiplied, and higher institutions of learning were soon organized. A school at Berea, Ky., had been planted several years before the war by Rev. John G. Fee, a pioneer missionary of the association. He and his company had been driven out of the country, but as soon as the war was over they returned, and the school not long after expanded into a college. Hampton Institute, Virginia, though not under the care of the association, is not less a fruit of its plans. Its originator, and for more than a score of years its leader, was the noble General S. C. Armstrong, the son of a Congregational missionary of the American Board in the Hawaiian Islands, and a graduate of Williams College. During the Civil War General Armstrong was for two years and a half a commander of colored troops in the Union army. His later educational work for Negroes and Indians, till his death in 1893, has made his name illustrious among those who have opened new ways to bless and uplift mankind. To remarkable opportunities from childhood of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the Negro race, he added a sublime faith in God, indomitable energy, rare tact, good sense and organizing powers which laid the foundations of Hampton broad and deep, interested multitudes North and South in its system of education, and is sending out many trained and consecrated men and women to be teachers and leaders of their people. The Fisk school was opened at Nashville, Tenn., in 1865, with an attendance the first year of over twelve hundred pupils. It was incorporated as a university in 1867. The Colored Jubilee Singers have made it famous in Europe as well as in the United States. In their singing tours they secured

abroad over \$150,000 for the institution. Howard University was founded in 1867 at Washington, D. C. Atlanta (Ga.) and Straight (New Orleans, La.) Universities and Talladega (Ala.) College were chartered



GENERAL S. C. ARMSTRONG.

in 1869, Tougaloo (Miss.) University in 1871, and Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute (Austin, Tex.) in 1876.

Howard, Fisk and Straight Universities and Talladega College maintain theological departments, and in all the schools special attention is given to Bible study and Christian training. Normal, graded, industrial

and many primary schools are maintained by the association throughout the Southern States, and thousands of teachers trained in these schools are doing efficient service among the people of their own race. The gift and bequest of Daniel Hand, amounting to nearly \$1,500,000, has created an important source of income to be expended by the association in educating the colored race.

Church planting among the Freedmen has been slower than school planting because of the high moral and spiritual standard adopted by the association; yet since the first church which it organized among them, in 1867—the Plymouth, of Charleston, S. C.—the number had increased to one hundred and twenty-eight in 1890, with eight State organizations.

The association maintains an interesting work, with schools, academies and churches, among the mountain whites of Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina. Since 1876 it has sustained missionaries and teachers among the American Indians. In 1882 this branch of its work was enlarged by the transfer to its care of the Indian missions of the American Board. Since 1870 mission work has been carried on among the Chinese immigrants in California with encouraging success. Christian women have from the beginning been prominent in all departments of the association's work and earnest in raising funds for its support. In 1883 a Bureau of Woman's Work was formed, with which thirty-four woman's missionary organizations cooperate. The average annual receipts of the association from 1880 to 1890, not including the Hand fund, were over \$450,000.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH BUILDING SOCIETY.

One of the topics of greatest interest at the Albany Convention of Congregational churches in 1852 was the building of meeting-houses for young churches in the West. The convention recommended that \$50,000 be raised at once for that purpose, and the churches responded by giving \$61,891. From this movement sprang the American Congregational Union, formed in New York City, May 11, 1853. In 1882 the society added to its benevolent work the raising of money to aid in building parsonages.

From the date of its organization till January 1, 1894, the society aided in building 2445 meeting-houses and 432 parsonages. The conditions on which aid is furnished require that the buildings shall be completed free from debt, shall be kept insured, and if they are diverted to other purposes than those for which aid was given, the society, which holds a first lien on the property, may recover its gift. The receipts for 1893 were \$189,235.

With a single exception none of these six societies in their beginnings, nor any of those which have been consolidated with them, assumed the denominational name. Some of them have received large sums of money in gifts and bequests from persons outside of the denomination. Three of the societies, however, now bear the name "Congregational." Control is in each case vested in the society itself, though in most cases some direct recognition of the churches is given by inviting them to nominate or to elect representatives in the membership. The American Board is a self-perpetuating body of 350 persons, but three-fourths

of the new members may be nominated by State associations and conferences. The other societies are composed of persons who have become life members by the payment of a specific sum, and of annual delegates chosen by contributing churches and by State organizations.

In this connection may properly be mentioned the Ministerial Relief Fund. The National Council of 1892 recommended that \$100,000 should be raised as a permanent fund for the support of aged and needy ministers, and efforts are being made to that end. In several of the States, also, some provision is made for the care of ministers enfeebled by sickness or age who have labored for a specific length of time within their bounds, and for widows and orphans of ministers.

Congregationalists have also generously contributed to undenominational benevolent organizations, such as the Bible, Tract and Seamen's Friend societies and the American Sunday-school Union. Congregationalists rank first among the denominations in the amount of their gifts per member to missions. In 1892 the gifts of Congregationalists through their home and foreign societies were \$4.27 per member; Presbyterians, North, \$3.72; Episcopalians, \$2.07; Baptists, North, \$1.54; Presbyterians, South, \$1.27; Methodists, North, 53c.; Methodists, South, 44c.; Baptists, South, 36c.; Cumberland Presbyterians, 30c.; Lutherans, 27c.

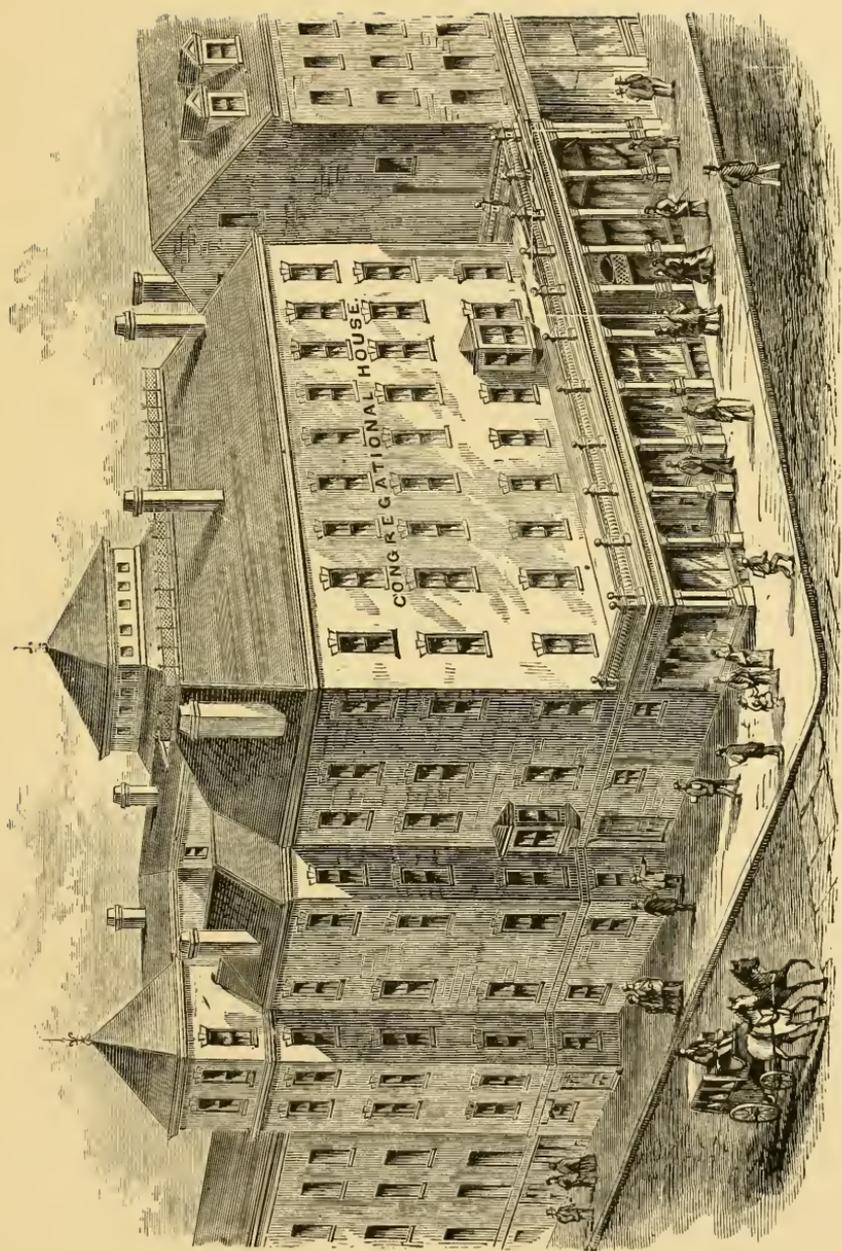
This chapter would be incomplete without some mention of

THE AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

The importance of preserving the literature which contains the history of a religious denomination cannot

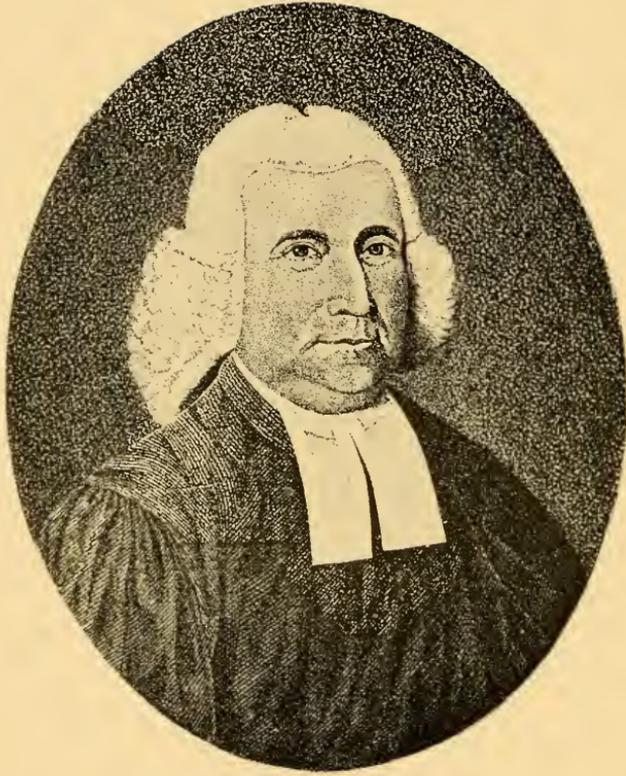
be overestimated. But the necessity of any general movement for this purpose hardly seems to have occurred to the early Congregationalists in New England. The very valuable library of Thomas Prince, preserved in the Old South meeting-house, was sadly damaged by the British army during the Revolutionary War; but what remained of it has been carefully preserved, in the care of the Old South Church, and is now deposited in the Boston Public Library.

Not till 1851, however, was any organization formed to establish a Congregational library. From that beginning sprang into being, in 1853, the Congregational Library Association, with headquarters in a rented room in Tremont Temple, Boston. Its object was declared in its constitution to be "to found and perpetuate a library of books, pamphlets and manuscripts, and a collection of portraits and whatever else shall serve to illustrate Puritan history, and promote the general interests of Congregationalism." From that time till his death in 1861 Dr. Joseph S. Clark, in connection with other friends of the enterprise, devoted much of his time to secure for it a building and a collection of books and other literature. The first estate purchased was on Chauncey Street in 1857. In 1862 Dr. I. P. Langworthy took up the task, and with the active co-operation of Dr. H. M. Dexter, Dr. A. H. Quint and others, against great obstacles, the work went on, till in 1873 the present Congregational House at the corner of Beacon and Somerset streets was secured and occupied. In it are to be found the offices of the denominational benevolent societies centering in Boston, the Publishing Society's bookstore, the editorial and business rooms of *The Congregationalist*,



CONGREGATIONAL HOUSE, BOSTON, MASS.

and the very valuable Congregational Library, named for Samuel A. Hitchcock, who gave \$25,000 for the building. Already the building is found inadequate to the needs of these organizations, and plans have been submitted for a new and much larger structure on the site of the present one. When sufficient funds shall have been secured, it is confidently anticipated that the glory of the latter house will far surpass the glory of the former.



ELEAZER WHEELOCK, D. D.

CHAPTER XIX.

EDUCATION.

WHEREVER, in any land, groups of Congregational churches have arisen, institutions of learning have been planted among them. The Puritans believed in the necessity of an educated ministry, and of an intelligent laity who could give a reason for the faith that was in them. Therefore the Congregationalists of New England originated free common schools which have spread through the land.

But our fathers were not satisfied with primary education for their children. Six years after they settled Boston they founded Harvard College, which bears the name of a Congregational minister who began its endowment. They intended it to be, first of all, an institution for training ministers of the gospel, and for that reason especially the prayers and interest of the churches centered around it as the chief fountain of learning in this country. They gave it for its motto, "Christo et Ecclesiæ." From its earliest years its standard of scholarship was high, and many of its alumni were intellectually as well equipped as the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, England, where so many of the earliest settlers of New England had gained academic degrees. In 1647 the Massachusetts General Court enacted a law that every town with fifty families should provide a school where children

should be taught to read and write; and that every town with one hundred families should provide a grammar school with a master able to fit young men for college. Thus early were the foundations of our educational system laid with its three grades of schools.

But Harvard was the only college in America for the whole of the seventeenth century, except the Episcopal College of William and Mary, founded in Virginia in 1693. When it was felt that the time had come for a second college in New England, a company of Connecticut Congregational ministers in 1700 took the initiative, gave to it the first donations and decided what should be its character and aims. The original corporation consisted of ten Congregational ministers, who had power to fill their own vacancies. From that day to this the majority of the governing body of what is now Yale University have been Congregational ministers. All its presidents from Abraham Pierson to Timothy Dwight have been Congregational ministers. Its eight students in 1702 have increased to two thousand two hundred and two in 1894. It has trained young men (and since 1892 women also) of every religious denomination, and its thousands of alumni are to be found in all lands, in all departments of professional and business life and of government.

These two colleges satisfied New England for nearly seventy years after Yale was founded. In 1754 a Congregational minister, Eleazer Wheelock, opened in what is now the town of Columbia, Conn., a charity school for the instruction of Indian youth. Fifteen years later it was determined to remove this school to some healthful location in New Hampshire and to

enlarge it into a college. A charter was granted in 1769 by Governor John Wentworth in the name of King George III., naming it for the Earl of Dartmouth, one of its benefactors, and recognizing Dr. Wheelock as its founder and first president, with the privilege of naming his successor. The college was opened in 1770 at Hanover, N. H. From the beginning a majority of its trustees have been Congregationalists, and all its presidents except one have been Congregational ministers. Its roll of graduates includes Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate and many other names illustrious in American history.

Williams College bears the name of a man of Puritan descent, a heroic soldier of the old French war, with whom the college originated as an academy, at Williamstown, Mass. It was incorporated as a college in 1793, and a Congregational minister, Dr. Ebenezer Fitch, the principal of the academy, was elected first president. His successor, Dr. Z. S. Moore, elected in 1815, remained till 1821, when he became the first president of Amherst. Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin, the eloquent champion of orthodoxy as professor of Andover Seminary, and as the first pastor of Park Street Church, Boston, from 1811 to 1815, was president of Williams from 1821 to 1836. Then came Dr. Mark Hopkins, whose fame is more than national as a teacher, preacher and philosopher. For more than half a century his was the most prominent name connected with the college. He resigned its presidency in 1872, but continued to be professor of moral philosophy and rhetoric till he died in 1887. Under his administration the students of Williams acquired a discipline of mind and a type of character which often

distinguished them in business and professional life. President James A. Garfield was one of the most illustrious of many who have attributed to Mark Hopkins the chief influence in forming their characters. Garfield's saying has become famous: "A log cabin in Ohio, with a wooden bench in it, and Mark Hopkins on one end of it and I on the other, would be college enough for me." Williams College was the birthplace of American foreign missions, and Dr. Hopkins linked its history with that of the American Board by serving as the president of that organization for thirty years.

Rhode Island had Brown University, a Baptist college, from 1765, and the University of Vermont was founded at Burlington in 1791. These, with the colleges already named, sufficed for New England till the beginning of the present century. Middlebury College, Vermont, was opened in 1800. It is a Congregational college, and Congregational influences have also always predominated in the University of Vermont, though it has not been in any sense a denominational institution.

The district of Maine had for many years desired a college. In 1788 its Congregational ministers and its justices of the peace petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to incorporate a college in that district. After many vicissitudes a charter was granted in 1794. The college, named in honor of James Bowdoin, one of the governors of Massachusetts, was opened at Brunswick in 1802. The question of its denominational relations was at times discussed, but about the year 1842 the majority of its overseers and trustees put forth a declaration that "from its foundation it has been and still is of the Orthodox Congregational denomination." All its presidents have been Congregational ministers.

On its roll of graduates the names of Longfellow, Hawthorne, J. S. C. Abbott, Rufus Anderson, Calvin E. Stowe, Franklin Pierce, William Pitt Fessenden, John A. Andrew and Major-General O. O. Howard, besides many others known to fame, show the great service which Bowdoin has rendered to the country and the world.

The circumstances attending the founding of Amherst College are intimately connected with the history of the Unitarian departure. When Dr. Z. S. Moore was called from the professorship of languages at Dartmouth to be President of Williams, he accepted on condition that the college should be removed to another part of the State. Dr. Moore favored the removal of Williams to Amherst to be connected with the academy of that town. When this project failed, he accepted the presidency of the new college at Amherst. In its earlier history the college was greatly embarrassed for want of funds. In 1830 its debt was \$30,000, and it carried this burden till 1846, when the debt was canceled under the able administration of President Hitchcock. During the two years following the college received, including a grant of \$25,000 from the State, the sum of \$108,000. At this time one of its most generous benefactors was Hon. Samuel Williston of Easthampton, whose gifts to the college finally amounted to \$250,000. Mr. Williston was a type of a noble company of Congregationalist laymen who have done great service for Christian learning. He was the son of a Congregational minister, and was reared in poverty. He was prevented by poor eyesight from gaining a liberal education ; but he made a fortune by the manufacture of buttons, and

besides large and wise benefactions during his lifetime, bequeathed to educational institutions over one million dollars.

Amherst was founded and has been maintained during its entire history with a distinctly religious aim. It has kept foremost its purpose to educate men to serve God. Frequent and powerful revivals of religion have resulted in the conversion of many young men. While it has sent out many prominent men into all professions, it has a specially honorable list of ministers. Among its alumni are Daniel W. Poor, the pioneer missionary to Ceylon; Professor B. B. Edwards of Andover, Joseph S. Clarke, Henry Ward Beecher and Richard S. Storrs.

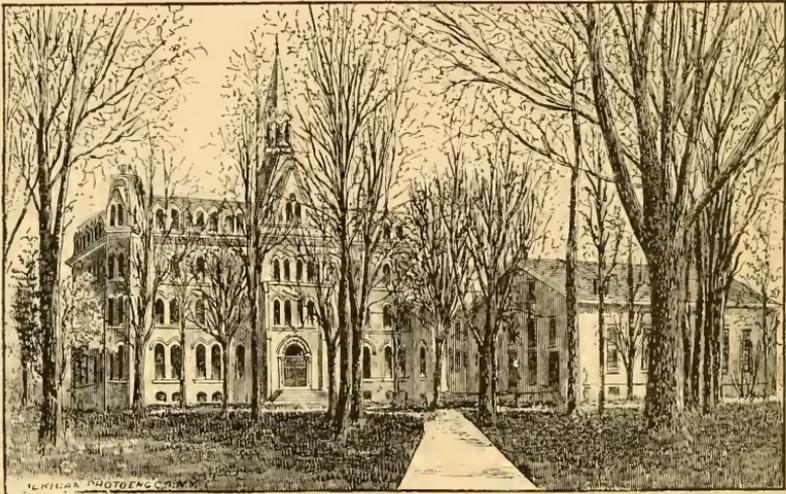
Since the founding of Amherst New England Congregationalists have been content to enrich her colleges and universities for young men by munificent gifts instead of planting new ones. But from the beginning of the great movement of western emigration soon after the close of the Revolutionary War, Congregationalists have been at the front, planting and fostering Christian colleges. Dr. Roy, in Chapter XXI., has admirably sketched the outline of that work. He has shown how in the path of New England missionaries the Western Reserve, Illinois, Oberlin, Marietta, Knox and the whole noble succession of colleges have sprung up. Some further mention will be allowed here to portray the distinctive features of some of these colleges planted by Congregationalists.

Illinois College looks back for its beginning to an evening in 1827, when seven students, gathered under the elms in New Haven, pledged themselves to give their lives to the work of education and of preaching

the gospel in what was then the far West, the State of Illinois. These students were returning home after listening to an essay by one of their number, Theron Baldwin, on "The Call of the West." Two years later a school was opened at Jacksonville, with Julian M. Sturtevant as teacher, one of that famous Yale Band sent out by the American Home Missionary Society. In 1831 Edward Beecher left the pastorate of Park Street Church, Boston, to become the first president of Illinois College. Its first class, graduated in 1835, consisted of two persons, one of whom, Richard Yates, became afterward the noted war governor of Illinois. Dr. Sturtevant was for fifty-six years connected with the institution as teacher, professor and president. Dr. Beecher still lives, till recently filling his ripe age with labors as a preacher in Brooklyn, N. Y. Illinois College has done more than any other institution to lay the foundations of education in that State. Its professors and graduates were pioneers in forming public sentiment in favor of a system of public schools. It has from the beginning maintained high standards, and followed worthily in the steps of Yale, its parent institution.

Oberlin was as distinctively founded by a Pilgrim colony as was Plymouth, Mass. One of the two pioneers who settled that town was a minister, John J. Shipherd, and the other had been a missionary of the American Board to the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi. These young men planned a Christian colony with a covenant to which its members subscribed, and the settlement began in April, 1833. Before the end of that year the first college building was inclosed and the school opened. Forty-four students were enrolled the

first term, of whom fifteen were women. Oberlin was the first college in the world to give to women equal advantages of education with men. In 1834 the first college class was organized, and the first Congregational Church of Oberlin was formed with sixty-two members. In 1835 Oberlin invited the attendance of colored stu-



OBERLIN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, OBERLIN, O.

dents, the first educational institution in this country to attract wide attention by that step, though Dartmouth had years before admitted a colored student. In consequence, about thirty young men from Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, having been forbidden by the trustees of that institution to discuss the subject of slavery, removed to Oberlin, and a theological department was opened. Charles G. Finney, pastor of what is now the Broadway Tabernacle Congregational church in New York city, was appointed professor of theology, Professor John Morgan, a graduate of Wil-

liams College, removed from Lane Seminary to Oberlin, and Asa Mahan, pastor of a Presbyterian church in Cincinnati and a graduate of Andover Theological Seminary, was chosen president. One colored student came to the college that year.

Oberlin soon became widely known as a place where peculiar and pronounced views were held concerning religion, theology, politics and social life. It was visited from time to time by persons who sought to impress their peculiar views on the college and the community. But while every such person of reputable character was hospitably received, he was expected to present his opinions in open debate. Often successive days were spent in such public discussions. The president and faculty were able men, and thoroughly examined the arguments of their visitors. On some subjects members of the faculty themselves held views opposing one another, and frankly compared these views in open discussion. On other subjects, such as co-education, perfectionism and slavery, they were either against or in advance of the public sentiment of the time, so that the college and the colony met with much opposition from churches and people.

But Oberlin was led by men of strong minds and consecrated purpose. She profited by experience both in correcting her mistakes and in strengthening her influence. She sent out educated and devoted men and women into all parts of the land, and especially into the newer West. Her graduates laid the foundations of other colleges, such as Olivet in Michigan and Tabor in Iowa. She took a prominent part in events which led to the Civil War and resulted in the abolition of slavery.

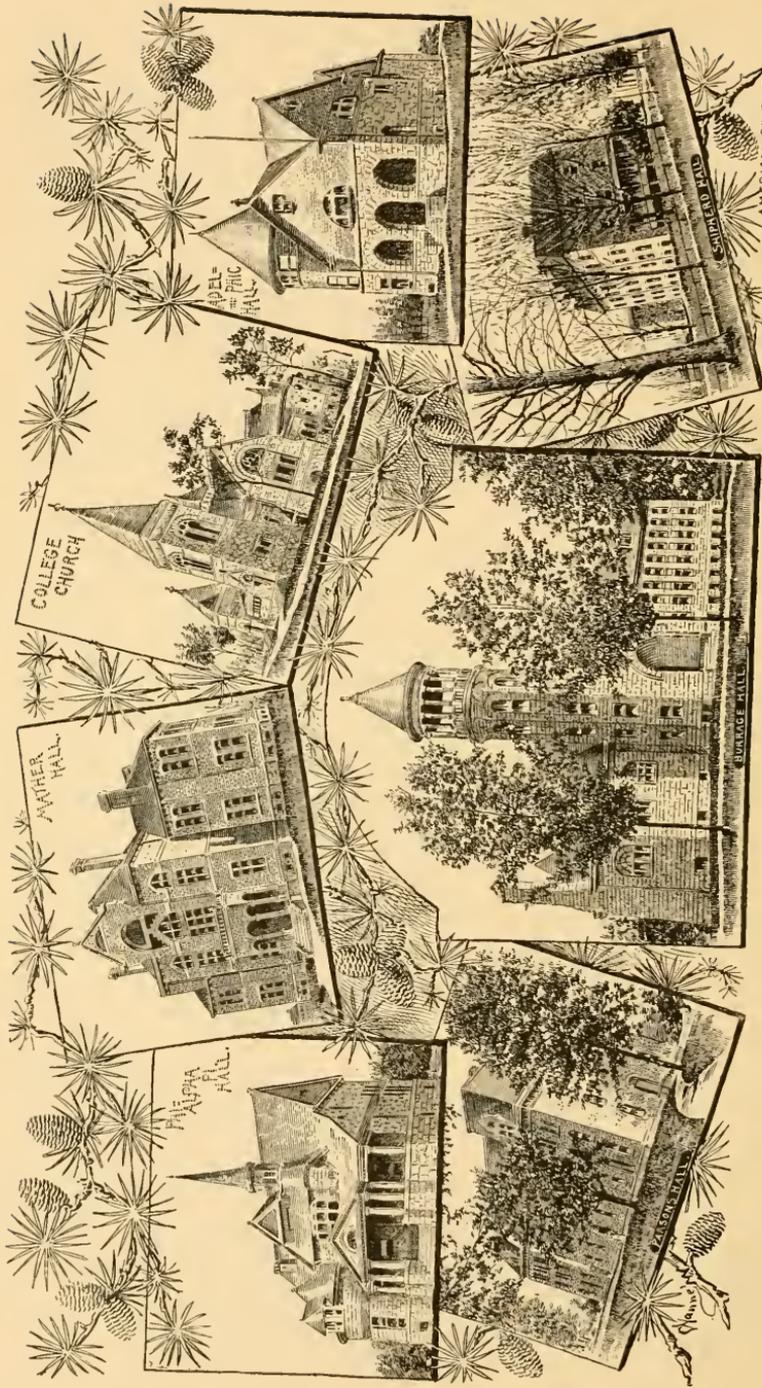
Oberlin has perhaps laid aside some peculiarities which distinguished her earlier history. Other views and aims which she still holds have ceased to be peculiar. While the religious atmosphere of the college is not less marked than in former years, the institution has greatly enlarged its educational facilities, has broadened its curriculum and increased the number of its pupils till it is one of the foremost universities of the interior States.

Beloit College, Beloit, Wis., like Illinois College, fondly looks back to a group of seven men seeking in a spirit of prayer the Christian education of the West. These seven were traveling together on a steamboat on Lake Erie in 1843, and one of them was the same Theron Baldwin whose essay in 1827 had led to the forming of the Yale Band of Illinois. In that company on the steamboat Beloit College was conceived in the mind of its chief founder, Stephen Peet. Two years later its first board of trustees was chosen, and in June, 1847, the corner stone of its first building was laid. Its first president, Rev. E. L. Chapin, a graduate of Yale, was inaugurated in 1850, and served in that office for thirty-six years, till his successor, President E. D. Eaton, was elected in 1886. It well deserves the title by which it is often called, the Yale of the West.

Asa Turner was one of that Yale Band of Illinois in 1829. In 1843 we find him at Denmark, Ia., and with him the Andover Band, who had gone that year into the new Territory. In the same consecrated spirit which had led to the beginning of Christian institutions in Ohio, Illinois and Wisconsin, they laid the foundations of Iowa College, which was incor-

porated in 1847 and opened its first building in 1848. Ten years later it was removed to Grinnell, in the center of the State. That town was founded by a Christian colony, and bears the name of one of its founders, who chose the ministry as his profession but was compelled by ill health to surrender that purpose and move to the West, where he nobly spent a long life in Christian service. The first president of the college, Rev. Dr. George F. Magoun, still lives in the town. His successor, President George A. Gates, was inaugurated in 1887.

Rev. John J. Shipherd, rejoicing in Oberlin colony and college as more than realizing his hopes, in 1843 visited the southern part of Michigan, and there selected a site for a new colony, naming it Olivet. The next year he led a company of thirty-nine persons, a little group of families from Oberlin, to the spot he had chosen, and there they built homes and a school, which was to be, like Oberlin College, open to both sexes, and to colored as well as white students. Not till 1859 were the founders of "Olivet Institute" able to secure from the State a charter as a college. Nor did the school meet with a more cordial recognition among religious denominations than Oberlin had met. But the number of students attending it constantly increased, and after a few years they were more than could be properly accommodated. Great sacrifices were made by its friends to provide for its needs. The gifts it has received have come mainly from Congregationalists, and its four presidents have been and are Congregational ministers: M. W. Fairfield, N. J. Morrison, H. Q. Butterfield and W. G. Sperry. The latter was inaugurated in 1892.



OLIVET COLLEGE, OLIVET, MICH.

AMERICAN PHOTO ENGRAVING

The history of Berea College, Berea, Ky., belongs with the history of the American Missionary Association, where mention of its founding is recorded. It is the only college in this country where colored and white students in considerable numbers may be found studying together. It is doing for both sexes a unique and very important work in a region where educational facilities are meager, and its future, under the lead of its recently inaugurated president, William G. Frost, is bright with promise.

The first building in what is now the city of Ripon, Wis., was erected in 1849. In 1851 an act for the incorporation of a college was passed. By the aid of the State Convention of Congregational and Presbyterian churches a school was maintained from 1853, and several Congregational ministers labored earnestly during the next ten years to advance its interests. But no college work was done till the election of Rev. W. E. Merriman in 1863. His admirable administration soon placed the institution on a secure foundation and gave to it a distinctive character. Dr. Merriman resigned the presidency because of ill health in 1875. His successors have been Professor E. H. Merrell and Rev. Rufus C. Flagg, who was appointed in 1892.

As early as 1857 the first steps were taken by the General Association of Congregational churches of Kansas to plant in that State a Christian college. But a year of drought and four years of civil war prevented the establishment of the college till 1865, when it was incorporated and the first building was erected at Topeka. It was first called Lincoln College, but in 1868 its name was changed to Washburn in recog-

dition of a gift of twenty-five thousand dollars as an endowment fund from Deacon Ichabod Washburn of Worcester, Mass. For one year Rev. H. Q. Butterfield was president, but soon after his resignation in 1870 Rev. Peter McVicar was elected and still remains in office. From time to time, in addition to funds raised in Kansas, generous sums have been given to the college by friends in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and several of its buildings bear names of Congregationalists honored in New England.

In 1844 a colony started from Oberlin to found Olivet, Mich. In 1848 another colony from the same town went westward to plant Tabor, Ia. It was led by Deacon George A. Gaston, who, after six years in Oberlin, had labored from 1840 to 1845 as a missionary of the American Board to the Pawnee Indians on the Missouri River. He then returned to Oberlin because of ill health; but three years later he persuaded several of his neighbors to return with him to the scene of his missionary labors and there plant a new Oberlin. In 1852 they consecrated a spot as "college grounds." In 1854 another party of thirty-eight from Oberlin joined the colony. Tabor Literary Institute was incorporated the same year. In 1857 Rev. William M. Brooks was engaged as principal and the school was begun.

Tabor carried the spirit of Oberlin into the border struggles which preceded the Civil War. John Brown's father was an early trustee of Oberlin. John Brown himself spent weeks and months in Tabor with his men preparing for the "Kansas War." Tabor was a storehouse and a recruiting camp in those days of conflict.

Tabor College was not incorporated till the Civil War had ended. In 1866 the Council Bluffs Association, which included about one-third of the Congregational churches in the State, recommended the placing of the institution on a college basis. The people of the town raised twenty-five thousand dollars for this purpose. Deacon Gaston gave four thousand dollars, nearly half his entire property. The first nineteen donors gave an average of sixty per cent. of the assessed value of all they owned. Few institutions of learning in the land have a record of as great self-sacrifice and as deep devotion as Tabor, and this spirit has characterized its graduates. Two of the Yale Dakota Band sent out by the Home Missionary Society in 1881, with their wives, were from Tabor. President Brooks has been with the institution from the beginning.

In 1866 the sixty Congregational churches of Minnesota decided to plant a college at Northfield. The matter had then been two years under consideration. The next year the preparatory school was opened. October 14, 1870, the college department was organized, the General Conference of churches being then in session at Northfield. James W. Strong, a pastor at Faribault, had just been elected president and at this meeting announced his acceptance of the office. Amid great enthusiasm and with earnest prayers, pledges of gifts were made which represented much self-sacrifice. More than sixteen thousand dollars were promised in the afternoon session of the conference that day. Some of this money came from poor home missionaries, some from young men and women just beginning life, and some was given in memory of one

who had laid down his life for his country. A little later the same year, by a remarkable series of providences, William Carleton of Charlestown, Mass., became interested in the young college and gave to it fifty thousand dollars. Since that time it has borne his name. Steadily and rapidly the institute has expanded; new buildings have been erected and new chairs endowed. In 1886 the sum of two hundred thousand dollars was added to the endowment fund, mostly by Minnesota givers. In 1891 the preparatory department was separated from the college and organized as the academy. Dr. Strong continues in the presidency.

Drury College, like other similar institutions already described, had its origin in the prayers and plans of the Congregational churches of Missouri. It was founded in 1873, and every year since then has witnessed such giving and toil as has built out of prairie and wilderness free and great Christian commonwealths. It bears the name of Samuel J. Drury, a Congregationalist layman of Olivet, Mich., and one of its generous patrons. Rev. N. J. Morrison was its first president, and his successor, Rev. Frank T. Ingalls, literally laid down his life for the college. Of the half million dollars it has received, more than one hundred thousand dollars have come from Pilgrim Church, St. Louis. But other churches have not been behind, according to their abilities, and eastern donors have dealt with it generously.

The Congregational churches of Nebraska, while that State was yet in its infancy, decided in 1872 to plant a college. It was located at Crete in 1873, and bears the name of one of its most liberal donors,

Colonel Thomas Doane, a member of the same Winthrop Church, Charlestown, Mass., with William Carleton, who gave his name to the Congregational college of Minnesota. Its fine group of buildings is nobly located on a hill overlooking the valley of the Blue River. Its president, Rév. D. B. Perry, a graduate of Yale, has been from its beginning the master spirit in organizing and administering the college.

Colorado Springs, seventy-five miles south of Denver, like so many other western college towns, was begun by a colony, and bears the characteristics of a city built for high moral purposes. It is a city of cultured homes in the midst of as magnificent scenery as can be found in America. There Colorado College was planted in 1874. It has had twenty years of remarkable growth. Under the wise administration of President Slocum its preparatory department has been separately organized as Cutler Academy, its standard of scholarship compares favorably with that of the oldest eastern colleges, and it worthily leads the educational interests of the State.

Yankton College began in 1881, as its first president, Joseph Ward, said, a Dakota product. Dr. Ward gave to it the best years of his life and died in its service. It has already four fine buildings, and under the energetic administration of Rev. A. T. Free is rapidly increasing in numbers and is receiving generous endowments.

North Dakota Congregationalists have been for the last eight years, in the face of many obstacles, laying the foundations of a college at Fargo. Thus far it has endured the vicissitudes which its older brethren have known, and now, under the presidency of Rev. R. A.

Beard, enters on an era of growing prosperity and usefulness.

On the Pacific coast Congregationalists have carried the same spirit which brought forth Western Reserve and Oberlin colleges and their noble list of successors. When George H. Atkinson came to Oregon in 1848 as the first missionary of the Home Missionary Society to that region, he found, at what is now Forest Grove, Harvey Clarke, a minister who had graduated at Oberlin, and had gone to that western wilderness with his wife to be self-supporting laborers among the Indians. By the efforts of these two men Tualatin Academy was founded at Forest Grove. In 1854 it grew into Pacific University, anticipating in name what the vast resources of that magnificent country inspired its earlier settlers to hope for. Ten years later it had two small buildings. To these two others, much more pretentious, have been added. It has an honorable roll of more than one hundred graduates from the college course, and property amounting to about two hundred thousand dollars.

In 1866 Rev. Cushing Eells opened Whitman Seminary near the Columbia River in Washington Territory, at the mission station where Dr. Marcus Whitman, a missionary of the American Board, had been massacred in 1847. Soon after it was moved to Walla Walla, six miles distant. In 1882 the institution received a college charter, and Professor A. J. Anderson was chosen president. He resigned in 1891, and his successor is Rev. J. F. Eaton.

In northern California Congregationalists have planted no college, but in 1853 their efforts, united with those of Presbyterians, planted the school which

has resulted in the University of California. In southern California the Association of Congregational Churches in 1889 established Pomona College, now located at Claremont, with Rev. C. B. Sumner as its president. The present year it has enrolled one hundred and seventy-two students, and two handsome buildings are already erected.

Within the last few years northern emigrants have found their way into the South in considerable numbers. Florida, especially, is largely occupied by winter homes of families from New England, the Middle States and the West. Nearly sixty Congregational churches have been planted there since 1880. Under their fostering care Rollins College was established at Winter Park in 1885. It is attractively located, and among its students are represented both southern and northern families. The latest claimant for a place in the list of colleges specially cared for by Congregationalists is Lake Charles, La.

During the seventeenth century, especially the latter part of it, partly because of poverty and war, the higher grades of public schools were not to be found in many New England towns. Private and endowed academies sprang up in several places, some of which have become famous, and still continue. The oldest of these now existing is Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., founded in 1778. Phillips Exeter (N. H.) Academy followed in 1781. Both these institutions were planted by two brothers whose father had been a Congregational minister of the West Parish, Andover. Not less famous—of later date, 1841—is the seminary for boys at Easthampton, Mass., which bears the name of its founder, Samuel Williston. Academies were numerous

all over New England in the early part of this century. There were about fifty-five of them in Massachusetts, thirty in Maine, twenty-five each in New Hampshire and Connecticut, and twenty in Vermont. Most of these were endowed, with funds estimated as amounting in the aggregate to over seven hundred thousand dollars. In recent years attempts have been successfully made by Congregationalists to repeat in the West this work of preparatory education. In Nebraska, Minnesota, Kansas, Washington and other western States there are several flourishing Congregational academies.

The story of schools and colleges would be far from complete without some account of the efforts made by Congregationalists for the higher education of women. Our New England fathers did not think it necessary to burden the public with the expense of educating girls. They thought the duties of that sex could be well performed without mental training. Girls were not allowed to attend the public schools in Boston till 1790. Until 1822 the law permitted their attendance only in the summer months. Similar restrictions may be found in the records of other New England towns. But several of the academies admitted girls. Most famous among these is the one at Bradford, Mass., founded in 1803. This institution opened a new era in the education of women. In 1828 a separate department for girls was established, and in 1836 the boys' department was closed. Miss Ann C. Hasseltine was connected with this school for half a century, first as associate and later as principal. Among its earlier pupils were Harriet Atwood Newell and Ann Hasseltine Judson, wives of the first missionaries of the American Board.

The increasing calls for women as teachers occa-



MARY LYON.

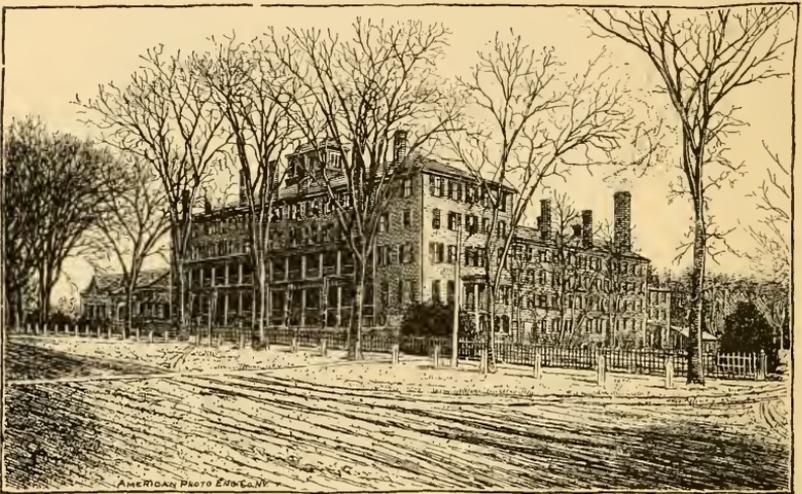
sioned a growing interest in the education of girls. The first institution in New England for that sex only was founded with a bequest of Jacob Adams at Derry, N. H., in 1823. Ipswich (Mass.) Academy was opened in 1828, Abbott Academy, Andover, was incorporated in 1829, and Wheaton Academy, Norton, in 1834.

In all these movements for the education of women the most interesting and illustrious person is Mary Lyon. Born and reared in poverty at Buckland, Mass., she early became a teacher in country schools, receiving at first as her wages seventy-five cents a week and "boarding round" in the families of her pupils. She first went to an academy as a student in 1817, at the age of twenty. Later, at Ipswich Academy, she became acquainted with Miss Grant, and these two women were for four years together as teachers at Adams Academy, Derry, N. H. Leaving there because the trustees objected to the prominence they gave to religious instruction, they returned to labor in Ipswich. But Mary Lyon had already conceived a plan of founding a seminary for girls to be carried on by methods peculiarly her own. In 1834 she left Ipswich to devote herself to this purpose. When in that same year Judge Laban Wheaton opened at Norton, Mass., a seminary for girls as a memorial of his daughter, Mary Lyon was present with her counsels, selected the first principal and spent some time with the school.

But her heart was set on another enterprise. She interested individuals and churches in it, gathered money from many sources with varied discouragements but undaunted persistence, and in 1837 Mount Holyoke Seminary was opened at South Hadley, Mass. Miss Lyon's plan contemplated sufficient manual labor on the

part of the pupils to bring the expense down to a low figure, and to give the opportunity for education to girls in the position she herself had occupied, who hungered for knowledge as she did. The price of board and tuition for a term of ten weeks was put at sixteen dollars.

The story of Miss Lyon's life and work is fas-



MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE, SOUTH HADLEY, MASS.

cinating. She drew to her support a trio of Congregational deacons—Avery, Porter and Safford—whose labor for the seminary of itself entitles them to lasting renown. Others, like Samuel Williston and Henry F. Durant, gave generously of their time and money. Miss Lyon had years of anxiety, prayer, fear and hope before she died in 1849. But one cannot read the story of her life without the conviction that few women ever enjoyed living as much as she did. With wonderful rapidity Mount Holyoke grew to be a fountain of world-wide beneficence. Its pupils went to be labor-

ers in every good field. More than fifty women whom she had trained became foreign missionaries. Seminaries after the pattern of Mount Holyoke and taught by its graduates sprang up, not only in America, but in every continent. Lake Erie Seminary, Painesville, O., founded in 1847, received its plans and many of its teachers, including two nieces of Miss Lyon, from Mount Holyoke. Mills Seminary and College, California, was established by Dr. and Mrs. Mills "to do for the far West what Mount Holyoke Seminary does for the East." Fidelia Fiske's Seminary for the Nestorian girls of Persia, the Mount Holyoke Seminary at Bitlis, Turkey, for the Koordish girls, the Huguenot Seminary at Wellington, South Africa, all officered by Mount Holyoke graduates, are only conspicuous illustrations among many of the blessed life and service of Mary Lyon. Mount Holyoke Seminary secured its charter as a college in 1888, but with the same spirit and aims as in earlier days it continues its prosperous career with Mrs. Elizabeth M. Mead as its president.

In that Connecticut valley lived Miss Sophia Smith, who gave a generous sum to found Smith College for girls at Northampton in 1875. In its equipment, faculty and students it is already in the foremost rank. Henry F. Durant studied the system of education at Mount Holyoke, served as one of its trustees, and moved by the knowledge of its vast usefulness, with his wife, who survives him, founded Wellesley College in 1875, giving for this purpose six hundred thousand dollars, to which other large gifts have been added, till its stately buildings, its home-like cottages and its ample grounds combine to make it unsur-

passed in attractiveness by any American college. Its seven hundred and twenty-nine students come from thirty-seven States of the Union and from seven foreign countries.

While the college is, and by the terms of its charter must be, undenominational, it is "distinctively and positively Christian in its influence, discipline and instruction." Its founders and its two presidents, Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer and Miss Helen M. Shafer, were Congregationalists.

Several of the colleges here described bear no denominational name. They all open their doors equally wide to all worthy applicants. Some of them were founded by individuals, others by the action of associations or conferences of churches. They are given a place in this history because they have been founded by Congregationalists, and because through their history or government, or both, they are most closely affiliated with the Congregational denomination.

These colleges represent various degrees of maturity in their equipments and attainments. But they all maintain high standards of scholarship, and as centers of Christian culture and influence are unsurpassed by any institutions of learning in America. Most of these colleges, especially in the West, have preparatory departments much larger than the collegiate; but as their numbers have increased, the most of them have made the college department distinct and complete in itself. In many of them normal training, music and art have received special attention, while not a few have provided for post-graduate courses of study.

To these schools of Christian learning other institutions might be added, unique in character and without denominational affiliations, but founded by Congregationalists and to a large extent sustained by them. Prominent among these in Massachusetts are Mr. Moody's Mount Hermon schools, one for boys and the other for girls, the School for Christian Workers and the French Protestant College at Springfield, and the Lay College at Revere.

Congregationalists have founded seven schools for the professional training of ministers. Andover Theological Seminary is the oldest, opened in 1708. Its list of professors includes such eminent names as Moses Stuart, Leonard Woods, W. G. T. Shedd, E. P. Barrows, Calvin E. Stowe, Edwards A. Park, Austin Phelps and Egbert C. Smyth.

Bangor Seminary was opened at Hampden in 1816, and a few years later removed to Bangor, Me., about six miles distant. A large proportion of its students have not been college graduates, but have received in this institution a training which has enabled them to be useful ministers, and some of them have attained high eminence. Among its teachers Professors Enoch Pond and Lewis F. Stearns have made important permanent contributions to theological literature. Dr. Pond was connected with the institution as professor or president for forty-five years.

In 1822 Yale College, which had always made instruction in theology prominent, opened a distinctive department for this purpose, with Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor at its head, which soon grew to large proportions and is now one of the best equipped theological

schools in the world. Few writers have made more valuable contributions to American religious literature than its teachers, among whom are Theodore D. Woolsey, Leonard Bacon, Noah Porter, Timothy Dwight, Chauncey A. Goodrich, George E. Day, Samuel Harris and George P. Fisher.

Soon after the theological department of Yale was opened a doctrinal controversy arose, in which Dr. Taylor was opposed by Dr. Bennett Tyler. The controversy was carried on with great interest to theologians for several years, though the points of difference have ceased to be of any practical importance. But it resulted in the founding in 1833, by the Pastoral Union of Connecticut, of the East Windsor Theological Institute, with Dr. Tyler at its head. This union was a body of about one hundred Congregational ministers, associated on the basis of a creed embodying the theological views of Edwards, Bellamy and other standard New England writers. The membership of the union has since increased to about two hundred. This institution, removed to the capital of the state, has become Hartford Theological Seminary. It has excellent buildings, a very valuable library, an admirable body of teachers and a large attendance of students. Its president, Chester D. Hartranft, by its organization and broad plans of education for ministers, has given to it a distinctive character among theological seminaries. It has recently admitted women into its classes. In 1894 it enrolled fifty-four students, ten of whom were women.

Oberlin, as elsewhere stated, opened a theological department in 1835. This has become a distinct school, having its own professors, and a large number

of graduates are doing valiant service in the pulpits of America and other lands.

Chicago Theological Seminary, the youngest of the seven, except one, has surpassed all the others in its departments, attendance and endowments. It was organized by delegates from Congregational churches in six interior States, was incorporated in 1855 and opened in 1858. Its directors are chosen by the representatives of Congregational churches of the interior States. It has devoted much attention to the training of ministers for work among foreign nationalities in this country. Its German department was opened in 1882, the Dano-Norwegian in 1884 and the Swedish in 1885. Its total attendance of students in 1894, is two hundred and two, representing twenty-three States of the Union and thirteen foreign countries. One hundred and twenty-eight of them have pursued academic studies in sixty-six collegiate institutions. The seminary has graduated five hundred and seventy-seven young men, and has given instruction to more than twelve hundred. Dr. Franklin W. Fisk, still the honored president, and Dr. George Dana Boardman, now *emeritus* professor of systematic theology, have been with it from the beginning, thirty-five years, while Professors Curtiss, Scott, Wilcox, Taylor and others are doing noble service.

By heroic efforts on the part of the faculty, directors and other friends of the institution, a fund of five hundred and eighty thousand dollars has just been raised, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of which was the gift of Dr. D. K. Pearsons of Chicago. The seminary, now fully equipped, with property amounting

to more than a million and a half of dollars, with abundant opportunities for listening to eloquent preachers, as well as for every kind of missionary work, offers exceptional attractions to students in preparation for the ministry.

In 1869 the General Association of California founded Pacific Theological Seminary at Oakland, and appointed Rev. Joseph A. Benton as its first professor. The next year Rev. George Moorar was associated with him. In 1881 gifts amounting to one hundred thousand dollars placed the institution on a hopeful footing, and three new professors have been recently added to the faculty.

From the institutions thus briefly described—academies, colleges, universities and theological seminaries—go forth every year an army of young men and women whose influence is inestimable. The large majority of them are professing Christians. They have spent years of study in an atmosphere of Christian culture, where the prevailing motives are to serve mankind for Christ's sake. They become educators in every land and among all classes of people. They take positions in the front ranks of professional, business and political life. Who can calculate the results of the gifts and labors of consecrated men and women in founding and maintaining and keeping alive the interest of the churches in these institutions of learning?

The following table represents the list of institutions which have originated with Congregationalists, and in which that denomination is now especially interested, though many of them are not in any sense under denominational control:

LIST OF COLLEGES.

| NAME. | LOCATION. | DATES OF CHARTER. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Yale, | New Haven, Conn., | 1701 |
| Dartmouth, | Hanover, N. H., | 1769 |
| Williams, | Williamstown, Mass., | 1793 |
| Bowdoin, | Brunswick, Me., | 1794 |
| Middlebury, | Middlebury, Vt., | 1800 |
| Amherst, | Amherst, Mass., | 1825 |
| Oberlin, | Oberlin, O., | 1833 |
| Marietta, | Marietta, O., | 1834 |
| Illinois, | Jacksonville, Ill., | 1835 |
| Beloit, | Beloit, Wis., | 1846 |
| Iowa, | Grinnell, Ia., | 1847 |
| Pacific, | Forest Grove, Ore., | 1854 |
| Ripon, | Ripon, Wis., | 1855 |
| Olivet, | Olivet, Mich., | 1859 |
| Wheaton, | Wheaton, Ill., | 1861 |
| Berea, | Berea, Ky., | 1865 |
| Washburn, | Topeka, Kan., | 1865 |
| Tabor, | Tabor, Ia., | 1866 |
| Carleton, | Northfield, Minn., | 1866 |
| Fisk, | Nashville, Tenn., | 1867 |
| Howard, | Washington, D. C., | 1867 |
| Talladega, | Talladega, Ga., | 1867 |
| Straight, | New Orleans, La., | 1869 |
| Atlanta, | Atlanta, Ga., | 1869 |
| Tougaloo, | Tougaloo, Miss., | 1869 |
| Doane, | Crete, Neb., | 1872 |
| Drury, | Springfield, Mo., | 1873 |
| Colorado, | Colorado Springs, Colo., | 1874 |
| Smith, | Northampton, Mass., | 1875 |
| Wellesley, | Wellesley, Mass., | 1875 |
| Yankton, | Yankton, S. D., | 1881 |
| Gates, | Neligh, Neb., | 1881 |
| Whitman, | Walla Walla, Wash., | 1883 |
| Rollins, | Winter Park, Fla., | 1885 |
| Fargo, | Fargo, N. D., | 1887 |
| Redfield, | Redfield, S. D., | 1888 |
| Mount Holyoke, | South Hadley, Mass., | 1888 |
| Pomona, | Pomona, Cal., | 1889 |
| Lake Charles, | Lake Charles, La., | 1890 |

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

| NAME. | LOCATION. | DATES OF CHARTER. |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| Andover, | Andover, Mass., | 1808 |
| Bangor, | Bangor, Me., | 1816 |
| Yale, | New Haven, Conn., | 1822 |
| Hartford, | Hartford, Conn., | 1833 |
| Oberlin, | Oberlin, O., | 1835 |
| Chicago, | Chicago, Ill., | 1854 |
| Pacific, | Oakland, Cal., | 1869 |



MARK HOPKINS, D. D., LL. D.

CHAPTER XX.

THE NEW ERA.

THE last half century is a distinct period in the history of Congregationalism. During that time it has awakened to a new self-consciousness, has come into formal unity, has become national and has undertaken world-wide aims. In Christian education and in missionary enterprise it was first in the field in this country. During the last fifty years it has come to recognize the duty of maintaining independently of other denominations its missionary efforts in all lands; and it has justified the title which has been given to it, "the denomination which educates."

The evidence that Congregationalists are doing these things worthily has been given in the two previous chapters. They were the first to enter on the work of educating the freedmen after the Civil War. From that time to the present they have expended in the South more for this purpose than all the other denominations together. Congregationalists were the first to introduce Christian education into Utah, making it the most potent instrument in destroying the power of Mormonism. They have been pioneers in carrying the gospel into heathen nations, where they maintain 14 theological schools, 66 colleges and high schools for boys, 56 similar institutions for girls and nearly 1000 common schools. In missionary work and in

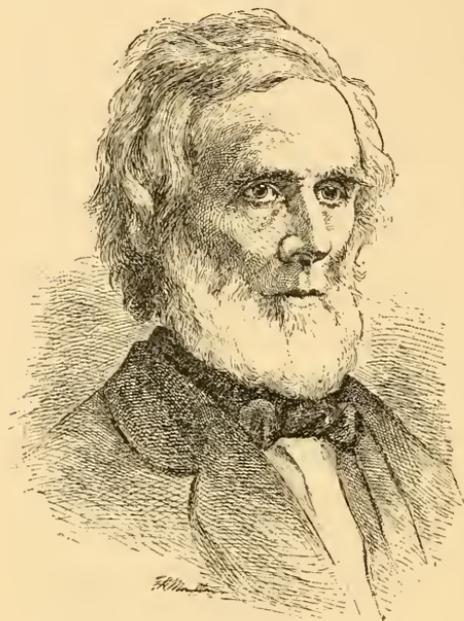
education Congregationalists have made a record second to none at home and abroad.

Evidences of the new awakening of the denomination abound, especially in the literature of the years immediately before and following 1850. Many addresses of that period before State meetings and other annual gatherings on the character and working of the Congregational polity were printed and widely distributed. The pastoral letter of the General Association of New York in 1853 says: "Until a recent date our existence beyond the bounds of New England was not always readily acknowledged;" "but it is so no longer;" "for the last eight or ten years this apathy has been gradually disappearing." In 1854 Dr. Truman M. Post of St. Louis delivered the address at the annual meeting of the American Congregational Union in Brooklyn, on the topic "The Mission of Congregationalism in the West." The next year the subject of the address of Dr. Julian M. Sturtevant of Illinois before the same body was "Congregationalism Anti-Sectarian." The denomination was thus being roused to consider with new hope its mission and its opportunities, and this fact furnished the prevailing themes of its representative assemblies.

During the first twenty years of the last half century, from 1845 to 1865, certain subjects of vital and general interest commanded the attention of the churches, the discussion of which had important results in unifying the denomination and enlarging its influence. These subjects concerned the doctrine of the churches, their attitude toward the national government, especially on the question of slavery, and their polity.

In the earlier part of this period doctrinal matters attracted the greatest attention in New England, which still contained nearly four-fifths of the Congregational churches in the United States. Massachusetts Congregationalists had, after more than a generation of wearisome conflict, freed themselves from the incubus of Unitarianism. Naturally many of them looked with apprehension on tendencies in theological teaching which seemed to call in question doctrines they were defending as essential to their faith. Two men of remarkable ability and of very different types of mind were then coming into prominence in the denomination as leaders of religious thought, who awakened decided opposition. Edwards A. Park, then recently appointed, not without strong remonstrance, to the chair of systematic theology at Andover, was reformulating Calvinistic doctrines with an exactness of definition, a power of logic and a freshness of thought and style which drew large classes of students to the seminary, and which fearlessly challenged those who disputed those doctrines or objected to new statements of them. Horace Bushnell, from the pulpit of the First Church, Hartford, Conn., was winning the loyal support of his people, no less by the charm of his personal presence than by his eloquence and poetic genius. The great crisis in his spiritual history, in 1848, brought forth views then novel, which he gave to the public in the book "God in Christ," and which precipitated a long and sharp controversy. Some acquaintance with the author's temperament, character and history was, perhaps, necessary at the time in order fully to comprehend his meaning and purpose. His thought rose above definitions and expressed itself in

sublime conceptions of Christ formed in the soul, a new creating power of God for and in humanity. But he was at once attacked by many of his ministerial brethren, through public addresses and the religious press, as a dangerous heretic in his views of the Trinity



HORACE BUSHNELL, D. D., LL. D.

and the atonement. His own ministerial association, the Hartford Central, essayed to bring him before the consociation for trial, but after full discussion decided that his errors were not fundamental. The Connecticut General Association made his alleged heresies the chief subject of debate for four successive years. Nearly all the ministers of Hartford and vicinity

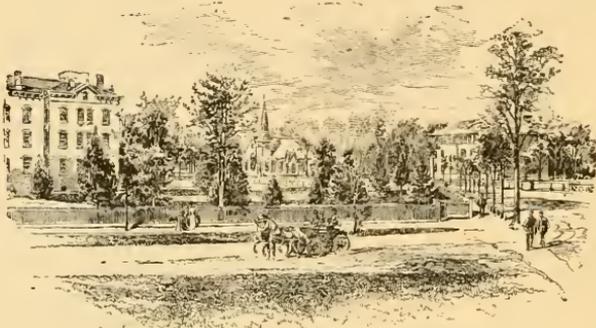
during this period refused to permit him to enter their pulpits. His own church unanimously stood with him, and withdrew on his account from the consociation. Dr. Bushnell was not a framer of a theological system, but he was a wonderful inspirer of religious thought and experience. His sympathies embraced with enthusiasm every department of life. He was not only the most distinguished preacher but also the foremost citizen of Hartford. In his later life, as his writings plainly show, he did not hesitate to set aside what he

had held that was inconsistent with the deeper knowledge he had attained, and he came into greater harmony with many of those from whom he had differed. He lived to see the distrust and opposition which he had long endured fade away, and give place to a loyal devotion which, with those who knew him, mingled affection with reverence.

It might have been natural to expect that these theological disturbances would tend to divide rather than unify the denomination. But already by the Unitarian departure the limits of fellowship had been recognized and accepted. These latter experiences helped to determine the churches that within those limits liberty would be allowed. The outcome of those years of conflict was beneficent: it was settled from that time that theological investigation in a devout spirit would be encouraged, that fresh statements of truth would be welcomed by Congregational churches, and that no fixed creed of the fathers could be irrevocably binding on coming generations.

Congregationalists were substantially united in their sentiments of opposition to slavery in the early part of the century; but as the subject came to be more generally discussed, the denomination took a foremost position in denouncing it, with tremendous effect in bringing about its final overthrow. The part taken in this contest by Oberlin College and its graduates has already been described. Oberlin men and women were to be found in Michigan, in Iowa, in Kansas, in every western State, maintaining the same uncompromising attitude. But even more telling blows against the institution of slavery were being struck in the East. In 1845 Joseph P. Thompson went from the Chapel

Street Church, New Haven, to the pastorate of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York; a position which he filled with great ability for more than a quarter of a century. In 1846 the Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn, then two years old, settled its young pastor, Richard Salter Storrs. In 1847 a new Congregational enterprise was begun in Brooklyn, which took the name of Plymouth Church, and called



BEREA COLLEGE, BEREA, KY. (*page 375*).

to be its first pastor Henry Ward Beecher, then thirty-four years of age, with an experience of seven years in the ministry in the West. Both these men were sons of ministers notable in New England Congregational history. Leonard Bacon, also the son of a pioneer Congregational minister, had already served a score of years as pastor of the First Church, New Haven, and was recognized as a leader in the denomination. These men were at the front of a steadily growing and advancing army of those who strove by voice and pen for freedom for the slave, for righteousness in government and for the supremacy of Congregational principles. The New York *Independent*, begun by them in 1848, was one of the channels through which they

spoke. Other periodicals gave voice to their utterances. From pulpit and platform they made themselves heard and their beliefs respected. In 1846 Dr. Bacon published his volume "Slavery Discussed," to which Abraham Lincoln years afterward referred as having led him to clear convictions on that subject—convictions which prompted him to issue his Emancipation Proclamation in 1862. Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, soon gained national fame for its advocacy of freedom for the slave. When the conflict waxed hot as to whether Kansas should be made a free or a slave State, Plymouth Church undertook to supply every family emigrating thither in the interests of freedom with a Bible and a rifle.

In June, 1851, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" began to be published as a serial in the *National Era* of Washington. That story stirred the people of the Northern States from Maine to California. It made the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law impossible. It did more than any other one thing to break the fetters of the slave. Lyman Beecher made upon all his children indelible impressions of hostility to slavery, and inspired them to defend all mankind who were oppressed. His daughter, Mrs. Stowe, referring to his preaching in her childhood, and his daily prayers in the family, says she could never forget their effect: "Prayers offered with strong crying and tears, which indelibly impressed my heart and made me what I am from my very soul, the enemy of all slavery. Every brother I have has been in his sphere a leading anti-slavery man."

As the struggle grew in intensity, Congregational churches became more and more united in their oppo-

sition to slavery. Though they were denounced by some abolitionists who were eager to force immediate separation of the northern from the slave-holding States, they were inspired by their leaders both to loyalty to the Union and to the principles of liberty which finally prevailed. Henry Ward Beecher did noble service for this country and the cause of freedom by addresses made in Great Britain in the autumn of 1863. Public sentiment there at that time leaned strongly toward the Confederacy. Mr. Beecher spoke on the issues of our Civil War to vast audiences in Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool and London, and though he was in each city met by intense opposition, he overcame it by his fearless good humor, his earnest convictions, his intense perseverance and his magnetic power as an orator, and contributed greatly to influence popular feeling in that country to sympathy with the Union cause. To the success of that cause Congregational churches contributed their full share in men who served in the army, in the self-sacrifice of women, in money and in influence at home and abroad.

During these same years which preceded the Civil War the polity of Congregationalists was also developing in important directions. Interest in their history was revived. They were called to adapt their polity to the new conditions of the rapidly expanding country. They were led to strengthen the bonds of fellowship without infringing on the freedom of the local church. In this important work Dr. Leonard Bacon did especially valuable service. He began to write for the *Christian Spectator* while a student at Andover in 1823. He was one of the editors of that magazine from 1826 to 1838. He helped to establish the *New Englander* in

1843, and published in its columns more than one hundred essays. For fifty-seven years, from 1825 till his death, December 24, 1881, he was pastor of the First Church of New Haven. From 1866 to the end of his life he was connected with the Yale Divinity School as professor of didactic theology, and later as lecturer on ecclesiastical polity and American church history. He greatly helped Congregationalists to understand and appreciate the facts of their history and the exact principles of their polity. In all important denominational assemblies his presence was influential, and he came to be regarded as one of the very foremost Congregational leaders.

Henry Martyn Dexter was the junior of Dr. Bacon by twenty years ; but in historical research, in enthusiastic faith in the Congregational polity and in permanent contributions to its literature he followed closely in the footsteps of his senior and in the latter overtook and surpassed him. In contending against slavery also he took a notable part. He freely used voice and pen in the interests of freedom, and he prepared the famous remonstrance to the Nebraska Bill, to which he secured the signatures of several thousand ministers of all denominations in New England. Dr. Dexter was the pastor from 1849 to 1867 of the Pine Street, afterward the Berkeley Street, Church, Boston. From 1851 till his death in 1891, with a single interval of a year, he was the editor of the *Congregationalist*. Early in his public career he devoted himself to the study of the history and principles of Congregationalism, and to the practical application of these principles in the administration and spread of Congregational churches. Much of his great interest in this subject undoubtedly

originated in the fact of his descent from, and his reverence for, the Pilgrim fathers. In process of time Dr. Joseph S. Clark, Dr. A. H. Quint and others became associated with him in editing the *Congregational Quarterly*, which later was succeeded by the Year Book, and other publications representing the principles, statistics and growth of the denomination. Dr. Quint devised the plan and method of collecting statistics for the entire denomination, and had charge of this work for a quarter of a century. He devised the method of representation of the first National Council in 1865, and framed its constitution substantially as it now stands. He has had prominent influence in shaping many of the most important denominational documents of the last thirty-five years. He is therefore eminently fitted for the task he has undertaken, in the last chapter of this volume, of describing the development of the denominational spirit through occasional councils, local and State associations and conferences, and finally through the National Council, into visible unity.

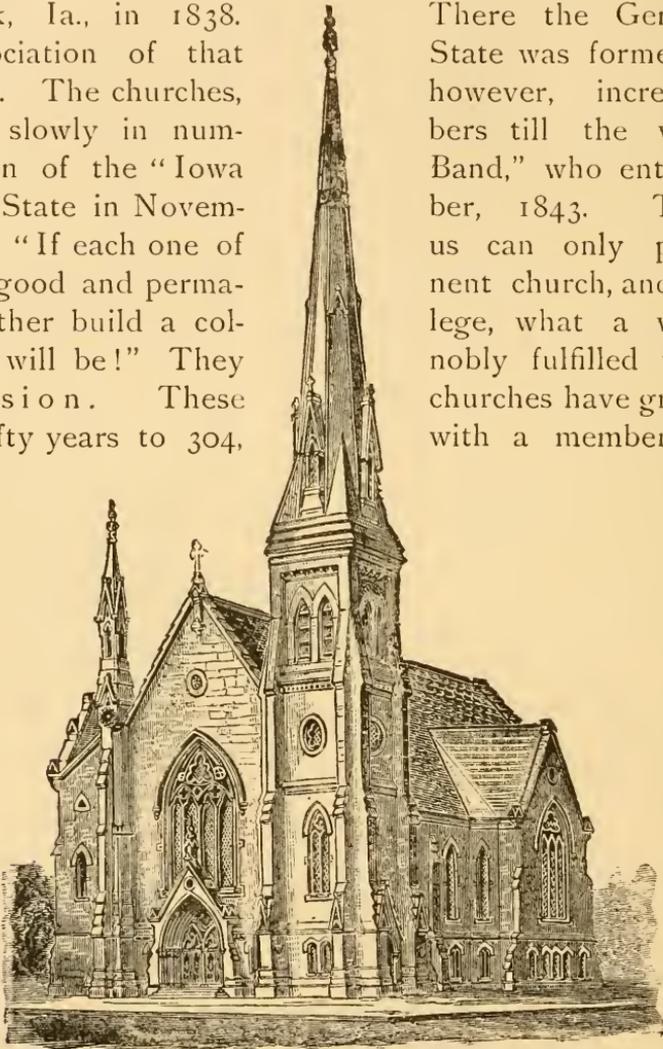
Thus Congregationalists, by the expanding and liberalizing of doctrinal beliefs within evangelical lines, by the development of the national spirit through the Civil War, in which they found themselves substantially united in favor of a union of the States, with freedom and the equality of all men of every race and color under one government, and by the necessity of extending their polity throughout the entire country, came into some fit sense of their national mission; and in consequence their growth as a denomination has steadily and remarkably increased.

Space allows only a meager account, mostly in the form of statistics, of the spread of Congregational

churches during these last fifty years. In 1844 the only State organization west of New York was the General Association of Michigan, then two years old. The pioneer of the denomination in that State was a home missionary, Rev. John D. Pierce. By him the educational system of Michigan was drafted in 1837. The number of churches in fifty years has increased from about 30 to 346, with 27,954 members. In 1844 the First Congregational Church of Detroit was organized. In the same year the General Association of Illinois was formed. That State then contained about sixty Congregational churches. But it was not till 1851 that Congregationalism found a foothold in Chicago, when 42 of the 68 members of the Third Presbyterian Church of that city, having been excluded from the church by the Presbytery on account of their attitude on the slavery question, called a council and were recognized as the First Congregational Church of Chicago. Only four Congregational churches could then be found within a radius of forty miles. The Chicago Association now includes more than 100 Churches. For more than a quarter of a century Dr. E. P. Goodwin has been the faithful pastor of the First Church, which has grown to more than 1250 members, and has made its good influence felt throughout the land. Plymouth Church was formed the next year after the First, the New England in 1853 and Union Park in 1860. Of the latter Dr. F. A. Noble has been pastor for fifteen years, and its membership is larger than that of the First Church. In 1894 there were 57 Congregational churches in Chicago, the largest number in any city in the United States. In Illinois there are 311 churches, with 40,238 members.

The banner of Congregationalism was first permanently planted west of the Mississippi River at Denmark, Ia., in 1838. Association of that 1840. The churches, but slowly in number began of the "Iowa that State in November," said, "If each one of one good and permanent together build a col that will be!" They mission. These in fifty years to 304,

There the General State was formed in however, increased bers till the work Band," who entered ber, 1843. They us can only plant nent church, and all lege, what a work nobly fulfilled their churches have grown with a membership



MEETING-HOUSE OF UNION PARK CHURCH, CHICAGO, ILL.

of 28,515. Congregationalism began in Wisconsin with the removal to that country from Massachusetts of the

Stockbridge Indians, among whom was a Congregational church. In 1838, two years after Wisconsin was organized as a Territory, churches were formed at Waukesha and Beloit, and within the next two years 10 others were organized. In 1840 the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention of Wisconsin was formed, from which the word Presbyterian has been recently dropped, since the churches of that name have withdrawn into organizations of their own denomination. Wisconsin has now 236 churches.

In 1851 the first Congregational church for white people was organized in Minnesota, at St. Anthony, by Rev. Charles Seccombe. It is now the First Congregational Church of Minneapolis. From that beginning there have grown 17 churches in that city and eight in St. Paul, while in the State there are 204 churches, with 16,448 members.

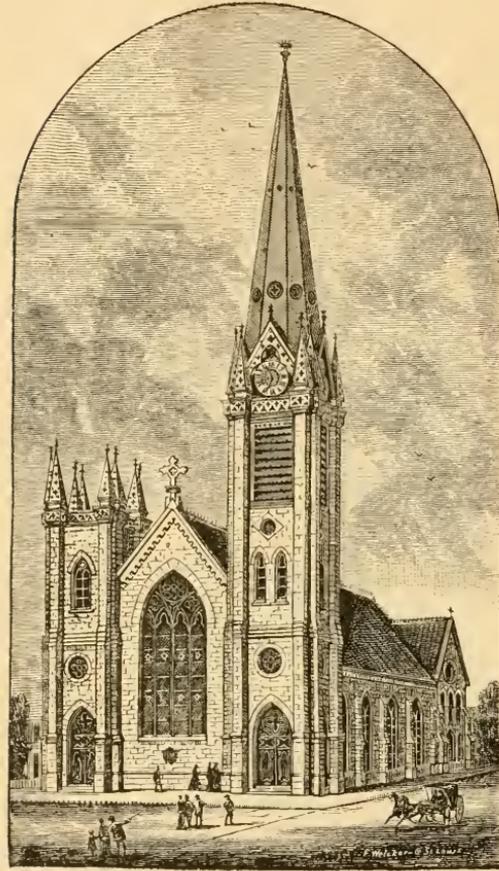
Congregational missionaries have done valiant work in Missouri since 1814. But the First Congregational Church of St. Louis, organized by Dr. Truman M. Post in 1852, stands at the head of the list in that State. In that year Dr. Post, after four years' service in the Third Presbyterian Church of that city, which then had 100,000 inhabitants, gathered a self-supporting church of the Congregational order. It stood alone till after the Civil War, when a little band of New Englanders in 1866 formed the Pilgrim Church, whose meeting-house for more than twenty years has stood on the highest part of the city, and has extended its beneficent influence through the whole Southwest. Hither came as its third pastor, in 1872, Constans L. Goodell, and with this church he remained in a rarely happy and prosperous ministry till his death in 1886.

The minister and the church were of the spirit which begets churches. They found in the First Church a

hearty ally, and their number in that southern city has in twenty years multiplied from two to twenty.

In 1853 the entire white population of Kansas and Nebraska, a region not yet having a territorial government, was less than 600. But by that time Congregationalists had begun to rekindle their missionary zeal with renewed confidence in their own polity, and the next year a Congregational church was formed

in Lawrence, and



MEETING-HOUSE OF PILGRIM CHURCH, ST. LOUIS, MO.

the First Church in Omaha in 1856. In these Territories, especially in Kansas, the battle between freedom and slavery was waged with great intensity for seven years before the Civil War broke out; and the church militant was too busy in its conflict to multiply rapidly its organizations; but in less than

forty years Kansas and Nebraska have each come to include 186 churches, though Kansas has 558 more members than Nebraska.

“The First Congregational Church of Colorado” was the name by which the church at Central City was called, organized in 1863; but it has ceased to exist. A church was formed at Boulder and another in Denver, in 1864. The First Church stood alone in the latter city till 1879. But there are now 12 Congregational churches in Denver and 58 in the State.

Dakota was organized as a territory in 1861, including the two States which now bear that name, besides Montana, Idaho and Wyoming. But very few white people settled in this vast region till some years after the Civil War. In 1868 a church of 11 members was gathered at Yankton by Rev. Elisha W. Cook. In 1869 Rev. Joseph Ward became its pastor. He was a graduate from Andover Seminary the preceding year. Till his death in 1889 he was one of the foremost citizens of Dakota, deeply interested in laying the foundations of civil government as well as of churches and a Christian college. North Dakota had its first Congregational church in Fargo in 1881, and the following year two were formed in Montana. No Congregational church was organized in Wyoming before 1884 except the First Church at Cheyenne, which alone represented the denomination in that vast region for fifteen years. But South Dakota now stands sixteenth in our Year Book in the number of its churches among the 49 States and Territories. It has 143 churches, North Dakota 70, Wyoming 14 and Montana 10.

The entire history of Congregationalism west of the Rocky Mountains is included within the last half

century, and the most of its growth has been within the last thirty years. In 1864 the whole section contained but 26 churches. California now has 184, the First Church of Oakland having more than 1200 members. Oregon has 51 and Washington 106, only 11 of which were organized previous to 1880.

The Southern States show a remarkable growth of Congregational churches since the Civil War. The old Circular Church of Charleston, S. C., stands in the Year Book with the date of 1690. A number of Congregational churches were planted in Georgia and other Southern States in their early history. Several were organized also in the early years of the present century. But the attitude of the denomination toward slavery closed the South against Congregational churches till slavery was destroyed. Since 1870 their number has been steadily increasing. The first Congregational church in Florida was organized in 1875. In 1894 the number had increased to 55, with 1754 members. Previous to 1870 there were only five churches in Georgia. In 1893 there were 77, with 4111 members. Alabama had but two churches formed before 1870; the number was 88 in 1894, with 4271 members. In all the Southern States there were in 1866 only 12 Congregational churches. In 1894 there were 441 churches, with 26,063 members. About 130 of these were mainly colored churches. In several of these States a considerable number of the churches of the Congregational Methodist denomination have recently been received into fellowship as Congregational churches, maintaining their local district conferences.

A digression may, perhaps, be as appropriate here

as at any point in the history to describe briefly the churches of the British provinces of North America. Though these churches have no ecclesiastical affiliation with the Congregational churches of the United States, they have to a large extent been founded by American citizens, and many of their ministers have gone to them from the United States.

Nova Scotia, first occupied by the French, was recovered by England in 1748. A few years later the English government offered free farms to New Englanders who would settle there. In 1759 six vessels went from Boston and four from Rhode Island with several hundred emigrants. Plymouth, Mass., and New London, Conn., sent 280. One of the towns founded by New England settlers was Chester, about forty miles west of Halifax, in 1759. Here Rev. John Seccombe, a Congregational minister from Harvard, Mass., labored for thirty-three years. Liverpool, seventy-five miles southwest of Halifax, was settled by families from Massachusetts, and a Congregational church was organized there in 1761. Another was soon after formed at Chebogue, now Yarmouth, and several others in the Annapolis Valley and along the Bay of Fundy. Some of these churches were composed of Separatists, or "New Lights," as they were called, from Connecticut, whose peculiar beliefs were to be traced back to the mischievous work of James Davenport, following the Great Awakening of 1740. Another man of the same type appeared among the Nova Scotia Congregationalists about the year 1780, a disorderly evangelist, Henry Alline, and left wreck and ruin in his path. He was a native of Newport, R. I.

New Brunswick in 1760 received a colony of emigrants from Rowley, Newburyport and other towns of Essex County, Mass. They named their settlement Maugerville, and organized a Congregational church in 1766. Two or three other churches were formed at different points early in the present century, and the First Congregational Church of St. John in 1844.

The one Congregational church in Newfoundland, that at St. Johns, dates back to about 1777, and was founded by a British soldier, John Jones, who was afterward ordained and served as pastor of the church till 1800.

Congregationalism had little place in Canada before 1833. Some Congregationalists from New Hampshire settled at Stanstead, across the "line" from Derby, Vt., about 1790, and a church was formed there in 1798. The London Missionary Society, which is maintained by English Congregationalists, sent a minister to Quebec, where he organized a church in 1801; but he suffered much from persecution by the government. Another representative of the same society organized a Congregational church in Montreal in 1832. It enjoyed for nearly half a century the ministry of Rev. Henry Wilkes and grew to strength and prosperity. There are now three Congregational churches in that city. Though the churches of the provinces have been hindered by isolation from one another and burdened by poverty, they have had and now have able and courageous leaders. There is a Congregational Union for Ontario and Quebec, and another for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Congregational College in Montreal, under the care of Principal Barbour, has trained a number of ministers for the home and

foreign field. The Canadian Missionary Society has done good service in bringing the churches together and aiding those that are feeble. The latest Canadian Year Book contains the statistics of 129 churches and 48 preaching stations, 97 ministers and 10,415 church members.

The following table presents the number of Congregational churches in each of the States and Territories of the Union, in 1863 and 1893 :

| | 1863 | | 1893 | |
|------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| | CHURCHES. | MEMBERS. | CHURCHES. | MEMBERS. |
| Alabama, | .. | .. | 88 | 4,271 |
| Arizona, | .. | .. | 4 | 204 |
| Arkansas, | .. | .. | 5 | 324 |
| California, | 16 | 838 | 184 | 15,137 |
| Colorado, | 1 | 24 | 58 | 4,507 |
| Connecticut, | 284 | 45,950 | 312 | 60,252 |
| District of Columbia, | .. | .. | 7 | 2,067 |
| Florida, | .. | .. | 55 | 1,754 |
| Georgia, | .. | .. | 77 | 4,111 |
| Idaho, | .. | .. | 8 | 216 |
| Illinois, | 211 | 13,537 | 311 | 40,238 |
| Indiana, | 26 | 804 | 53 | 3,415 |
| Indian Territory, . . | .. | .. | 5 | 112 |
| Iowa, | 148 | 5,515 | 304 | 28,515 |
| Kansas, | 32 | 773 | 186 | 12,523 |
| Kentucky, | .. | .. | 15 | 604 |
| Louisiana, | .. | .. | 40 | 1,501 |
| Maine, | 247 | 19,341 | 238 | 21,413 |
| Maryland, | .. | .. | 4 | 408 |
| Massachusetts, | 493 | 73,479 | 587 | 107,524 |
| Michigan, | 141 | 8,045 | 346 | 27,954 |
| Minnesota, | 53 | 1,657 | 204 | 16,448 |
| Mississippi, | .. | .. | 9 | 143 |
| Missouri, | 5 | 382 | 83 | 8,572 |
| Montana, | .. | .. | 10 | 479 |
| Nebraska, | 10 | 131 | 186 | 11,965 |
| Nevada, | .. | .. | 1 | 54 |
| New Hampshire, . . | 182 | 18,600 | 188 | 19,585 |

| | 1863 | | 1893 | |
|-----------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| | CHURCHES. | MEMBERS. | CHURCHES. | MEMBERS. |
| New Jersey, . . . | 6 | 981 | 32 | 5,350 |
| New Mexico, . . . | .. | .. | 4 | 215 |
| New York, . . . | 203 | 17,885 | 283 | 46,198 |
| North Carolina, . . . | .. | .. | 33 | 1,451 |
| North Dakota, . . . | .. | .. | 70 | 2,029 |
| Ohio, . . . | 161 | 12,262 | 249 | 35,838 |
| Oklahoma, . . . | .. | .. | 39 | 974 |
| Oregon, . . . | 10 | 229 | 51 | 2,977 |
| Pennsylvania, . . . | 22 | 745 | 109 | 10,196 |
| Rhode Island, . . . | 23 | 3,270 | 32 | 7,481 |
| South Carolina, . . . | .. | .. | 4 | 364 |
| South Dakota, . . . | .. | .. | 143 | 5,529 |
| Tennessee, . . . | .. | .. | 31 | 1,748 |
| Texas, . . . | .. | .. | 17 | 1,140 |
| Utah, . . . | .. | .. | 10 | 699 |
| Vermont, . . . | 195 | 17,380 | 201 | 20,771 |
| Virginia, . . . | .. | .. | 2 | 158 |
| Washington, . . . | .. | .. | 106 | 4,502 |
| West Virginia, . . . | .. | .. | 2 | 195 |
| Wisconsin, . . . | 163 | 8,829 | 236 | 18,975 |
| Wyoming, . . . | .. | .. | 14 | 555 |
| | 2,632 | 250,657 | 5,236 | 561,641 |

The following table shows the increase by decades during the present century :

| DATE. | CHURCHES. | MEMBERSHIP. |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------|
| 1800, | 850 | Unknown. |
| 1810, | 975 | .. |
| 1820, | 1,100 | .. |
| 1830, | 1,300 | .. |
| 1840, | 1,575 | 183,244 |
| 1850, | 1,988 | 205,872 |
| 1860, | 2,583 | 253,765 |
| 1863, | 2,652 | 260,284 |
| 1873, | 3,325 | 323,679 |
| 1883, | 4,010 | 396,209 |
| 1893, | 5,236 | 561,641 |



JULIAN M. STURTEVANT, D. D.

From the tables given above some interesting facts appear. The number of churches has nearly doubled, and the membership has considerably more than doubled during the last thirty years. The gain in churches and membership during these thirty years has been greater than during the two hundred and forty years previous to 1860. The gain in membership during the last ten years is considerably greater than during the preceding twenty years. Figures not included in this volume show even a more encouraging growth in the Sunday schools than in church membership. The enrollment for 1893 was over 700,000, and has considerably more than doubled within twenty-five years. A great impulse has been given to this department by the employment of missionaries since 1882 to plant and foster Sunday schools in the newer parts of the country. In 1893 there were 975 such schools not connected with churches, with a membership of 49,271.

A comparison between other statistics at hand shows also that fifty years ago more than four-fifths of the churches and members were in New England. In 1893 nearly five-sevenths of the churches and more than one-half of the members were outside of New England. Fifty years ago there was not a single Congregational church west of the Mississippi River. The number of churches in that section in 1893 was greater than in the six New England States.

Statistics show that the denomination has not only become national within the last thirty years, but that it is gaining most rapidly in sections where it has found a foothold within that period. In 1892, the latest figures at hand of additions to individual churches, the following showed the greatest net growth :

| PLACE. | NAME OF CHURCH. | ADDITIONS. |
|----------------------------|---------------------|------------|
| Seattle, Wash., | Plymouth, | 205 |
| Oakland, Cal., | First, | 193 |
| Chicago, Ill., | First, | 165 |
| Tacoma, Wash., | First, | 161 |
| Portland, Ore., | First, | 147 |
| San Francisco, Cal., . . | Plymouth, | 122 |
| Brooklyn, N. Y., | Central, | 117 |
| San Diego, Cal., | First, | 114 |
| Detroit, Mich., | Plymouth, | 114 |
| Springfield, Ill., | First, | 97 |
| San Francisco, Cal., . . | First, | 92 |

Congregationalists in the United States according to the census of 1890 stand eighth in the number of church members and sixth in the value of their church property. The statistics of ecclesiastical organizations are as follows :

| DENOMINATIONS. | CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS. | VALUE OF PROPERTY. | MEMBERS. |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| Roman Catholics, | 10,221 | \$118,381,516 | 6,250,045 |
| Methodists, | 51,489 | 132,140,179 | 4,589,287 |
| Baptists, | 40,727 | 75,003,258 | 3,593,766 |
| Presbyterians, | 13,490 | 94,876,233 | 1,278,815 |
| Lutherans, | 8,427 | 34,218,234 | 1,199,514 |
| Disciples of Christ, . . . | 8,670 | 13,980,270 | 744,773 |
| Protestant Episcopal, . . | 5,019 | 81,066,317 | 532,054 |
| Congregationalists, . . . | 4,868 | 43,335,437 | 512,771 |
| Reformed Church, | 2,181 | 18,744,242 | 309,458 |
| Brethren in Christ, . . . | 4,614 | 5,003,633 | 227,886 |
| Evangelical Association, . | 2,310 | 4,785,680 | 133,313 |
| Jews, | 533 | 9,754,275 | 130,496 |
| Friends, | 1,056 | 4,541,000 | 107,208 |
| Unitarians, | 421 | 10,335,100 | 67,749 |
| Universalists, | 956 | 8,054,333 | 49,194 |
| Spiritualists, | 334 | 573,650 | 45,030 |
| Christian Scientists, . . . | 221 | 40,666 | 8,724 |
| Salvation Army, | 329 | 37,350 | 8,662 |
| Swedenborgians, | 154 | 1,386,455 | 7,095 |
| Theosophists, | 40 | 600 | 695 |

The ten largest churches in 1893 were as follows :

| PLACE. | NAME. | MEMBERS. |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| Brooklyn, N. Y., | Tompkins Avenue, | 1895 |
| Brooklyn, N. Y., | Central, | 1867 |
| Brooklyn, N. Y., | Plymouth, | 1813 |
| Chicago, Ill., | Union Park, | 1275 |
| Oberlin, O., | First, | 1269 |
| Chicago, Ill., | First, | 1258 |
| Oakland, Cal. | First, | 1210 |
| New York, N. Y., | Tabernacle, | 1118 |
| Minneapolis, Minn., | Plymouth, | 1116 |
| Chicago, Ill., | Plymouth, | 1047 |

The following are the cities where the strength of Congregationalism is greatest, the number of churches and members being in 1894 :

| CITY. | NUMBER OF CHURCHES. | MEMBERS. |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|----------|
| Brooklyn, N. Y., | 20 | 12,179 |
| Chicago, Ill., | 57 | 11,883 |
| Boston, Mass., | 31 | 11,017 |
| New Haven, Conn., | 17 | 6,586 |
| Worcester, Mass., | 17 | 5,162 |
| Cleveland, O., | 18 | 4,696 |
| Hartford, Conn., | 11 | 4,189 |
| Minneapolis, Minn., | 18 | 4,049 |
| Providence, R. I., | 11 | 4,017 |
| Springfield, Mass., | 12 | 3,647 |
| St. Louis, Mo., | 20 | 3,228 |
| New York, N. Y., | 9 | 3,009 |
| Denver, Col., | 12 | 2,033 |

The name of Congregationalist has been disclaimed by Unitarians as a body, and is not claimed by Universalists, though both denominations hold the substance of the Congregational polity so far as it relates to the sufficiency of the local congregation. Baptists

and Free Baptists are Congregational in their government. There are, therefore, in the United States nearly fifty thousand churches with a membership of about four and a half millions who maintain the form of church government introduced into this country by the Pilgrims and Puritans, and continued by their descendants.

Congregationalists in other countries give no reliable statements of membership. The latest facts obtainable as to the number of churches and ministers abroad in 1892-93 are given below, which do not include churches in heathen lands maintained by foreign missionary societies :

| COUNTRIES. | CHURCHES AND STATIONS. | MINISTERS. |
|---|------------------------------|------------|
| Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, . | 177 | 97 |
| England and Wales, | 4,468 | 2,725 |
| Scotland, | 100 | 118 |
| Ireland, | 28 | 29 |
| Continental Europe, | 44 | .. |
| British America, | 173 | 88 |
| Australasia, | 306 | 150 |
| New Zealand, | 21 | 26 |
| South Africa, | 156 | 64 |
| Jamaica, | 38 | 10 |
| British Guiana, | 40 | 9 |
| China, | 2 | 2 |
| India, | 8 | .. |
| TOTALS, | 5,513 | 3,318 |

In the earlier history of our country ministers formed exclusively most of the organizations representing the churches, and were controlling in them all. During the present century laymen have taken increasing in-

terest and responsibility in the general business of the churches. Within the last twenty-five years an important social feature of Congregationalism has been the clubs which have sprung up in the chief cities throughout the whole country. The first Congregational club was formed in Boston in 1869, to encourage among the churches of the city and vicinity "a more friendly and intimate acquaintance, to secure concert of action and to promote the general interests of Congregationalism." Fifty similar clubs have since been organized, extending from Maine to southern California. In many of them women are admitted to membership on the same terms with men. These clubs discuss a wide range of topics of interest to the denomination, and are an important auxiliary to its growth and unity.

In the new movement to reach and help the multitudes of non-churchgoers Congregationalists are at the front. The majority of what are known as institutional churches are Congregational. Among the most prominent are Berkeley Temple, Boston, the Fourth Church, Hartford, Conn., the Tabernacle, Jersey City, N. J., and Plymouth Church, Milwaukee, Wis. Congregationalists are also prominently interested in the social settlements and rescue missions which are becoming an important feature of Christian work in many American cities.

From this survey of the history of Congregationalism for three hundred years we turn for a moment to the future. What are the prospects of growth and influence for this denomination in the United States? We have found it the most prominent factor in forming the character of our civil government in its beginning; efficient in promoting the self-government of the

colonies, and ultimately their federal union and independence; constant in advocacy of those principles which have prevailed of liberty for all men and their equality as citizens; steadfast in its adherence to the authority of the Holy Scriptures and to the evangelical doctrines revealed in them, while affording to every one freedom of conscience in interpreting the Scriptures; earnest in its missionary spirit, and prompt to adapt itself to the changing conditions and needs of the people. We have found that the most recent growth of Congregationalism has been the most rapid. Its churches, educational institutions, missionary enterprises and organized bodies of churches are established on a substantial, enduring basis. In its faith it is in harmony with the prevailing religious belief of the people. In its democratic polity it is in harmony with our principles of free government. Congregationalism has larger opportunities and more encouraging prospects than ever before in its history. May it fulfill worthily its mission to spread the gospel brought from Heaven by our Lord and Saviour Christ, and to maintain the liberty under beneficent laws which has been dearly bought and must always be vigilantly defended.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE NORTHWEST.

(By Rev. Joseph E. Roy, D. D.)

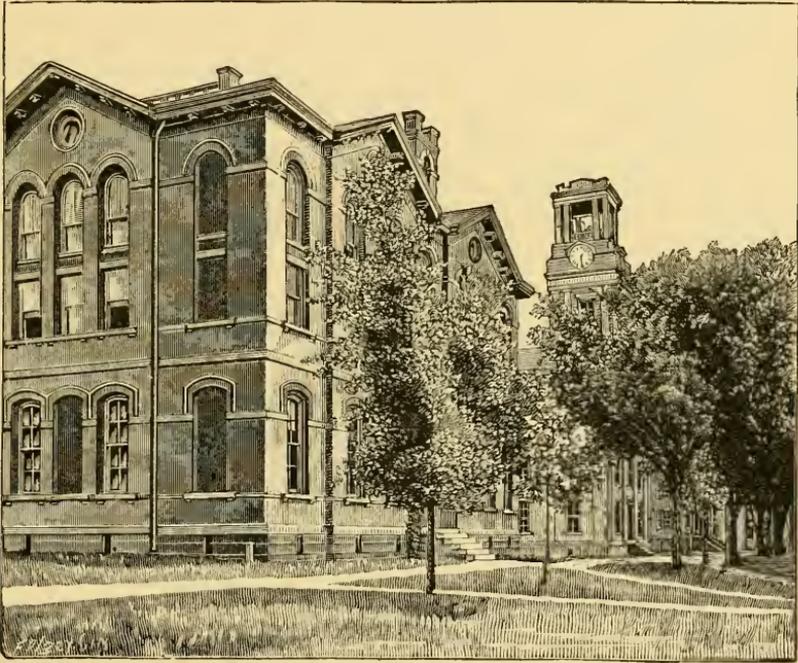
THE Northwest Territory, named by the ordinance of 1787, was that part of our new wild domain lying between the Ohio and the Mississippi and reaching to the Lakes. In due time it was carved into its five grand commonwealths. Subsequent acquisitions have pushed that Northwest on over the Rocky Mountains, introducing into our family of States a dozen others, leaving Alaska now as our only Northwestern Territory.

Congregationalism was the first Protestant religious system to break over into that original Northwest. Indeed it led over the first colony, having practically secured in the ordinance itself that provision whereby freedom and education were made the inheritance not only of our great interior, but of the belt across the continent. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D., a Congregational pastor in Massachusetts, was a director and the agent of the Ohio Company, which was composed of Revolutionary officers and soldiers who proposed to make a settlement over there, accepting a million and a half acres of land in payment for their military services. But they would not go unless freedom and the means of education were provided for the entire territory. Dr. Cutler, representing the company, spent

the winter of 1787 in New York during the session of Congress that passed the ordinance, and through Nathan Dane was largely instrumental in securing in it the provision for freedom and education. Thomas Jefferson was not a member of that Congress, being abroad on public duty; but he had previously proposed a prohibition of slavery within that territory *after* the year 1800. Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent as agents made the contract with the Board of the Treasury for the United States. Before the colony left in the spring of 1788 the directors had named their town Marietta after the Queen of France, and had taken measures to provide for teaching and for preaching in their settlement. Among the members of the corporation were several Congregational clergymen. One of these was Daniel Breck, who on visiting the colony as early as July of 1788 preached four or five Sundays and thus inaugurated public worship in the Northwest Territory. Other occasional supplies were soon followed by the pastorate of Daniel Story, a Dartmouth man, an uncle of the eminent jurist Joseph Story. Dr. Cutler had sent on the young pastor. He had written to General Putnam that he had requested the treasurer, Colonel Platt, to forward the sum that had been raised for the support of preachers and schoolmasters; and by the last of August he was on the ground himself preaching on the text: "For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles"; and saying, "We this day literally see the fulfillment of the prophecy of our text."

But, on account of the Indian wars, in which, at an expense of thirty thousand dollars, the colonists had built and held their forts against the combined forces

of twenty-one tribes of savages backed by British emissaries, the Congregational church was not organized until 1796. Of the thirty-two charter members all but one had been members of such churches in New England. As early as 1797 the Muskingum Academy



MARIETTA COLLEGE, MARIETTA, O.

was started, and David Putnam, a grandson of Major-General Israel Putnam, was the first teacher. Then in due time came on Marietta College to be a fountain of learning and of religion in all that region, as well as a gracious influence on the Virginia side of the Ohio.

Congregationalism at the birth of the century also passed over into this Promised Land along with the

Connecticut Land Company and the multitude of her people, among whom were many whose homes had been burned out during the Revolution and to whom the State had allotted lands in the Western Reserve, which embraced the ten counties and four fractional counties in the northeast corner of Ohio. This tract Connecticut had reserved in her cession to the Federal government of her belt across the continent as granted by her original charter. The portion sold to the company brought one million two hundred thousand dollars, which sum was put into a school fund for the children. The Congregational Missionary Society of Connecticut, organized in 1798, followed into this wilderness her children who had exiled themselves from their New England homes. It was just about this time, 1801, that the Presbyterian General Assembly and the General Association of Connecticut entered into the Plan of Union, described in Chapter XVII.—an arrangement which, though devised in the spirit of fellowship, became a process for building up Presbyterianism out of Congregational material. This new Connecticut went on receiving her people, her ideas, her church life, her ministers, from the old State, and the Missionary Society of the old State went on *mothering* them for a quarter of a century, until the new National Society taking them up, in 1826, in its first report set forth a whole synod of Presbyterian churches, eighty-seven of them, already gathered there and served by forty-two so-called Presbyterian ministers, almost all of whom had been Congregationalists and missionaries of the Connecticut Society—and all this under the Plan of Union! In 1835 Rev. Ansel R. Clark found one hundred and sixty of these ministers. The nativity of

one hundred and one was in New England ; of twenty-one in New York, where the same process had been going on ; and of fifteen unknown. More than half were from New England colleges. In 1845 Rev. Dr. G. E. Pierce found there in Presbytery ninety-eight Congregational churches, sixteen New School Presbyterian and *only nine Old School Presbyterian churches*. Besides these, he found twenty-two Congregational churches not in Presbytery, and twenty-four in the Western Reserve (Oberlin) Association, making in all one hundred and forty-four, against the nine Old School Presbyterians on the Reserve. These changes went on until in New York and the West as many as fifteen hundred Presbyterian churches had come of Congregational membership. At one time in the former New School Assembly, when those who were of New England origin were called upon to rise, two-thirds of the body came to their feet. Rev. A. T. Norton, in his "History of the Presbyterianism of Illinois," says: "After some investigation, though not pretending to positive accuracy of knowledge, it is my full belief that during the whole period of the existence of the Presbyterian Church in this country, at least one-half its members have been, and are, New Englanders and their descendants." Toward the end of the period of partnership in the American Home Missionary Society it came out that while two-thirds of the beneficiary churches were Presbyterian, two-thirds of the money was coming from Congregational sources: "Milk from the Congregational cows churned into Presbyterian butter."

This resultant of the Plan of Union was not arrested until a Congregational convention, held at

Michigan City, Ind., in 1846, protested against this denominational abnegation, and the Albany Convention in 1852 repudiated the entangling alliance. It is something of a compensation to this numerical loss that the Puritan principles have been so much the more propagated. In this way a stream of New England theology has been poured across the West. The New School ministers and churches excised from the old General Assembly were simply a body of New Englandized Presbyterianism. Thus the science of theology had been made so much the gainer. It is also due to the scope of history to put on record the fact that, as the anti-slavery sentiment was under process of development, the Congregational system, by its advanced ideas on this subject, by its freedom from organic connection with slavery and from the repressive ecclesiastical machinery of Presbyterianism, had the advantage and by it gained largely, especially in the West, not only by the turning back of Plan of Union churches, but in the organizing of new churches,—enough nearly to counterbalance the loss by the old-time co-operation. In the midst of that conflict the Congregationalists of the Western Reserve at one time sent Joshua R. Giddings, then a Member of Congress, as a member of the Presbyterian General Assembly at Philadelphia, to represent their interests and feelings as anti-slavery men; but in spite of his most herculean efforts that body refused even to pronounce slavery a wrong.

It is in place to mark another stream of influence from that missionary society of Connecticut. Out of that divine ferment in Williams College, which gave life to the American Board, came also a fresh impulse to the work of Christianizing our own country. In

1812 Samuel J. Mills, the associate of Hudson, Hall, Newell and Nott, was sent by that society, along with John F. Schermerhorn, to make a tour of exploration through the Western States and down to New Orleans. On horseback they went forth, crossing Pennsylvania, skirting Ohio and Virginia, teaching and preaching at Marietta, Cincinnati, Lawrenceburg, Frankfort, Lexington, Shawneetown and Nashville ; Thence for thirty days down the Cumberland and Mississippi to Natchez, as the guests of General Andrew Jackson, who, with fifteen hundred soldiers, was also going down to New Orleans on a mission ! After a stay of a month at Natchez, where they organized the First Presbyterian Church, they went on to New Orleans, where, after preaching a while, they organized the First Presbyterian, as it was the first Protestant, Church of that city. After Mills the same society sent Elias Cornelius, subsequently a secretary of the American Board, to preach for a while to the New Orleans church ; and after him it sent from Andover the eloquent Sylvester Larned to become its pastor, whose popularity is to this day commemorated by a stone tablet at the entrance way of that fine church on Lexington Park—and all this under the pay of that old Connecticut Society. The veteran pastor of that church, the most eloquent Presbyterian preacher in the South, B. M. Palmer, D. D., in a commemorative discourse not long ago, gratefully acknowledged the founding and the early supplemental support of his church by Congregational enterprise and generosity.

In 1814 the same society sent Mills and Daniel Smith on another tour. This time they made their

way to St. Louis, which they found to be a village of two thousand, three-fourths of whom were Catholics. They preached the first Protestant sermons on that side of the Father of Waters, and prepared the way for the coming to St. Louis from Andover in 1816 of Rev. Salmon Giddings, a cousin of Joshua R. Giddings. It was not until after he had spent a year and a half of hard labor that he was able to gather the First Presbyterian Church of that city, of nine members, five of whom were from the Massachusetts and Congregational family of Stephen Hempstead, who was made an elder, though he lived five miles out of town. To the day of his death, in 1828, Giddings remained in that church under the commission and the pay of the society which had sent him out. That mother of churches—claiming as her daughters the Second, of which Dr. E. F. Hatfield was pastor; the Third, which, under Dr. T. M. Post, became the First Congregational—has herself had an illustrious pastoral succession: Mr. Giddings and Drs. W. S. Potts, William Wisner, Artemas Bullard, Henry A. Nelson and C. A. Dickey. But more than this, during those years of missionary commission this original St. Louis pastor was serving as an apostolic evangelist on both sides of the Mississippi until he had gathered seventeen Presbyterian churches, organizing nine of them as the Missouri Presbytery and eight as the Illinois Presbytery. And still more: all this time to Mr. Giddings, as the bishop, missionaries were sent from the East for direction as to location in these Presbyterian churches,—twelve of them Congregationalists, nine of whom were under commission of the Connecticut Society.

This same generosity was manifested in the young

State of Indiana as well as of Illinois. "A Brief History of the Presbyterian Church in Indiana," by Rev. John M. Dickey, as quoted by James H. Johnston in his "Ministry of Forty Years in Indiana," says of the societies which had operated there: "Of these the Connecticut seems to have the first claim to our gratitude. Her missionaries have been found among the first heralds of the Cross in these Western wilds; and for whole years together they have prosecuted their arduous labors amid perils and privations innumerable." I count up eight or ten of these Connecticut missionaries who had been sent on under commission to serve these Presbyterian churches of Indiana before the American Home Missionary Society assumed this work. It was a dozen Congregational ministers who were sent by the Connecticut Society to build up Presbyterian churches in Illinois at such places as Alton, Carrolton, Vandalia, Springfield and others of like grade. There is a fascination in this unselfish prodigality with which New England was thus pouring her life into the West, and all the time into a rival ecclesiastical system. The denomination, which, like the two and a half tribes, went over the Jordan to establish a sister denomination in the possession of this Canaan of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, at last returned to its tents and to its own work. Though upon its return when it began to build its own altar over against the land of Canaan there was something of a flurry, as though it were a "trespass," yet, upon explanation and mutual expression of loyalty to the one religion, the altar became a witness between them, so that neither could say to the other, "Ye have no part in the Lord."

Now, up to date, this original Northwestern Territory numbers her Congregational Israel as follows :

| STATES. | CHURCHES. | MINISTERS. | MEMBERS. | S. S. MEMBERS. | BENEVOLENCES. |
|----------------|-----------|------------|----------|----------------|---------------|
| Ohio, . . . | 249 | 234 | 35,838 | 35,779 | \$61,593 |
| Indiana, . . | 53 | 31 | 3,415 | 5,471 | 4,783 |
| Illinois, . . | 311 | 367 | 40,238 | 51,538 | 303,150 |
| Michigan, . . | 346 | 290 | 27,954 | 36,941 | 78,813 |
| Wisconsin, . . | 236 | 240 | 18,975 | 20,853 | 59,286 |

To-day in these five States there are more than 22,000 Protestant churches, more than 2,000,000 church members, while not far from 17,000 clergymen minister to these congregations.

The American Home Missionary Society, organized in 1826, took up the western work of the Connecticut Society and of the United Domestic Missionary Society of New York, and ever since has been the great propagandist of this church system, drawing the New England zone across the continent. For the first thirty-five years it was the common organ of this denomination and of the New School Presbyterian. During its entire period of action up to 1893 it has raised and expended \$15,384,895, the bulk of which has been used in the western field; and of the total, since the withdrawal of the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists alone have raised through that society \$11,371,697, and counting half of the previous sum, \$13,378,286. The Congregational Church Building Society has aided 2444 churches in securing 2444 houses of worship and 432 parsonages. During the period of anti-slavery agitation the American Missionary Association was aiding as many as 70

churches in this interior. The Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society has been a benediction to the children of the West; and in these late years, since 1883, its missionary department has been the means of developing more than 450 of its schools into churches. The New West Education Commission, now consolidated with the American Education Society, has planted schools and academies in Utah and New Mexico that have become permanent factors in the educational problem of that deep interior, and in due time will supply the college for each State.

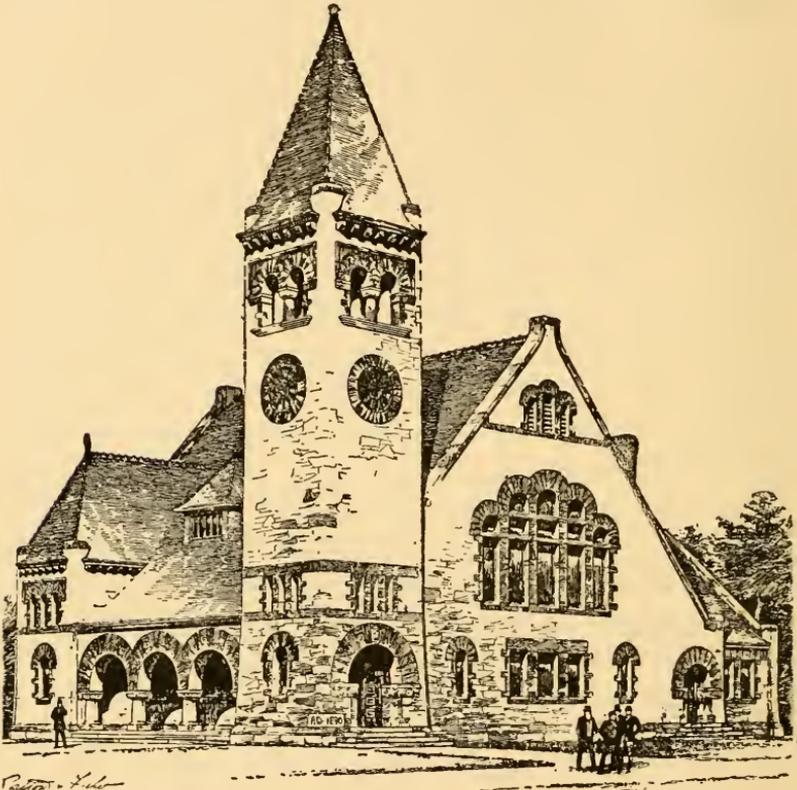
Its influence in behalf of education is a part of the history of this church life in the Northwest. It is difficult to apprehend fully the benefit that has inured to our country from the provision made in the ordinance of 1787, whereby, in all the region reaching to the Mississippi and, later, to the Pacific coast, every sixteenth section of every township was dedicated to free schools; and this, as has been shown, was secured by that Yankee Congregational colony of Revolutionary soldiers. Then the Christian college was an essential part of that ideal. The first home missionary to the new Connecticut (1801) in a four-horse wagon, emigrating with his wife and six children, brings along the college idea. In 1803 he and a dozen laymen, among them David Hudson, who gave the name to his town, are incorporated as a board of trustees, with the purpose of "establishing an institution adequate to the preparation of young men for the ministry." The school is a long time in getting under way, until in 1822 a half dozen more missionaries coming on, new life is given it and a theological department is added, with Rev. C. B. Storrs as president and pro-

fessor of theology, and with other such men in the faculty as Professor Elias Loomis, Hon. Elizur Wright, Dr. Delamater, and Drs. L. P. Hickok, E. P. Barrows, Clement Long, H. N. Day, S. C. Bartlett, H. P. Hitchcock, P. A. Chadbourne, N. S. Burton and Carroll Cutler, a galaxy in the scientific and theological world. In 1829 Illinois College follows under the same inspiration. Since 1816 Salmon Giddings has been at St. Louis under the Connecticut Society. He brings on from Andover John M. Ellis and locates him at Kaskaskia. Ellis, at his ordination in the Old South Church, Boston, had received from Elias Cornelius the charge: "Build up an institution of learning which shall bless the West for all time." They locate their institution at Jacksonville, and Ellis in the *Home Missionary* reports a revival and calls for help in behalf of the college. This report comes before a mission band in Yale divinity school. The two streams coalesce, and soon the dozen men of the "Illinois Band" are on the ground to build up the college and its cordon of supporting churches, and to give character to the commonwealth. Out of the movement came also Monticello Seminary with its three thousand educated young ladies, and the Jacksonville Female College, a fountain of life, and also the College Society itself, born out of the brain of Baldwin, one of the Yale Band. The names of these men in Illinois are household words—J. M. Sturtevant, Theron Baldwin, Mason Grosvenor, William Kirby, John F. Crooks, Elisha Jenney, Asa Turner, William Carter, Albert Hale, Romulus Barnes, Lucian Farnham and Flavel Bascom. Next, in 1832, comes Wabash College, Indiana, in which John M. Ellis

is again in the lead. He and four other home missionaries, after three days of consultation and prayer, go out to the spot selected in the midst of the primeval forest and there, kneeling in the snow, join in dedicating the ground to God for a Christian College. In the same year Lane Seminary takes up its mission. In 1833 Oberlin makes the start upon her majestic educational career, and by and by her daughter Olivet in Michigan. In 1835 Marietta College takes on the college name and charter. In 1836 Knox College, Illinois, another importation of colony life, comes along with an initial endowment provided for in the sale of lands, and later, in the same State, Wheaton College. In 1847 Beloit College, Wisconsin, comes upon the stage, and then her younger sister, Ripon. These institutions were nearly all started upon the co-operative plan ; but now Western Reserve and Lane and Wabash are apt to be recognized as Presbyterian and the others as Congregational, except that Knox, by subsequent compact, is to be held on a balance between the two denominations. In addition, within the old Northwest, the Presbyterians have their Alma College, their Blackburn University and their McCormick Theological Seminary, and the Congregationalists their Chicago Theological Seminary.

Have these institutions repaid the cost of their missionary planting? Many times over. They have themselves become missionary evangelists, both as to conversions among their students and as to evangelistic service in the regions round about them. They have been aboundingly successful in raising up cultivated and consecrated ministers, both for the home field and the foreign. They have also provided edu-

cated Christian men and women for the other professions and vocations as a vast evangelizing power. They have trained leaders for the social and civil



*Pastor - Fisher
Beloit*

CHAPEL, BELOIT COLLEGE, BELOIT, WIS.

life. It is safe to say that by these and other similar institutions the cast of character for intelligence and morality and religion and civil probity has been largely effected in these great interior commonwealths and also in those of the regions beyond. Subtract their influence from the moral forces of these parts of our country, and who would care to contemplate the result?

There is a contagion in learning. Education takes the supremacy in communities and in States. Simply marvelous is the influence of this educating process, not only in the region round about these moral and intellectual centers, but throughout the land. The practical work done by these schools for our country in the way of Christian patriotism I bring as a final illustration. When the slaveholders' rebellion broke out these colleges were almost literally emptied of their soldier material. Wabash counted two hundred and seventy-five of her sons in the army; of whom three were major-generals, three brigadiers, nine colonels, six lieutenant-colonels, three majors, eleven surgeons, five chaplains, fifty captains and forty lieutenants. Oberlin counted seven hundred, of whom one hundred fell in the service; Marietta had one hundred and four, who furnished twenty-eight line officers and represented every one of their then twenty graduated classes; Beloit, sixty-nine, with twenty-four line officers; young Iowa, sixty-five; while each of the several others had its similar roll of honor. It is also an indicative fact as to the influence of this church system that the Congregational churches in these States and in those beyond the great river, as learned by circular at the time, sent into the army of the Union *one in four of their entire male membership, including old men, invalids and boys.*

The securing of the trans-Mississippi regions of the Northwest to the area of our country was by a marked providential overruling of the plans of the nation. Our territory had been bounded on the west by that river. We wanted no more, except that we had been trying for years to secure from the court of Spain the

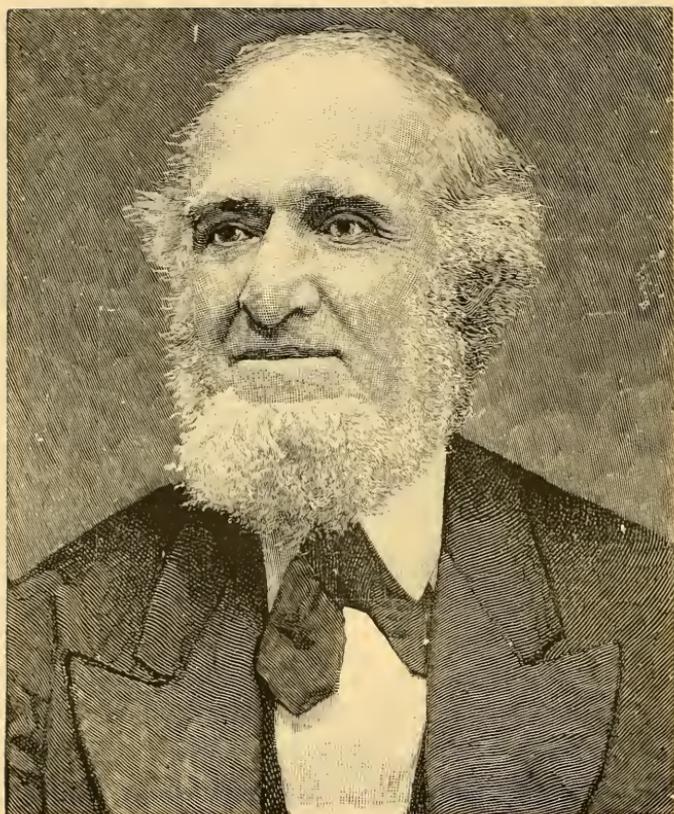
control of the mouth of the river, so that its commerce might have free access to the ocean. In 1797 we instructed our minister there, Mr. Carmichael, to urge the following considerations: (1) a guarantee of the Spanish possession beyond the river; (2) that it would be safer for Spain that the United States should be her neighbor than England; (3) that conquest was not one of our principles, but was inconsistent with our idea of government; (4) that it was not our intention to cross the Mississippi for ages—would never be for our interest to remain connected with any one who might cross it. Yet this urgency availed not. Soon Spain cedes this region to France. Napoleon is threatened with another war. He wants money. He fears England may deprive him of this newly acquired colonial empire. For fifteen million dollars he offers our minister, not New Orleans only, but the whole territory. Monroe and Livingston have no authority in such a case; they have no steamers, no cable, by which to consult with authorities at home. "The whole or none," says Napoleon. They take the responsibility. And so that Louisiana Purchase, which is to form on the west side of the Mississippi a line of commonwealths in double and triple tier from the Gulf to the British line, is forced upon us by Divine Providence. God seems to have purposed to intrust those yet unborn States to the English-speaking Protestant nation rather than to leave them to the tutelage of a foreign tongue and of the Romish system. As to what it might have been otherwise we are not left to conjecture. The early American settlers in St. Louis were not allowed to have a Protestant house of worship. In the "Natchez Country," the lower part of

the territory, it had been a crime at law to meet for a public Protestant worship, and persons were arrested for doing so. During the British possession of West Florida, 1763-69, a Congregational colony from New Jersey, under the lead of Captain Amos Ogden and Rev. Samuel Swayze and his brother Richard, settled upon a grant of twenty-five thousand acres from George III., sixteen miles back from Fort Rosalie, where is now the city of Natchez. Theirs was the first Protestant church and Mr. Swayze the first minister of that faith to settle in all that southwestern region. But as soon as Spain resumed the sovereignty Romanism was declared to be the only allowable religion in it. Persecution at once set in against the pastor and his flock. Protestant Bibles and other books were seized and consigned to the flames. Father Swayze, in order to secure his Bible and himself from this inquisitorial grasp, retired to a cane-brake on the margin of a small stream—still marked on the maps as “Sammy’s Run”—and there fixed him a seat in the hollow of a large sycamore tree where he often sat to read the Bible and where he kept it concealed from his persecutors. That church disappeared, but its descendants, of positive character, yet abide in the Methodist and Baptist churches of that region.

The old pastor and his wife were buried on the bank of the Mississippi, near Fort Rosalie; but this graveyard long since caved into the river, so that the dust of the Puritan divine and his wife was literally “carried down by the flood and lost in following years.” But his spirit has not been lost in the flood of years to that Louisiana Territory; nor does that system

of Papal hierarchy dominate over there. I have shown how that spirit reappeared at St. Louis in the visit of Samuel J. Mills and in the pastorate and apostolic evangelism of Salmon Giddings, who, upon arrival there after his horseback journey of twelve hundred miles, took up a city paper and read a "Caution" against a man who had been commissioned to visit them from New England as a political maneuver of the Hartford Convention! It is still further a gratifying consideration that, notwithstanding the diversion already noted of the Congregational influence into another channel, since the overthrow of the system of slavery, as despotic as Romanism, the Congregational churches in that city have increased in number to 20, with 3200 members, with 4500 Sunday-school scholars, while the total of benevolent offerings for one year in three of its churches amounted to \$19,969. In the State there is a general association, with five local associations, and 85 churches, with a membership of 8572; and with its Kidder Institute and Drury College, which, with Dr. Pearson's \$25,000, in these "troublous times," has just completed an endowment of \$100,000, with a generous additional sum pledged toward another \$100,000 on the same terms.

The next Congregational drive into that Louisiana portion of the Northwest was into Iowa. Previous to the coming of the Iowa Band in November, 1843, there was already in that territory a sacred seven of young Congregational ministers—Julius A. Reed, Reuben Gaylord, Charles Burnham, Allen B. Hitchcock, Oliver Emerson, John C. Holbrook and Asa Turner, all of whom proved themselves men of dis-



REV. ASA TURNER.

tinguished success as builders of churches and of the State. The only survivor, Dr. Holbrook, whose first distinction came to him as publisher of the "Comprehensive Commentary," at Brattleboro, Vt., is still bringing forth fruit in old age, having served for fifty-two years the First Church of Dubuque, the New England of Chicago, the Home Missionary Society of New York and the church of Stockton, Cal. The last named of the seven, Asa Turner, having been one of the Illinois Band, and having had his first pastorate at Quincy on the east bank of the river, was just the man to take in the possibilities of the young Iowa, and to be the first man to strike over there and to gather its first Congregational church, the one at Denmark, in 1838. And to whom in the fall of 1843 should the Iowa Band come but to Asa Turner at Denmark for ordination by council in his cabin church, and for counsel and direction as to the locating of their respective fields of labor? They were twelve young men in Andover Seminary who had been drawn together by spirit and covenant to enter the Black Hawk Purchase within the Louisiana Purchase as frontier missionaries. Their names were Daniel Lane, Harvey Adams, Erastus Ripley, Horace Hutchinson, Alden B. Robbins, William Salter, Edwin B. Turner, Benjamin A. Spaulding, William Hammond, James J. Hill, Ebenezer Alden, Jr., and Ephraim Adams. Ripley, Hill and Hammond were detained from coming with the first installment. The ordination was by the laying on of the hands of no ruling bishop, and the designation of their appointment was by no diocesan authority, but by the consentient action of themselves and the original fellow pioneers already named. Two

other men already on the ground, W. A. Thompson and Dr. Granger, were added to the ordination group. Off they go to their allotted charges. They fall to work, each, in the training of experience, rallying the sympathetic elements of his community, and taking hold of the organizing of society in its varied relations. Two of them, Drs. Robbins and Salter, still retain their original charges at Muscatine and Burlington, except that the former is now pastor *emeritus* and the latter gave a year or two to Maquoketa before taking the place of his life work. All have made good ministers of the word, faithful pastors. More than half of them have passed the semi-centennial of their ordination. The seven and the dozen, coalescing and co-operating, at once gave prestige to their movements all along the front. It is not too much to say that their combined influence has given character not only to their denomination in the State, but to the State itself. Losing their lives, they found them. The first men are the historic men. They themselves have been built into the commonwealth that lies between the two great rivers.

When the band brought out their new idea of a college, they found that the pioneers had also been planning for it, with their Denmark Academy already chartered. It was opened in the historic church in the fall of 1845, and now for twenty-five years has had a beautiful seventeen thousand dollar edifice for its home, having had for its first principal the apostolic Micronesian missionary, Rev. A. A. Sturges, the next our Arnold of Rugby, Professor H. K. Edson, who served it a quarter of a century before taking a professor's chair in Iowa College. This

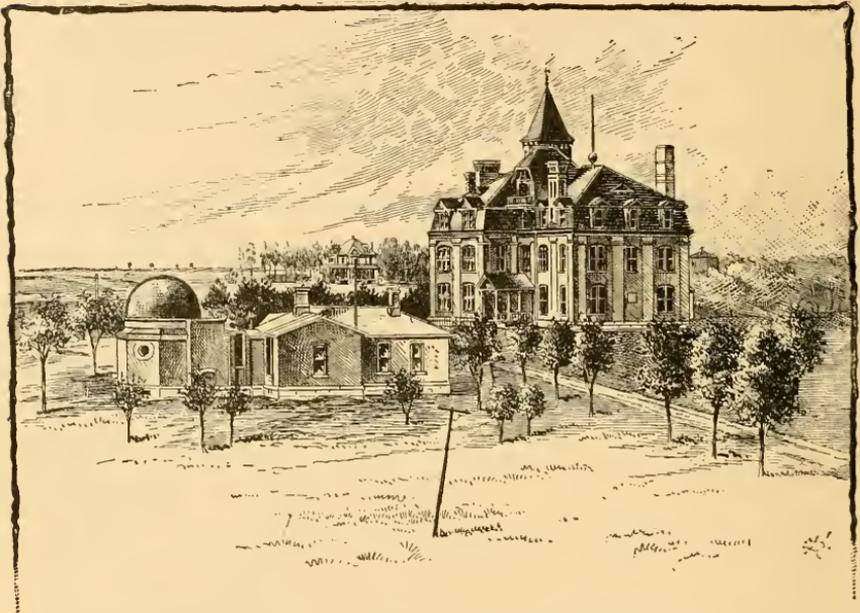
was opened at Davenport in the fall of 1848, with Ripley of the band in charge. In 1860 it was removed to Grinnell, where, in buildings that have risen up in the path of the cyclone, in the numbers of students, in their mental and moral equipments, in endowments partially secured and in extended and high-toned influence, it has come far along in the attainment of the New England ideal of a Christian college. The Hull Academy is striving to come into the attainment applied in the old academic name.

Congregationalism in Minnesota has been a growth out of a congenial soil. Its churches, represented in a general association and in eight local conferences, number 204, with 16,448 members. Its Carleton College, like all the others a child of home missions, looks back to the day of its poverty as the day of its glory, when, calling to itself a president—James W. Strong, D. D.—the giving for it, in General Association, rolled up in one day over \$16,000, until every home missionary was down for a sum that went beyond the point of feeling it. Up there the thrilling scene abides in thought as a sacred memento. That first strain probably cost more of sacrifice than the later raising, mostly in the State, of a \$200,000 endowment.

Kansas is a State with a history, and one of the earliest records of that history was the fact that the first home missionary to take a hand in its evolution out of troublous times—Rev. S. Y. Lum, locating at Lawrence—was a Congregationalist. That incident has been characteristic of the Congregational development along by the side of the progress of the State.

Its Washburn College bears the Puritan likeness and seeks to honor it. Its Stockton Academy does the same.

Nebraska, the twin sister of Kansas, was born out of great tribulation ; like her, has been making a church



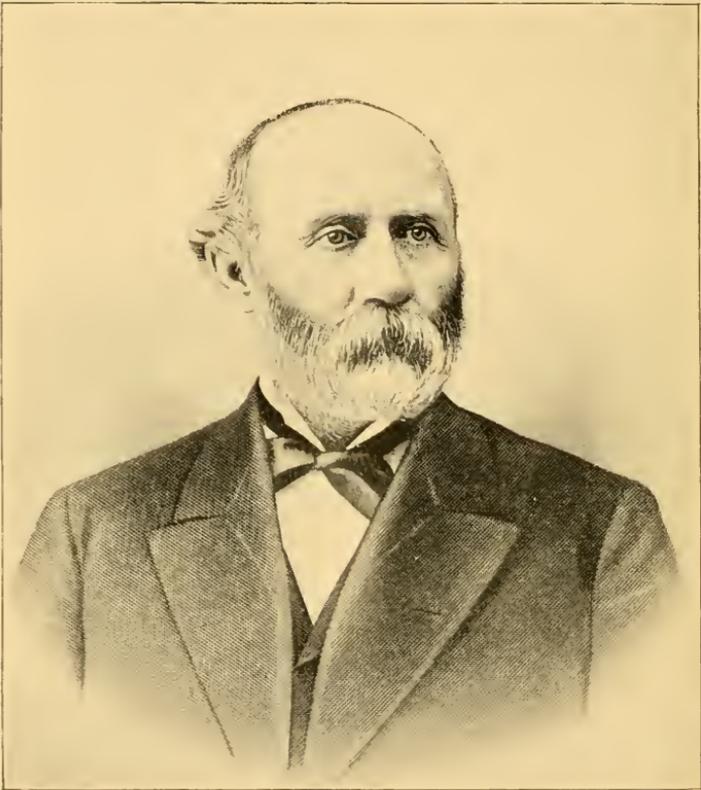
MERRILL HALL AND BOSWELL OBSERVATORY, DOANE COLLEGE, CRETE, NEB.

and college history justly to be proud of. The two Dakotas, by their advanced railway system having had a section of civilization dumped every eight miles along the railway lines, have kept up in church institutions with that process of transportation. Yankton College solves the riddle : Out of the eater comes forth meat ; out of drought and financial distress, with Dr. Pearson's aid, comes forth a hundred thousand dollar endowment. And Colorado, the Centennial State, makes

its Puritan exhibit worthy of that national title. Wyoming is just now working up the scheme for its college at Big Horn. Utah and New Mexico, each out of the chrysalis of its New West Academy, is preparing to take to itself the wings of a college. Montana, holding the head waters of the Missouri, and so being still on the eastern slope, with its coterie of nine Congregational churches, will not fail to bring on its Puritan college and so fill out the Congregational area of the Louisiana Purchase. In 1903 will come the centennial of that purchase. Here will be a fine opportunity for St. Louis, the central and the historic city in that majestic empire, to lead in the celebration of that event so fraught with the destiny of our country, even as Marietta, in 1888, celebrated its centennial era.

But did that Purchase also sweep over the Rocky Mountain crest and take in the region now indicated as Oregon, Washington and Idaho? So it has been claimed and so some maps have represented. As President Salisbury has collated the evidence, France never claimed anything beyond the Rockies. The royal charter of Louis XIV. to Anthony Crozzat, 1712, limited Louisiana to the valley of the Mississippi. When in 1800 Napoleon retroceded it to Spain it was to be "with the same extent it now has in the hands of Spain and that it had when France possessed it." Marbois, Napoleon's minister of the treasury, who as such was the negotiator of the sale, in his "History of Louisiana," 1829, says, "The shores of the western ocean were certainly not included in the cession"; and again, "The first article of the treaty meant to convey nothing beyond the sources of the Missouri." President

Thomas Jefferson and Secretary John Quincy Adams held this view. The latter made our title to Oregon to rest, (1) on the discovery of the Columbia, (2) the exploration of Lewis and Clark, 1805, (3) the settlement at Astoria, 1811. But the Hudson Bay Company sought to jump that claim in its interest for trapping and in that of the British government for the sovereignty of the soil. Here again was a divine interposition. The pioneer Indian missionary Marcus Whitman, M. D., learning of this intent, in the fall and winter of 1842-43, on horseback, with a solitary companion, braved the terrors of a journey across the mountains and the continent to acquaint our government of that purpose and to induce it to save its own rightful possession. The result was accomplished, the doctor proving that settlements could there be made by actually taking over the mountains a large colony in wagons. Then came another providential overruling. By the massacre of Dr. Whitman and wife and thirteen or more associates, the Indian mission was broken up, and its surviving band of foreign missionaries were turned loose as home missionaries to the incoming settlements of western Oregon, before they had been overtaken by the Home Missionary Society. In this way Walker and Eells and Spalding and Gray and Parker and their colonial followers were the very men who, by their necessities, took the lead in setting up a provisional territorial government, impressing their *personnel* upon all the early history of the region now named as these three Northwestern States. Gray became the historian; Walker, a minister at large, and his sons Indian teachers and agents; and Eells, a general missionary, a teacher at the Tualatin Academy



GEORGE H. ATKINSON, D. D.

and the founder at Walla Walla, near the site of the massacre, of the Whitman Seminary and Whitman College, putting into its endowment not less than twelve thousand dollars, besides years and years of labor without salary. The most of the churches in eastern Washington, now ministered unto by the noted Yale Band, were the fruit of his planting. One of Eells' sons, the Hon. Edwin Eells, has been for a score and five years in Washington the model Indian agent; and another, Dr. Myron Eells, the missionary pastor under the American Missionary Association on the Puget Sound among the Skokomish and other Indians, has two churches, taking in also the citizen white people. Walker and Eells, in 1838, had been designated by the American Board to the Zulus of South Africa; but by this Indian exigency of the foreign field in Oregon they were sent over the Rockies; and there by another exigency they were diverted to the home department—all these changes in Providence turning out to be the highest wisdom.

George H. Atkinson from Andover had also been appointed to the Zulu mission, but by the same exigency in Oregon was transferred to that field under the Home Missionary Society, going on a whaling vessel by way of the Sandwich Islands, and arriving in 1848, just in the midst of the excitements and perils incident upon the breaking up of the Indian missions. He had his pastorates at Oregon City and Portland. He was as a father to the Pacific University that grew up by the side of the Tualatin Academy, which itself had grown out of the school at Forest Grove for the orphans of the martyred missionaries. The later

years of his life he had served as home missionary superintendent for Oregon and Washington, and by the time of his departure, after forty-one years on that coast, he was permitted to see these institutions established, to count up one hundred and forty-five Congregational churches, and to have witnessed the growth of those grand States up from their wilderness condition, himself built into their religious, educational and civil life.

California came into the Union as the result of the war with Mexico. As a providential interposition the discovery of gold was kept back until after the transfer of jurisdiction, so that the sudden influx of population might facilitate the Protestant assimilation of the people of the State. It has been a marvelous transformation by which the Romanized domain has come to be a preponderatingly Protestant member of our American Union—the Congregational system having done its share in the evolution of the Christian State, as indicated by its one hundred and eighty-eight churches, its academy and its theological seminary, and by its aid in molding public sentiment in behalf of all the elements that go to make up an enlightened commonwealth. The patriarch of all this development in that State of the Golden Gate is the Rev. James H. Warren, D. D., who has given to it the entire forty-four years of his ministry, having served as pastor, as editor and as general superintendent under the Congregational Home Missionary Society, and who is now engaged in writing up that striking history.

Thus has been made good that "Great Patent" of King James, 1620, which read: "In length by all the

breadth aforesaid, throughout the main land from sea to sea." But a sovereign, even the King of Kings, had issued to the Puritan settlers His *great patent* as recorded in His Providence to possess not only that narrow strip across the land, but all the parts adjacent thereto.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE STORY OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE.

(By Rev. Francis E. Clark, D. D.)

THE history of no denomination would be complete unless at least one chapter were devoted to its work for the young people. Yet how can the efforts of three centuries in this all-important field of Christian nurture be condensed into five thousand words? It is a trite saying that this is "the young people's century," and doubtless it is true that in the religious world far more has been done of late for them and by them than ever before. The last quarter of a century will doubtless be recognized as the era of their especial activity in church life.

Yet it must not be supposed that the church has been indifferent to her children during all these years, or has cared little for their spiritual welfare. To be sure, she sometimes seems to have acted the part of the traditional stepmother rather than of the loving parent. She has sometimes repressed and sought to subdue them rather than to encourage and set them at work. She has made too much of the old adage that "Children should be seen and not heard," and yet there has never been a year in the history of Congregationalism, probably not a year in the history of the Christian Church, in which there have not been some efforts made to follow out the command of Him who said, "Feed my lambs."

We know how much was made by our Puritan ancestors of parental care and training for God, of catechetical instruction, of attendance upon the services of the sanctuary. Undoubtedly the tithing man figured more prominently than the Sunday-school concert in those days; there was more of "go" than of "come"; nevertheless all these efforts show the place that Christian training had in the hearts of our ancestors, and the faults of this training were rather the stern faults of the age than any idiosyncrasy of Congregationalism.

The great distinction between the former methods of training and the more modern methods is that in the olden days everything was done *for* the children and youth. In these days it is not much of an exaggeration to say that everything is done *by* them. In former times the little pitchers were set conveniently under the droppings of the sanctuary, where they could be filled from time to time with the water of life. To-day, perhaps, no less effort is made to fill the little pitchers than formerly, but much more is expected of them. They are to give of their stores to those who have not like privileges. They are taught to work and pray and sing for Jesus, and are given to understand in every way that the great commission, "Go ye into all the world," is for them as well as for their fathers and mothers.

Yet it must not be supposed that even in ancient days young Christians themselves were altogether idle. To be sure, they were not greatly encouraged to work. The church concerned itself very little with providing channels for their activities and often frowned upon their callow attempts at service, but even amid

all these discouraging surroundings their life did express itself.

The spiritual life cannot be altogether repressed. Energy must find vent in action. It is a curious fact in the early history of Congregationalism that, as far back as the middle of the eighteenth century, there were many young people's associations which seem in their scope and purpose to be marvelously like the societies of Christian Endeavor of modern days.

These associations appear to have sprung up in consequence of the great revival of religion which followed the preaching of Jonathan Edwards, and in many a Congregational church the young people, chiefly the young men, seem to have banded themselves together for a weekly prayer meeting, for mutual oversight and counsel and reproof and for the performance of any service which might be demanded of them. The pledge, the consecration meeting and the lookout committee of the modern young people's society seem to have been foreshadowed in these early associations, though it was a number of years after the establishment of Christian Endeavor societies that the coincidence was first noticed.

One of these associations which existed at Lexington, Mass., about the year 1757, declares in its preamble as follows :

“We whose Names are underwritten, having by the grace of God been awakened in our youth to a serious Concern about the things of our everlasting Peace and to an earnest desire suitably and religiously to remember our Creator in the days of our

Youth and to give ourselves unto the service of God through our Lord Jesus Christ, do covenant and agree together and with an Humble dependence upon Divine grace do solemnly promise that we will not allow ourselves in the Practice of any known sin or in the Omission of any known Duty, and for an assistance in the service of God and in the great Design of early Religion, and for the preventing and escaping the Snayres and Temptations which Young People do frequently fall into in evil Company, we do associate ourselves for the religious Observance of the Following Orders, namely :

“1st. The Prayer meeting.

“2d. Conditions and methods of membership.

“3d. Watch care and fellowship.

“4th. Lookout and reproof.

“5th. Apostasy and expulsion.”

In the somewhat stilted phrase of the olden time we can here discern the true spirit of the young disciple. The earnest seriousness of purpose, the devotion and zeal which have been touched by the spirit of Christ, were the same then as now. If I am not mistaken, the first constitution, which the other associations seem to have copied (a kind of model constitution), was drawn up by Jonathan Edwards himself, so that modern forms of young people's work have the support of eminent theological authority as well as of antiquity. But apparently these associations were short-lived and had little effect upon the life of the churches, though very largely helpful doubtless to the individuals who composed them.

The churches were not ready for innovations. The

spirit of the times feared the ascendancy of young people, and, apparently, for lack of sympathy and affectionate interest, these early associations were allowed to die and have scarcely left a name behind them. It is sometimes said by theoretical objectors that young people's societies are hothouses forcing Christian growth, and that an unnatural religious life is the result. All experience disproves this idea, but evidently in the olden church there was little of the hothouse element. They were veritable ice houses in which the tender plants were soon nipped and the associations of earnest youth were speedily frozen out.

A score of years after the brief life and untimely death of this effort among the youth of our churches the Sunday school of Robert Raikes, which seems to have been the progenitor of modern schools, was established at Gloucester, England, in 1780.

This movement, too, had to make its way toilsomely for the most part in an unbelieving if not a hostile church. As has been truly said, "The authorized and official teachers of the church feared the effect of this unauthorized and unofficial teaching. This was true both in England and in this country. Then came a time when it was tolerated, though not much more than tolerated, in the church, when many pastors looked upon it with suspicion and granted it a place with apprehension. Still, it had taken too strong a hold upon the mass of the people to be refused."

The early history of Sunday schools in Congregational churches was very much the same as in other denominations. Here and there were those who welcomed the new auxiliary with open arms, but for the most part it had to win its way and prove by its own

undoubted value its inherent right to exist. Dim traditions which may be somewhat apocryphal have come down from the early part of this century to the effect that in one Congregational church a day of fasting and prayer was called in order to stem this new heresy, and to deplore the effects of this unofficial teaching. This tradition shows at least the spirit of the times.

But it was not for long that our churches held this attitude, for as early as 1816 Sunday-school unions were formed in New York and Boston in which Congregationalists had prominent part, while in 1832 a distinctive denominational society was formed.

An important publishing business was the natural outgrowth of the Sunday-school Society, and during its early years it issued many valuable books for Sunday-school libraries, question books and singing books as well.

In 1864 a marriage was happily completed between the "Doctrinal Tract and Book Society," whose name in the meantime had been changed to "Congregational Board of Publication," and the "Massachusetts Sabbath-school Society," and then the work which is now carried on so successfully under the somewhat cumbrous name of the "Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society" (which baptismal name, by the way, was not given to the organization until 1883) may be said fairly to have begun.

Great impetus came to the work when Rev. A. E. Dunning in 1880 was chosen Sunday-school secretary, and from that day to this the work has gone on with constantly increasing momentum. In 1883 the jubilee year of the Sunday-school Society was happily cele-

brated by a great increase of its missionary activities. Sunday-school missionaries or superintendents began to be employed whose duty it is "to improve the conditions of existing Sunday schools, to plant Sunday schools in places where there is promise of the organization of Congregational churches, to plant mission schools in neighborhoods where they can be cared for by Congregational churches and to reorganize Sunday schools in places where they have been abandoned by churches and where churches themselves have died out."

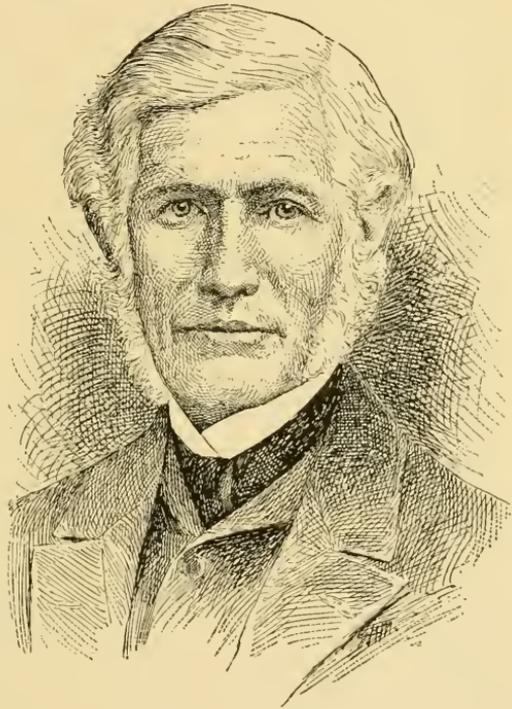
There are now twenty superintendents and as many more missionaries in the field, and the spiritual results of this work have been large and we believe abiding. Forty-five hundred Sunday-schools have been organized in a little more than a decade, into which were brought at the beginning two hundred thousand persons, and four hundred and fifty Congregational churches have been traced directly to the Sunday schools thus organized out of which they sprung.

Many of these churches doubtless would have been formed in any event, but many more of them would never have come into existence had it not been for the fostering care of this admirable organization. An annual children's Sunday has become a generally recognized institution. The Home Department, first introduced by Dr. W. A. Duncan, field secretary of the society, has been extensively adopted, not only in this but in other countries. New methods for the instruction of teachers have become popular. In many ways a great beneficent impulse has been given to the denomination by the work of this society. We can give the figures,

but the spiritual results, patent as they are even to the eye of a casual observer, will be found fully recorded only in the Lamb's Book of Life.

To-day the work, under the care of the efficient secretary, Rev. George M. Boynton, D. D., is carried on with the vigor and success which has long characterized it, and the future of the Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society is full of the largest promise.

Even a very hasty review of the Sunday-school work of the denomination would not be complete without calling to mind the name of Asa Bullard, whose venerable form and white



REV. ASA BULLARD.

locks for so many years impressed themselves upon youthful Congregationalists in all parts of the land as the very incarnation of Christian gentleness and vivacity. For fifty-four years, from 1834 to 1888, he was connected with the society, edited its books and its well-known paper, *The Wellspring*, made long journeys in the interest of the society, visited the

schools and left behind him everywhere the benediction of a sweet and gracious spirit.

The Sunday-school publications of this organization have taken a high rank, its imprint alone guaranteeing their excellence, while its lesson helps and other periodicals which are used directly in the work of the Sunday school have obtained an enormous circulation, having gone beyond six hundred and fifty thousand copies already, in spite of the numerous rivals, many of them of exceptional excellence, which are found in this field of literature.

So far our chapter has related largely to the work that has been done for the children and youth of our Congregational churches. Of late years another large field of effort has been developed, namely, the work which the young men and maidens, the boys and girls, are doing for the church and for all its activities, and thus indirectly for their own spiritual advancement.

More or less spasmodic and futile efforts have been made by the young people of our churches for many years in various directions. More often these have taken a literary or social turn, and have had their value doubtless in bringing young people of the church together, making them acquainted one with another and interesting them to some extent in the church to which their parents belong. But these young people's sociables and literary societies and debating clubs seem to possess little vitality and to have very feeble "staying powers." Interest soon wanes and some other plans must be devised by the often anxious and troubled pastor.

Of far more value were the old-fashioned young people's prayer meetings which have long existed in

many churches, and which attracted to themselves the most devout and mature of the older young people of the church. Their great defect seemed to be the limited number who attended them, and their tendency to drift into the hands of a few of the better educated and the more accomplished young people who could "talk well in meeting," and thus the bane of all prayer meetings seemed especially to afflict the young people's meeting, until after a few years it was often a "young people's meeting" only by courtesy. Little was accomplished by these meetings for the great masses of young men and women and boys and girls who could not be reckoned among the experienced or the glib.

This same tendency to drift into the hands of a few was shown also in the young people's missionary organizations of the church which within the last quarter of a century have sprung up so numerous all over the land, especially in connection with the work of foreign missions. These mission circles have kindled the missionary spirit and enthusiasm in the hearts of thousands who otherwise would have been unresponsive to the holy claim. But these circles have been confined largely to the more devout and earnest among the young women of the church. The fire of missionary enthusiasm has not kindled as it should the hearts of all the young men and women.

Still these mission circles have done great good, not only because they have interested their members in the work of spreading the gospel, but still more because they have demonstrated the fact that there is appropriate and important work in every church for young people to do which none others can do so

well. This fact, which has gradually been dawning upon the consciousness of the church for many years, has found its fullest expression in the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor.

For this movement the young people's prayer meeting, the mission circle, the old-fashioned lyceum or debating society and other forms of activity among the young people have long been preparing the way. It is rooted in the idea that the young men and maidens ought to do something for the church and should not expect the church to do everything for them. It is founded on the principle that *service*, and not entertainment or mere instruction, is necessary to the development of Christian character. It proceeds upon the assumption that the only way to grapple the hearts of the young people to the heart of the church with hooks of steel is to give them something to do in the church and for the church, and to lead them to realize that they are integral parts of the particular branch of the church of Christ to which they belong, and that its work will not be fully done unless they as well as their fathers and grandfathers do their part of it.

In the year 1881 in the Williston Congregational Church of Portland, Me., on the second day of February, the first Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor was formed, and it was formed simply to meet the needs of one local church, without any thought that the idea would be used by Providence in tens of thousands of other churches. It was the outgrowth in part of some of these earlier ideas of Christian nurture which have already been alluded to in this chapter.

The young people's prayer meeting had long existed in this church, but it was of the spasmodic variety that wilted under the heat of summer, was frequently washed away, for the time being, by the rains of autumn and was blockaded by the snows of winter. Mission circles had also been a vigorous element in the life of the young people of this church, and quite a number of those who met together to form the first Endeavor society belonged to the "Mizpah Mission Circle," which, under the care of the pastor's wife, regularly met at the parsonage. A literary society and young people's debating club had also existed in this church, but none of these agencies seemed to accomplish all that was necessary for the spiritual growth and training of the young disciples, and when in the winter of 1881 a new company of young converts were about to be received into the church it was felt most seriously that something must be done to prevent these timid and inexperienced young disciples from folding their hands, slipping into a comfortable back seat in the church and becoming mere ciphers, as too many of their young companions who had previously joined the church had become.

The feeling was general, not only in this church but in many others, that there was a missing link which as yet had been unsupplied, that it was scarcely safe to introduce children and youth to the responsibilities of church membership under the old régime, and that since the first few weeks of the Christian life decided its future character so largely, some new plan must be devised to prevent the young Christian from taking on at the beginning a lazy, indifferent and shamefaced type of religious character.

The Society of Christian Endeavor was the outcome of these conditions and this greatly felt need. It set itself to work to solve these problems in three ways :

First, by making very much of the idea of frequent outspoken confession of Christ. To this end the pledge which ever since has been the distinctive characteristic of the movement was adopted. By this pledge every member promises to make it the rule of his life not only to remember his private devotions daily, not only to support his own church loyally, but also to attend and take some part in each weekly young people's prayer meeting. Not very much is demanded. No elaborate address or carefully prepared harangue. Such participation is very far from the Christian Endeavor idea. Simply some word indicating loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ is expected. The shortest verse of Scripture, the most stammering and hesitating word of testimony, a brief quotation from a religious author, any participation of this sort fulfills all the requirements and accomplishes the great task of buttressing the young soul with the strength of a mighty purpose to live for Christ, whose love is continually confessed.

But the prayer-meeting pledge will not always enforce itself. In every church there are some careless young souls that need constantly to be reminded of their duties, and so the Lookout committee and Prayer-meeting committee, whose duty it is to see that the pledge is observed, were inaugurated in the first society, and have been indispensable parts of every Christian Endeavor society that has ever since been formed.

The second feature of this movement is the con-

segregation meeting, in which once every month the names of all the members are called and each one is faced with the questions, "Where am I standing in relation to Christ?" "What is my purpose for the future?"

Almost as essential as the prayer-meeting pledge has been found this monthly covenant service, and no one thing has done more to give to the movement a spiritual purpose and to show to the members that nothing can take the place of unswerving loyalty to their Master.

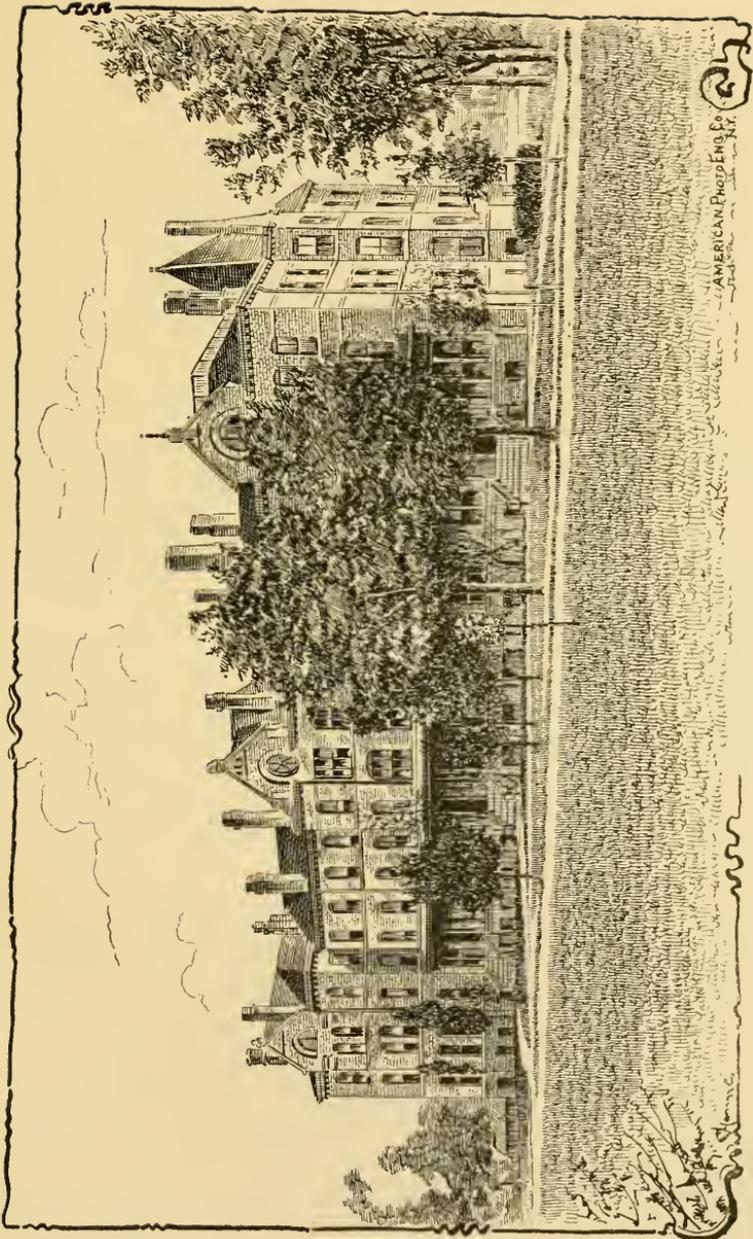
The third element upon which the Christian Endeavor society largely insists is that of service in building up the symmetrical Christian character. Its ideal is to give everyone something to do for Christ and the church. No one is so young, inexperienced or bashful that he will not find himself sooner or later upon some committee on which it is his special and particular business to work in some definite way for Christ. "To every man his work," is the motto of the Christian Endeavor society, and it has sought to put the most generic meaning into the word "man," so as to include every woman and every boy and every girl who has taken the Christian Endeavor pledge. It has sought in this way to solve the problem of the unemployed, a problem which is quite as pressing in the religious as in the industrial world.

It is easy for the minister, the deacons and the Sunday-school superintendents and a few of the leading men and women in every church to find enough to do, but to find appropriate work for the rank and file is a very different thing. The Christian Endeavor society has seriously set itself to work to solve this great prob-

lem, and not only the Lookout committee and the Prayer-meeting committee, which have already been mentioned, but the Social, the Missionary, the Sunday-school, Flower and Music committees, the Good Literature, Vestibule and Sunshine committees and many others which might be named are all the outgrowth of this idea to give to everyone something to do.

Of late years this idea of service has taken a still wider sweep, and many of the local unions of Christian Endeavor are making vigorous efforts to awaken their members and young people generally to the claims of good citizenship, the mighty interests of extending the kingdom of God in other lands, work for the sailors and soldiers, for the life-saving stations and lighthouse inmates, for policemen, traveling men, firemen and a multitude of other classes who can be helped by the earnest words and generous deeds of devoted young disciples. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are contributed every year by the Christian Endeavor societies through their own denominational missionary boards, and multitudes of young people have of late adopted the plan of giving at least one-tenth of their income for the advancement of the kingdom.

Many of those who formed the first Society of Christian Endeavor were boys and girls who would now be formed into a Junior Society. These boys and girls had been trained in a pastor's class and several months previous to the formation of this society had taken the pledge which indicated that they had consciously begun the Christian life, the same form of words which now forms the first part of the Junior pledge. But the first distinctive



GRIDLEY HALL, CARLETON COLLEGE, NORTHFIELD, MINN.

Junior Endeavor Society was formed in the Congregational church of Tabor, Ia., of which the Rev. J. W. Cowan is the faithful pastor.

Of late years this effort for the children has kept pace with the endeavors of the older young people. Intermediate societies, Senior societies of Christian Endeavor whose chief business it is to apply the Christian Endeavor principles to the weekly prayer meeting of the church, and Mothers' societies in which devout mothers band themselves together to pray for and help along the children in the Junior societies have sprung up, and there are in all the world between thirty and forty thousand of these organizations, numbering two millions of members, while the ranks are being recruited at the rate of two or three hundred thousand new members every year.

Fully six thousand of these societies, with nearly three hundred thousand members, are found in Congregational churches in both hemispheres. Very much the larger number are found in America, though the growth of the movement in both England and Australia during the last twelve months has been almost as rapid as in the land of its birth.

The conventions and local union meetings of these societies are among the most remarkable features of the movement. The enthusiasm, the numbers that attend and the consecrated spirit shown surpass the belief of those who are not familiar with such gatherings. At one of these conventions not less than thirty thousand young people came together, most of them from a considerable distance, with the one purpose of enjoying the spiritual advantages of such a gathering. Christian Endeavor conventions in England and

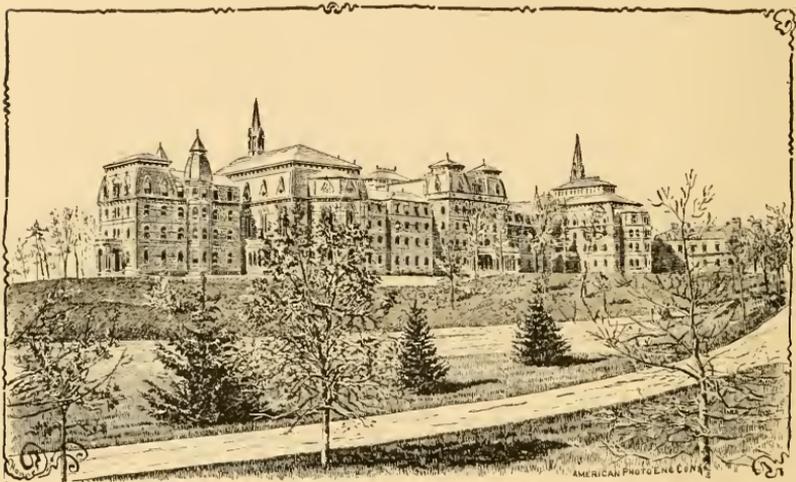
Australia, and even in some of the missionary lands, are taking on the same features of enthusiastic, consecrated, intelligent zeal for the Master which have been so conspicuous in the American conventions.

Congregationalists have always had a warm place in their hearts for this movement. With but very few exceptions every church of our order in America has such a society. The first article describing the movement was published in August, 1881, in the *Congregationalist*, under the title "What One Church is Trying to do for its Young People." As was natural, the second society was also formed in a Congregational church, the North Church of Newburyport, Mass. But soon other denominations found that there was something for them also in these same ideas of Christian nurture, and from the beginning the thought of Christian fellowship and interdenominational brotherhood has been woven into the very fabric of the Christian Endeavor societies. *Loyalty* to Christ and the local church and *fellowship* with all those who love Him, have been the two distinctive strands in the warp and woof of the Christian Endeavor movement.

Of late years international fellowship has been added to interdenominational fellowship, and it is not too much to believe, in the good providence of God, that young Christians of different nationalities as well as of different denominations may be banded together for an aggressive crusade against all unrighteousness and for the building up of the kingdom of God such as the world has never yet seen.

The controlling hand of Providence is to be gratefully and gladly acknowledged in all this work. It is no human invention or man-made device. The times

were ready for it. Ten thousand pastors were feeling after some such plan for the training of young Christians. Such a movement was bound to come to develop the strength and vigor of young Christian manhood and womanhood and turn them into channels of devoted allegiance to the Church of Christ. If the



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first society had not been formed in Williston Church when it was, doubtless a very few months would have seen a similar development in some other field, for when the full time has come God's purposes are never very long delayed. In one or two denominations, but only in one or two, the young people's movement has taken a strictly denominational form.

Within the last five years the Boys' Brigade, an institution imported in the first place from Scotland, has found its way into a number of our churches. Its great object is to promote soldierly fidelity and discipline

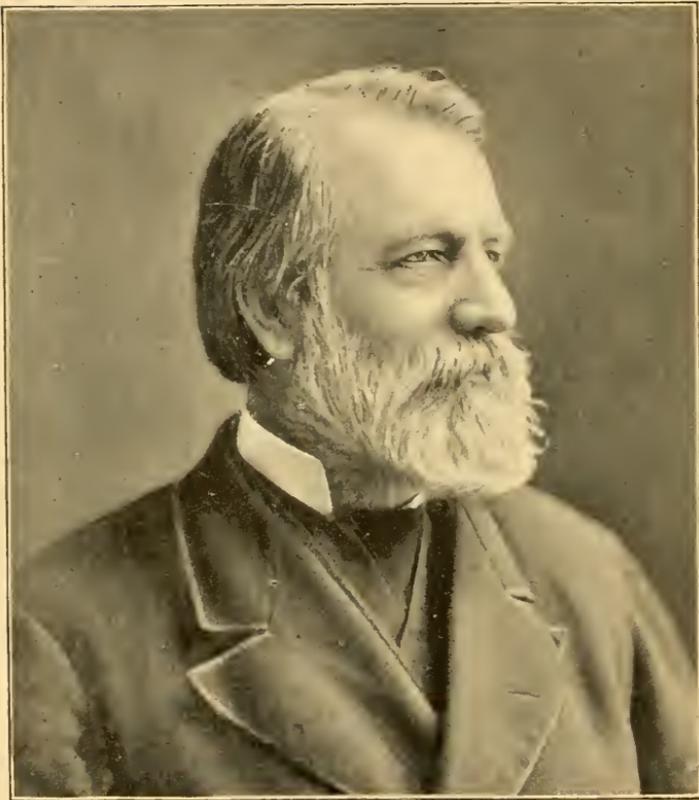
among the boys, and it is hoped, under the guise of military training, to bring recruits into the army of the Captain of our Salvation, and to make them obedient and loyal soldiers.

In some of our churches, too, the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip has found a sympathetic home. This is an effort to set young men at work for young men, especially to win the degraded and outcast by the personal influence of those who have been touched by Christ's spirit. It is a "win-one" society, whose possibilities are in many places large. So far it is confined chiefly to the larger churches, especially the institutional churches, where a considerable body of young men can be brought together. But in other and smaller churches it may be and is a branch of the Christian Endeavor Society, a Brotherhood committee of that organization being formed where any number of young men, from five to fifty, may be given the task of bringing their companions to Christ and His service. The originator of this movement, Rev. Rufus W. Miller of the German Reformed Church, heartily approves of this combination, which saves a multiplication of organizations, and at the same time accomplishes the work which the Brotherhood is set to do.

As yet we seem to be at the very threshold of young people's work. What shall the future bring forth? Who is wise enough to predict what the twentieth century has in store for the Church of God through the agency of these young disciples? How may the church not enlarge her boundaries with these vigorous and joyous young workmen laboring with all the energy of youth upon the walls of Zion? What may not the Sunday school of the future become? Who

can predict the possibilities of the rejuvenated prayer meeting? Who will set any limits to the missionary activities and the extension of the kingdom the world around when the years have had a chance fully to develop the mightily growing enthusiasm of these young Christians for the extension of their Master's kingdom?

How may we not hope that our politics may be purified, our municipal governments purged, the whole tone of our State and national issues raised from the low plane of partisan controversy to the sunlit tablelands of patriotic principles? What may not be the joy of angels and men when, partially at least, through the activities and loving fellowship of Christ's young disciples, sectarian wranglings shall cease, wasteful rivalries which have disgraced the Protestant Church in the past shall be no more, and His own prayer shall be answered, "That they all may be one as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee"?



HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, D. D., LL. D.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONGREGATIONAL LITERATURE.

(By Rev. Howard A. Bridgman.)

WHAT place do the writings of Congregationalists occupy in the world's literature? How large and of what character is the literature pertaining to Congregationalism, and what contributions have members of this denomination made through the printed page to the different realms of human thought? If it were possible to apportion all the products of the press to their various authors it would be found, we think, that in proportion to their numbers Congregationalists have borne a worthy part in adding to the shelves of the public and private libraries of Christendom; or if the classification were made on the basis of assigning to each denomination the literature connected with its origin, growth and extension, the share that would fall to the Congregational body would doubtless compare favorably both in size and quality with that of any of the leading branches of the church of Christ.

While it is true on the one hand that Congregationalism has created a literature, it is equally true that this literature has in turn fostered and developed Congregationalism. There has been, ever since the start, among men of our polity an impulse toward expressing their faith in an enduring form, and every creditable publication has reacted favorably upon the denominational life. There was not, to be sure, much premedi-

tation in the earlier, and indeed in many of the later, contributions to Congregational literature. They were called forth by existing circumstances and their authors in most cases probably put them forth regardless of the final judgment that would be passed upon them. But having once gained the imperishability which type confers they have combined to make a literature large, varied and important.

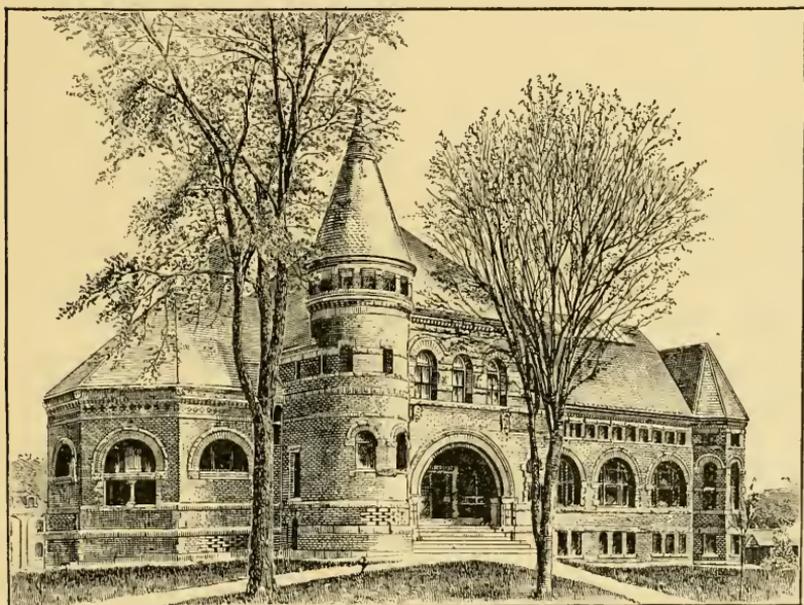
From the nature of our polity it was to be expected that pamphlets and books would be needed to bring home to the minds of men an understanding of it. Congregationalism in the latter half of the sixteenth century was a new thing in the world. It needed to be explained and defended. Its scriptural basis must be set forth. Indeed before it came to have any standing place in the world it was obliged, as all reforms are, to justify its own existence. How effectual in this direction were the half dozen Martin Mar-prelate tracts, put forth as early as 1589, has been shown elsewhere in this book. Thirty years before these cutting pamphlets were issued a French writer, Morelli, had expounded the Congregational way as he saw it, and though his books were burned it was impossible to reduce to ashes their influence. Robert Browne, in his turn, from his retreat in Zealand, aided by his friend Harrison, set forth the principles of Congregationalism in perhaps six or eight publications, three of which are now accessible. Greenwood and Barrowe, too, were writers, and perhaps a dozen works are to be credited to them. The scholarly Henry Ainsworth also produced a score or more of publications, not all of them, however, treatises on polity, for he was a student of the Bible and wrote expositions of the sacred text.

As Congregationalism developed, as its adherents multiplied, as the field of its operations enlarged, as new conditions arose, it is obvious that there would be abundant reason for increasing the number of books and pamphlets. There were in every generation wise men who endeavored to explain and vindicate the principles of Congregationalism and apply them to specific cases. Thus it has come about that we have a wealth of strictly technical literature bearing upon the Congregational polity, in which precedents are cited, decisions made, platforms laid down, opponents challenged and confuted. In this glorious galaxy of Congregational defenders shine such illustrious names as John Goodwin, John Owen, John Robinson, Thomas Hooker, Ralph Wardlaw, John Locke, Robert Vaughan; and passing to America, John Cotton, John Davenport, the Mathers, Enoch Pond, Leonard Bacon, A. Hastings Ross, William W. Patton, Joseph E. Roy, Henry M. Dexter, Samuel N. Jackson, Alonzo H. Quint, not to speak of scores of others hardly less worthy of mention, whose researches in particular provinces of investigation have contributed to a better understanding of the faith and polity in which we glory.

But it is not contributions respecting our polity which alone make up the vast library of which we are speaking. Theology has been a mighty factor in swelling the stream of literature. The conflicts of the earlier and later theologians of the denomination have given rise to numerous publications, many of which now sleep their last sleep in the dusty oblivion of unfrequented alcoves, but which in their day were carefully read and which are valuable to us as landmarks

and monuments of a past out of which we never can fail to gain instruction. Our early New England history abounds in such literature. It used to be the custom for ministers, in the days before reviews and newspapers, to issue their discourses and their treatises on their own responsibility and at their own charges. Even after periodicals began to multiply there was still room for controversial pamphlets. The rise of Unitarianism stimulated the production of such writings. One minister would put forth a brochure and another would reply. This Reply would be met by an Answer, but not to be outwitted the doughty antagonist would respond with "Remarks on Dr. ——'s Answer." The annual sermon preached before the Massachusetts Convention of Ministers usually found its way into print and was one of the important documents of the year. Meanwhile another influence was at work increasing the supply of literature. Nearly one hundred and fifty years ago Jonathan Edwards, narrating his remarkable religious experience, wrote: "I used to be eager to read public news-letters, mainly for that end, to see if I could not find some news favorable to the interests of religion in the world." This desire for intelligence in regard to the spread of Christ's kingdom at home and abroad led to an increasing use of the printing press for the purpose of disseminating such information. So we find occasional publications devoted chiefly to news, and harbingers of the modern newspaper. Such was the *Christian History*, published as early as 1743 by Thomas Prince, son of the pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, appearing weekly for a period of two years. Over a century before that date, in 1639, the first printing office in

America had been established in the city of Cambridge, and its first three publications were the "The Freeman's Oath," "Pierce's Almanac," and the celebrated "Bay Psalm Book," which went through seventy editions in Boston, London and Edinburgh. There were



LIBRARY, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, HANOVER, N. H. (*page 365*).

also occasional English reprints, Baxter and Bunyan being the chief favorites, but it was not until the dawn of the nineteenth century that the magazine and newspaper era in American literature can be said fairly to have begun. It is interesting to see that this forward step was due to the combined working of the three forces of which we have spoken. The ecclesiastical, the theological and the missionary impulse each sought expression and each was discernible in the contents of the publications which date from the first

quarter of this century. In the prospectuses of these magazines there is marked uniformity in the statement of the purpose in view. Their founders evidently intended to glean from these three main fields the materials for their publications, though naturally a difference is noticeable in the proportion in which the elements were mixed, due probably in part to the varying tastes of the editor and in part to limitations imposed by a specific title. The century had hardly drawn its first breaths when the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* appeared in 1800, its place of publication being Hartford, while the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine* was on the field only two years later, united in 1808 with the *Panoplist*, which had then been running three years. From 1818 on to 1820 the magazine was known as the *Panoplist and Missionary Herald*, and since the latter date the single title *Missionary Herald* has been used to designate a publication which, in the judgment of the best informed persons on both sides of the water, is in the very front rank of journals of its class. The *Panoplist* did valiant service at the time of the Unitarian dissension, and its pages bear abundant evidence of the questions that were shaking the churches to their foundations during the second decade of this century. Other New England States besides Massachusetts and Connecticut were ambitious to have periodicals of their own. New Hampshire's first venture was the *Piscataqua Evangelical Magazine*, published at Portsmouth, January, 1805, by an association of ministers. The next candidate for patronage was the *Religious Repository*, whose place of publication was Concord, the State Home Missionary Society assuming responsibility for it.

Vermont's venture in this line was known as the *Adviser*, or the *Vermont Evangelical Magazine*, and the dates 1809 to 1818 bounded its life. Returning to Boston, we note next the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, which came into being in 1828. It was born out of the Unitarian controversy and was designed to counteract the influence of the Unitarian publications known as the *Christian Disciple*, begun in 1813, and the *Christian Examiner*, begun in 1824. It was felt that the Orthodox position was not having sufficient vindication through the press. "We must be read," said the aggressive and fertile Lyman Beecher, and in that sentence he stated a truth which advocates of good causes have over and over again realized.

The periodical which next deserves mention is one with which many persons living are familiar, the *Congregational Quarterly*. This grew out of a conversation which the late Dr. Dexter and Dr. Quint had at a council, when the former suggested that it would be desirable to preserve in some periodical records of important councils, noteworthy ecclesiastical precedents and other matters of interest to the denomination. They associated with themselves in this undertaking Dr. Joseph S. Clark. With their original idea was incorporated another which had not found expression in any of the previous denominational magazines, namely, the insertion of annual statistics concerning the denomination. As early as 1846 there had been efforts to gather such statistics, and three or four little almanacs, about the size of an ordinary primer, were issued in the years 1846 to 1848. One of them bears the name of Dorus Clark, a Boston minister, as compiler, and another is credited to Par-

sons Cooke of Lynn. But there had been no systematic attempt to gather the figures relating to the denomination until 1854, when Rev. Timothy Atkinson, and after him Dr. I. P. Langworthy, as secretaries of the American Congregational Union, collected for it for four or five successive years statistics conveying some approximate idea of the extent and size of the denomination. It was felt by both Drs. Dexter and Quint that a careful and semi-official census would be a proper feature in the quarterly which they had in mind; and beginning in 1860, the second year of its life, these statistics were presented, having been collected by Dr. Quint upon a thoroughly matured plan, covering the whole country and enlisting special secretaries in each State. The items called for were at once very much enlarged in number. Dr. Quint continued that work until 1883, when his secretaryship of the National Council terminated, completing twenty-five years of service, with a temporary interruption occasioned by his absence during the war, The *Quarterly* lived until the end of 1878, though the control of it passed in time from the hands of the three original proprietors, and from Dr. Langworthy and Mr. Samuel Burnham, who came later into the partnership, to Rev. Christopher Cushing, D. D., who was its last owner and editor. The twenty volumes of the *Quarterly* include very important articles of a historical, ecclesiastical and practical nature, and a series of valuable engraved portraits. Toward the end of its existence it grew somewhat more controversial. Its circulation in its palmyest days was not far from two thousand copies, but declined in the later years of its existence. One reason for its subsidence

was the decision of the National Council in 1877 to issue a Year Book, which appeared first in 1879 under the editorship of Dr. Quint, possessing then substantially the same features which characterize it now. Since 1883 it has been prepared by Rev. H. A. Hazen, D. D. Our English brethren were in the field with a Year Book considerably before us, their first issue bearing the date of 1846, though far more meager in its statistical showing than ours. Australian as well Canadian Congregationalists now publish a Year Book, and our brethren in Ireland and in Scotland have occasionally issued similar publications.

To refer to a few other periodicals closely linked to the denomination the *Bibliotheca Sacra* merits mention as an influential exponent of Congregational thought. It was begun in Andover in 1844. In 1884 it was removed to Oberlin, where it continues to be published under the editorship of Dr. G. Frederick Wright and able associates. At the time that the *Bibliotheca* was removed to Oberlin the faculty of Andover began the *Andover Review*. It continued until 1893. Its pages reflect the various phases of recent controversies due to the espousal by Andover of the cause of progressive Orthodoxy. But aside from theological discussions, the *Review*, while it lasted, presented fresh and forcible contributions upon literary and sociological topics. Yale College has had its organ since 1843, known until 1892 as the *New Englander*, when it adopted the name of the *Yale Review*. The erudite William M. Kingsley was for a time its editor-in-chief. Hartford Seminary started in 1890 the *Hartford Seminary Record*, which continues to print valua-

ble information in regard to that institution. We should go too far afield to trace the influence of the Congregational leaven in other and more secular realms of journalism. It should not be forgotten that the editor of the *Review of Reviews*, Mr. Albert Shaw, is a Congregationalist, and that the *Youth's Companion* owes a large portion of its prosperity and success to the late Francis G. Pratt, Jr., who came of honored Congregational stock.

The history of Congregational periodicals in England dates from 1818, when the *Congregational Magazine* was founded. It led a somewhat precarious existence until 1844, when the *Christian Witness* appeared, under the sanction of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. It stood squarely for the dissenting churches. Its profits were applied to the relief of aged ministers, and its circulation, for a number of years, averaged over thirty-three thousand a month. It was discontinued in 1871. Contemporaneous with and outliving the *Christian Witness* was the *British Quarterly Review*, started February 1, 1845, and continuing until 1886. In January, 1872, a somewhat more popular and virile periodical was started, called the *Congregationalist*, and with its editing such distinguished names as Dr. R. W. Dale and Rev. J. Guinness Rogers are associated. Succeeding to it, and incorporating also with itself the *British Quarterly Review*, came the *Congregational Review*, which first saw the light in January, 1887, and for four years exercised a wholesome influence upon the English churches. Since it was discontinued, in January, 1891, our brethren across the sea have sustained no monthly, but in the field of religious weeklies they are well represented in the

Independent and Nonconformist, now under the editorship of Rev. D. Burford Hooke.

The appearance of the Sunday school and its recognition, after years of doubt, as a legitimate part of the church gave rise in time to a special kind of literature devoted to advancing the interests of this right arm of the church. The *Sunday-school Treasury*, published by the American Sunday-school Union in July, 1828, was the first in the field, the *Sunday-school Visitor*, under Congregational auspices, coming into being in 1833. The dear old *Wellspring*, which nearly two generations of children have now enjoyed, dates from 1844. An allusion need only be made to the flood of Sunday-school question books, quarterlies, helps, and concert exercises, for which, in its later years, the denomination is indebted to the Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society. The circulation of its quarterlies alone to-day considerably exceeds a half million copies.

We pass now to a distinct, though related, sphere of Congregational literature—that of the religious newspaper. The product of the same forces which brought into being ministerial pamphlets and treatises, and which led to the establishment of the periodicals already referred to, religious journalism is, at the same time, sufficiently dissimilar in its aim and scope to warrant special consideration. It was not the idea of the founders of the first religious newspapers to confine the contents of their journals to strictly religious articles. They sought rather to graft upon the existing weekly secular newspaper religious principles and aims. This was in the mind of Nathaniel P. Willis when he established, January 3, 1816, the Boston

Recorder, whose successor is the *Congregationalist*, and whose claim to priority in the field of American religious journalism cannot be successfully disputed. Nearest it in age is the New York *Observer*, founded in 1823. Mr. Willis, in starting the *Recorder*, availed himself of the help of S. E. Morse of Charlestown, who was its first editor. Its early years were no less precarious than those of most journalistic undertakings, but in the course of a score of years it had shown that in combining secular with religious news, and in approaching political and social topics from the Christian point of view, it had introduced into journalism a distinctively new element, the worth of which was recognized by the fact that representatives of other denominations before many years established journals of their own patterned after the *Recorder*. The *Recorder*, while not narrowly sectarian at the start, and never unpleasantly denominational, circulated chiefly among Congregationalists and was recognized as their organ. In 1849 the *Congregationalist* was started to advocate more especially the views of the newer school in theology. In May, 1867, it absorbed the *Recorder*, retaining the name until November 3, 1870, since which time it has been known simply as the *Congregationalist*. The denomination has always given to this paper a generous support, and has recognized that as it was a pioneer in point of time, so as respects enlargement and improvement it has often set the pace for its contemporaries. It was one of the first papers to employ paid contributors of the first reputation. It originated and developed the system of collecting and presenting news from the churches all over the country. It has added department after department until its columns

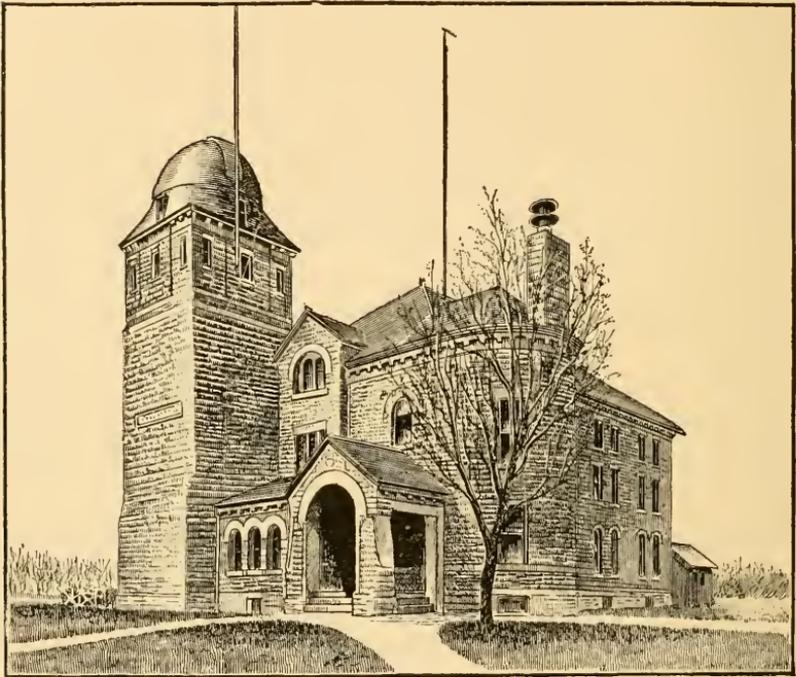
to-day mirror almost every phase of Christian activity and deal with all the larger interests of the church, the home, the school and of society.

The spread of Congregationalism into other sections of the country has naturally led to the starting of other papers representing or affiliating with our denomination. The Congregationalists of the metropolis in 1848 felt the need of a journal of their own, and the *Independent* was projected. Its first number appeared December, 1848, under the joint editorship of those able and highly esteemed men Leonard Bacon, Joseph P. Thompson and Richard S. Storrs, Jr. It emphasized particularly its devotion to free-soil principles, and rendered valuable services to the cause of abolitionism. There came a period in its history when it virtually cut loose from its denominational basis, but the pendulum swung back again in time. To-day, while it does not claim any relation to any denomination, it circulates among many Congregationalists, and two of its leading editors, William Hayes Ward and Kinsley Twining, are useful and honored ministers of the Congregational denomination.

Another of the religious newspapers whose headquarters are in New York, and which in its origin and conduct may be connected with our denomination rather than any other, is the *Outlook*, the new series of the *Christian Union*, founded by Henry Ward Beecher in 1869, and edited to-day by Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D., the successor of Mr. Beecher as pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, and by Hamilton W. Mabie.

When Congregationalism had taken strong root in Chicago the desire manifested itself there also for an

organ representing the churches of that region, and the wish was brought to fruition in the *Advance*, whose first number bears the date of September 5, 1867, and whose first editor was Rev. W. W. Patton, D. D.,



GOODNOW HALL, IOWA COLLEGE, GRINNELL, IA. (page 372).

always a stalwart and effective champion of the Congregational polity. There had been before the *Advance* two State papers in the West, the *Iowa News Letter* and the *Wisconsin Puritan*, both of which passed over their subscription list to the *Advance* and suspended publication. In later years State or sectional Congregational journals have sprung up in several strong Congregational centers in the West. The *Pacific*, which represents all the region west of

the Rockies, has existed since 1853. In the East as well there has been quite a crop of State papers, few of which have attained any financial prosperity. One such, in one of the New England States, in the course of forty-four years had five titles, was the property of fourteen different persons, had twelve different editors, and was published in three different places. Then it ceased to be, but it had not been dead long before another sprang up in its place. So triumphantly does hope spring in the human heart that pants for the scissors and paste pot.

When we attempt a survey of the contributions made by Congregationalists to the various departments of general literature we must confess at the outset that it is impossible in these limits to treat the subject exhaustively. Merely to catalogue the books and the authors would be a herculean task. When it is remembered that Dr. Dexter, in his "Congregationalism as seen in its Literature," enumerates no less than seven thousand two hundred and fifty pamphlets and books, and then calls the result of his arduous labors nothing but "collections toward a bibliography of Congregationalism," one gets some idea of the vastness of the field under contemplation. Moreover, Dr. Dexter's chief attempt was to mention works vitally related to the history and polity of Congregationalism, and he did not venture far into the field of general literature. It may, however, be possible, and it is certainly due to the denomination to convey some conception of the valuable and enduring service which men and women of our faith have rendered with the pen to the world. Take theology, for example. Think of the illustrious contributions of Jonathan Edwards,

Nathaniel Emmons, Leonard Woods, Horace Bushnell and their contemporaries. Nor need we appeal only to the past, for still living among us are Edwards A. Park, Samuel Harris and James H. Fairchild, whose massive works in defense and exposition of the faith are so widely known. The lamented Lewis F. Stearns, cut off in the prime of his years, had already exhibited a masterly insight into theology that gave promise of larger service than that already rendered. The contributions of George P. Fisher to church history and apologetics entitle him to the high honor in which he is held in this country and abroad. Richard S. Storrs has given the public the fruits of his extensive researches in the field of ecclesiastical history, and Williston Walker, though belonging to a younger generation, has already made the denomination his debtor by his investigations into its past. Several admirable histories of individual churches have been written, notably that of the Old South Church, Boston, by Hamilton A. Hill, and that of the Beneficent Church, Providence, by James G. Vose. Many of our theologians have been sermonizers too, and it is therefore proper, under this head, to refer to the scores of volumes of excellent discourses circulated far and wide and varying in type and tone, from the polished utterances of Austin Phelps and Theodore T. Munger, the glowing discourses of Henry Ward Beecher and William M. Taylor, to the fervid appeals of Finney and Moody and other representatives of the evangelistic school.

To philosophy no slight re-enforcement has been brought by those master minds Mark Hopkins, Noah Porter, Laurens Hickok and Julius H. Seelye ; while in jurisprudence no names shine with more luster than

those of Theodore Woolsey and Benjamin Vaughn Abbott.

The constantly accumulating mass of biblical and exegetical literature would be considerably lessened if from it were withdrawn the contributions of Congregationalists, who have ever been foremost in prosecuting investigations in this field of research. Moses Stuart, on this side of the water, was one of the founders of biblical criticism, and his work has been taken up and carried forward in our day by the second Timothy Dwight, the late Edwin C. Bissell, by J. Henry Thayer, whose monumental lexicon of the New Testament throws a flood of light on the gospels and epistles; by Charles M. Mead, Samuel Ives Curtiss, Edward Y. Hincks, Benjamin W. Bacon; by George T. Ladd, who has promoted a better understanding of the origin and nature of the biblical revelation; by William Hayes Ward, G. Frederick Wright and Selah Merrill, whose archæological investigations have vastly increased the store of knowledge respecting the witness of the past to the truth of Scripture. The contributions of English Congregationalists to theological and biblical science are numerous and exceedingly valuable. We cite a few representative names: J. Baldwin Brown, Edward White, James Legge, A. M. Fairbairn, R. W. Dale, Joseph Parker, Alfred Cave, H. R. Reynolds, R. F. Horton.

An entire chapter might well be devoted to the part which Congregationalists have had in increasing the amount of literature relating to foreign missions and in multiplying and conserving Christian influences in other lands by means of the printing press. The Ely volume, by Thomas Laurie, formerly a missionary in

Persia, presents fully the literary and scientific work done by missionaries. The writings of Dr. A. C. Thompson and Rufus Anderson represent admirably the effective labor along this line of men who, not on missionary ground themselves, have watched the progress of missions with keenest interest. As respects the men who have gone to the field, the literary labors in Turkey of Cyrus Hamlin, William Goodell, Elias Riggs, William Schaffler, and George Herrick have been great both in extent and effect, while no less valuable work in the way of translation has been done by Messrs. Baldwin, Williams and Blodget in China, by Dr. J. K. Greene in Japan and by Lewis Grout in Africa, whose grammar of the Zulu language Professor W. S. Tyler pronounces the most scientific of any work of that sort in any language. The feat accomplished by Hiram Bingham in reducing to writing the language of the Gilbert Islanders and in then translating into it the whole Bible has probably never been paralleled. During the first fifty years of the history of the American Board no less than one billion five hundred million pages of literature were issued in forty-three different languages. The Ely Volume mentions one hundred and twenty-nine books in English prepared by or relating to the missionaries of the Board. The great work of S. Wells Williams on the Middle Kingdom should not be overlooked in this connection. American Board missionaries have reduced to writing as many as twenty-seven languages, and to them are credited one hundred and eighty translations of the Bible, and the amount of Christian literature sent forth from printing presses, established at various centers of the Board's operations, can only be approximately

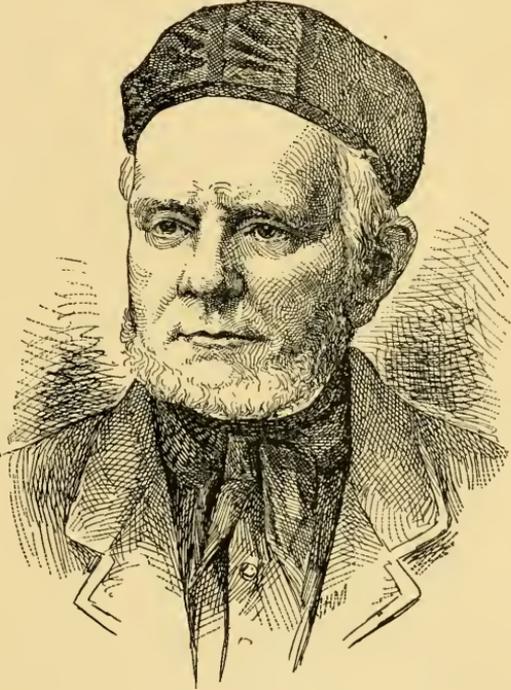
computed. The patient labor of Dr. Stephen R. Riggs, on our Western frontier, in translating the Bible into the Indian tongue should not be forgotten. A glance at the missionary library which Dr. George E. Day is building up for the Yale Divinity School would confirm and enforce these statements in regard to the prominence of Congregationalists as makers of missionary literature.

Hymnology and hymnody owe much to Congregationalists. What hymns can compare in circulation with those of Isaac Watts, a Congregationalist? while Doddridge, also a Congregationalist, is no mean second to him. On this side the Atlantic Timothy Dwight and Dr. Ray Palmer have written hymns that will last as long as the church lasts; while such names as Phoebe H. Brown, Samuel Wolcott, Benjamin Tappan, Washington Gladden, Increase N. Tarbox and J. E. Rankin are to be held in grateful remembrance for the thought and feeling which they have embodied in graceful verse. In the production of hymn books also Congregationalists have been at the front. Dr. Strong, pastor of the First Church in Hartford, brought out the first American publication of this sort in 1799, although Watts had been reprinted here as early as 1741, and twenty years earlier even Watts had sent a copy of his hymns and versions of the Psalms to Cotton Mather, who drew largely from it in making his own book of hymns. Various editions of this prince of hymnists appeared at intervals, notable among which was President Dwight's in 1800. Samuel Worcester wrote several volumes on Christian psalmody, and his name is to be linked with the famous Watts and "Select Hymns." Nettleton found time in the midst of his

evangelistic labors to bring out in 1824 "Village Hymns," which were extremely popular all over the country. Lowell Mason, the famous composer, came to public attention in 1827, and in 1831 published, in conjunction with David Greene, a book known as "Church Psalmody," with eleven hundred and eighty-five selections. Mason is pre-eminently deserving of his title, "the father of American church music." In his long life of eighty years he virtually revolutionized the type of sacred song through his public work and through his fifty volumes of musical composition and instruction, which attained an aggregate circulation of two million copies. To him more than any other man was due the introduction of music as a feature of public school education, and all through his life he strove to bring to the common people the benefits of his musical genius. He was the first man in the country to receive from an American university the degree of musical doctor. Henry Ward Beecher's "Plymouth Collection," published in 1855, carried with it the prestige of a great name. Drs. Park and Phelps in 1858 brought out the "Sabbath Hymn Book," for which Horatius Bonar and Ray Palmer wrote special hymns and translations. The successor to this work was the "Sabbath Hymn and Tune Book," in which Dr. Phelps and Dr. Park were assisted by Lowell Mason. The only American book that ever bore the title "Congregational Hymn Book" was that of Elias Nason, published in Boston in 1857. In later years a number of our Congregational ministers have ventured upon this branch of literature. The book "Hymns of the Faith" was brought out by several Andover professors in 1887, and within a few months Dr. Lyman

Abbott has issued a "Plymouth Hymnal." Other creditable works of this character are associated with the names of Charles H. Richards and F. N. Peloubet, while the denomination is indebted to men like Edwin P. Parker, Professor Waldo S. Pratt, Joseph T. Duryea and Edward Hungerford for their successful endeavors to enrich the service of worship.

As writers of devotional literature Thomas C. Upham, Austin Phelps, Dr. E. N. Kirk, Nehemiah Adams, William W. Patton, Mrs. Elizabeth Payson Prentiss and Miss A. E. Warner are representative names. Sociological topics have been treated ably in books and periodicals by Josiah Strong, Richard T. Ely, Samuel L. Loomis, Robert A. Woods and Washington Gladden. Special phases of Christian activity, like the work of young people's societies, have been exploited by Rev. F. E. Clark, D. D., and the author of the best book on open-air preaching is Rev. E. H. Byington. Sunday-school literature is both plentiful and excellent,



LOWELL MASON, MUS. DOC.

and the names of Henry Clay Trumbull, Asa Bullard, George M. Boynton and F. N. Peloubet are identified with this phase of our subject. As writers of fiction J. G. Holland, George W. Cable, A. S. Hardy, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and Harriet Beecher Stowe constitute a cluster of writers of which the denomination may justly be proud; while not a few other persons, like F. W. Gunsaulus, George A. Jackson and E. P. Tenney, have pursued story-writing as a vocation with considerable success. We may enumerate among the successful writers for children Jacob Abbott, "Sophie May," William M. Thayer and Charles Carleton Coffin. For a poet of the first rank Congregationalists may point to John Milton. They may also claim Daniel DeFoe, the author of "Robinson Crusoe," and Bunyan, the author of the immortal allegory, "Pilgrim's Progress."

This necessarily incomplete and superficial summary of the contributions of Congregationalists to the world's literature may answer the purpose of quickening within the denomination the sense of the contributions its members have made to the world's wealth, and may show to others not of our faith that Congregationalists have kept step with the march of thought in all the ranges of human interest, and in their day and generation have sought to make the world wiser and better by enshrining in an enduring form the thoughts God gave them and the things they learned in His universe and in contact with their fellow-men.



LEONARD BACON, D. D., LL. D.

CHAPTER XXIV.

VISIBLE UNITY.

(By Rev. Alonzo H. Quint, D. D.)

SEVEN churches in London set forth in 1646 a Confession of Faith. Among the signers thereto, and apparently one of the framers, was Hanserd Knollys, a godly minister, who, in 1638, had founded in the edge of the wilderness, upon the banks of the Pascataqua, the first church in New Hampshire, and who preached the gospel until nearly ninety-three years of age. This confession states the ecclesiastical character of the local church, and the relation of churches one to another, in the following well-chosen words: "And although the particular Congregations be distinct and severall bodies, every one as a compact and knit Citie within itselfe; yet are they all to walke by one rule of truth; So also they (by all meanes convenient) are to have the counsell and helpe one of another, if necessitie require it, as members of one body, in the common faith, under Christ their head." The freedom of Congregationalism from set forms of government and unchanging methods of administration enables it to adapt itself to all classes, all times and all needs; but the simple Congregational principles thus stated are unchanging.

In the Platform of church polity set forth by a committee under the direction of the National Council of 1865, some paragraphs written by the learned

ecclesiastical scholar and denominational leader, Dr. Leonard Bacon, expand the statement of the principle thus held two hundred years before: "Although churches are distinct, and therefore may not be confounded one with another; and equal, and therefore have not dominion one over another; yet all the churches ought to preserve church communion one with another, because they are all united to Christ as integral parts of His one catholic church, militant against the evil that is in the world, and visible in the profession of the Christian faith, in the observance of the Christian sacraments, in the manifestation of the Christian life, and in the worship of the one God of our salvation, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Nor does the principle herein embodied limit itself to the communion and fellowship of Congregational churches merely. It is without limit except in the boundaries of the Church of Christ upon earth. "The churches of the Congregational polity, as integral portions of Christ's catholic church," says the Platform, "maintain all practicable communion with all other portions of the church universal. While other churches differ from us in their internal polity, in their relations and connections with each other, in their forms of worship, or in the uninspired statements and definitions of doctrines disputed among Christians, and while we disown their scheme of hierarchical or synodical government, we acknowledge as particular churches of Christ all congregations of Christian worshipers that acknowledge the Holy Scriptures as their supreme rule of faith and practice, and Christ as the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world."

With all such churches our churches exercise all acts of communion which are possible, and which such other churches are willing to receive or extend. Such communion is often manifested in the receiving or dismissing of members one to another, in the exchange of pulpit ministrations, in the transfer of ministers from one denominational group to the other, in salutations conveyed by messengers from one denomination to another, and in hearty co-operative work, organized or otherwise, in great Christian and philanthropic enterprises. But it is manifest that acts of communion otherwise than those of general Christian courtesy, or such as may be exhibited by individual Christians in common labors, are often impossible between churches widely differing in organization. Hence it is of necessity, and not from choice, that the Congregational churches are restricted to their own number in certain outward methods of fellowship. The visible unity of the church militant, impaired by Papacy, hierarchies, synods or rites, may still be preserved by keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. The sentiment of the Congregational churches in favor of visible unity was well expressed by their unanimous vote in the National Council of 1892, as follows: "Resolved, That this Council heartily agrees with the unanimous declaration of the International Congregational Council, held in London in 1891, in favor of a federation without authority of all bodies of Christian churches, as soon as the providence of God shall permit, for the manifestation of the unity of the Church of Christ upon the earth, and for harmonious action in advancing the kingdom of Jesus Christ."

The right and duty of local self-government by the

churches themselves cannot be ignored. But it is not to be supposed that any church in our fellowship can disregard the obligations which are involved in that fellowship. No Congregational church is independent. It can become so by withdrawing from its affiliations with the other churches, but in that case it ceases to be a part of the Congregational body. The acts of any church are not subject by appeal of any person to reversal, but the body of churches retains the necessary right to withdraw its fellowship from any church which in the exercise of its power becomes scandalous in faith or practice, or which violates the conditions of the communion of the churches. This principle is not new. Bartlet, in his "Model of the Primitive Congregational Way," 1647, well says:

"Or else, if it could be clearly evinced by any of the Congregationall men's words and writings, opinions or practises in old England or new: first that they do altogether exclude the advice and counsell of the servants of Christ in neighbour Churches, when there is occasion for it: or, secondly, That they refuse to be accountable for their actions unto those who shall, in a faire and orderly way, according to the rule of the Gospell, in the name of Christ desire them . . . I say if these things could be fairly made out against those of the Congregationall way, it were something, then I confesse, our brethren (as in words they professe themselves) might justly accuse us before heaven and earth of Pride and Arrogancy, of presumption, Blasphemy and impudency: but (forever blessed be the Lord) this they cannot do."

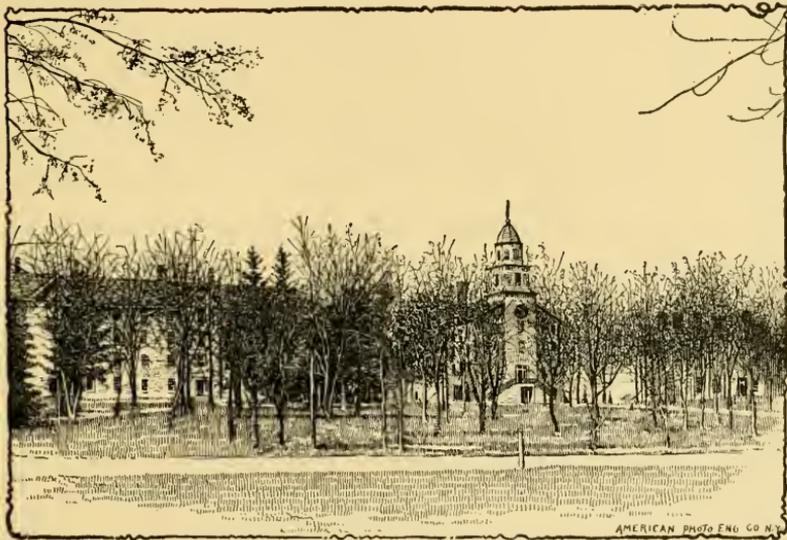
The fellowship of the Congregational churches is first, of necessity, one of sentiment. They neither need

nor desire a formal external authority which should bind together incongruous elements. Indifferent to non-essentials, and reverential to conscientious convictions, they hold that no true unity can exist except by the spontaneous affiliation of Christians. Christian love is the bond of union. The expression of such fellowship must be made in outward forms, and whatever thus expresses fellowship is the exhibition of unity. The churches can include in their immediate communion those churches, and those only, who in faith and order voluntarily recognize the claims of such unity, by practical agreement in essential doctrine and substantial co-operation in work. This they do.

As particular churches, their unity is manifested one with another in simple and practical ways. They show it by admitting members of one church to communion with another at the Lord's table, and respecting the discipline of any church by refusing to receive such as are under its censure; in the dismissal and reception of members; in admitting a minister of one church to preach the Word and administer the sacraments in another; in giving and receiving advice when one church desires counsel of another or of many others; in giving and receiving admonition, when there is found in a church some public offense; and in giving and receiving help when one church needs outward support from the contributions of another or of many others. In all these methods the churches have from the beginning recognized their mutual privileges and obligations as integral parts of the visible church under Christ, the Head. They have found no necessity for any dominant power to take the performance of such acts out of the hands of the local churches.

But it has always been held that the communion of the churches was not limited to an act of one church directly communing with another single church in such ways as have just been specified. In his "Disquisition on Ecclesiastical Councils," issued in the year 1716, Increase Mather writes thus regarding the relations of the churches: "It has ever been their declared judgment, that when there is want of either Light or Peace in a particular Church it is their duty to ask for Counsel, &c., and that in Matters of common Concernment, Particular churches should proceed with the Concurrences of Neighboring churches." The phrase, "Matters of common Concernment," is the significant phrase in this statement of the learned writer. For all affairs which come under a fair interpretation of this principle, our polity demands that the churches meet together for consultation and for expression of what may be the result of their deliberations. It is manifest that no church can rightly assume to do, without consultation, what may affect the character and work of the churches in general. It is a matter of "common Concernment" when brethren desire to be organized into and recognized as a distinct church. In such a case, they should ask the churches to meet in consultation, without which the needed fellowship cannot be extended. It is a matter of "common Concernment" when a church desires the ordination and installation of a minister over it, in so far as it may well take the advice of other churches in so grave a matter; and particularly because, while a church may make a person its local pastor, ordination to the work of the ministry in general, and the fellowship of the churches given to such minister, necessarily require action by the churches

properly convened for the purpose. It is a matter of "common Concernment" when a member of a church is unjustly excluded from the fellowship of the churches by some act of censure in his own church; and the judgment of the churches may declare whether these other churches shall continue to fellowship him, should an evident injustice appear to have been done which



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his church will not rectify. It is a matter of "common Concernment" when proposals for Christian work upon a scale more or less extended require the co-operation of a greater or less body of churches; and such plans ought not to be undertaken without the concurrence of the churches assembled for counsel.

There came therefore at once into being the system of local ecclesiastical councils, called for a specific purpose mentioned in the call, and expiring with the conclusion of deliberations upon the subject in ques-

tion. Such a council is simply a group of churches, each of which is represented by its pastor and one delegate. It is usually made up of a convenient number of the churches of the vicinage, although others more distant may be invited, particularly in cases where advice is needed from persons outside of an atmosphere of possible contention. The practice has also grown up of asking the presence of a few persons of extended experience and wisdom in counsel. A church—or persons asking to be organized into a church—must always be a party to calling such a council, with the single apparent exception of one called by an aggrieved member of a church which ought to have itself consented to summon a council. In cases of controversy it must be impartially selected; the parties agree upon a common list, or each selects one-half. In calling a council concerning the dismissal of a pastor, or a mutual one between a church and an aggrieved member, both parties sign the call for the council. But where there are two parties at variance within a church, and the church desires advice regarding these dissensions, the church alone issues the call, although each party is allowed a voice in the selection of churches to be invited. To constitute a quorum a majority of the invited churches must be represented. The call, known as “letter missive,” gives to each church and person invited a list of all churches and persons summoned, which list cannot be increased by any act of the council, either in conferring actual or honorary membership; nor can the council admit any church or person invited by the church, but omitted from its list in the call. The letter missive specifies and absolutely limits the question to be laid before the

council. When this subject has been carefully considered, the conclusions arrived at are embodied in what is technically known as a "result." This result is in many cases necessarily only advisory, and a church may decline to act in accordance with it without incurring censure, but in some cases the result is necessarily conclusive. Thus, a council called to act upon the proposed ordination of a minister, and proceeding to ordain him, of course determines the question. A council called with power to declare the dissolution of a pastoral relation can decide imperatively, but such power is seldom given. The courts in Massachusetts, and also in some other States, have recognized the existence of councils as a part of our polity, and have declared that when a council is impartially selected, and proceeds according to the ordinary principles of fairness, either party accepting the result of such council will be sustained by law in cases within the cognizance of law.

It must be remembered that councils are not to be convened upon trivial occasions, nor does every ground of dissatisfaction afford a just cause for demanding the convening of such a body. They are proper only in cases involving the communion of the churches. No member of a church can demand a council, and, if refused, call an *ex parte* council, unless he has been deprived of good standing, and thereby of the right of communing with other churches. A council is in no sense a court of appeal from some church action supposed to be injudicious, nor can any council annul or reverse a decision of any church within that church. Proper occasions for councils are these: (1) The organizing or receiving a church into fellowship; (2)

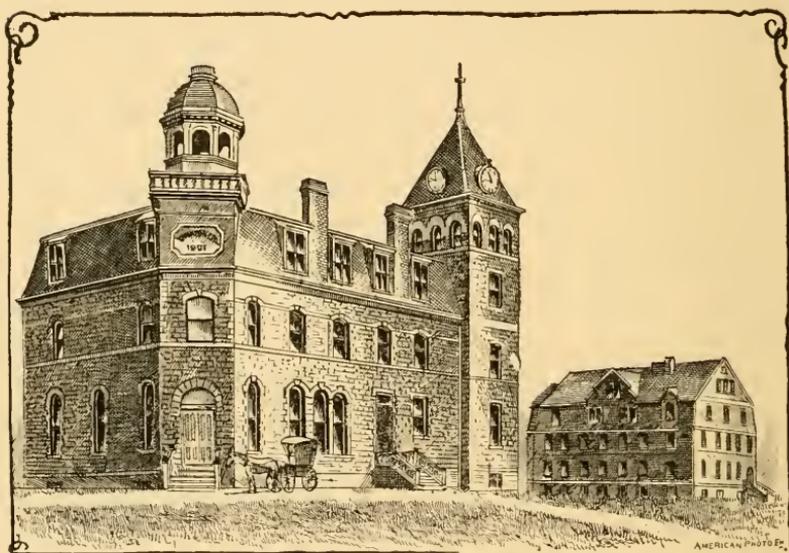
the ordination of a person to the ministry, with or without induction into the pastoral office, and the installation of pastors previously ordained; (3) the dismissal of an installed pastor from his office in a particular church; (4) the giving advice to a church asking for it in cases where internal difficulties disturb its peace; or where parties exist within the church whose variance suggests the pressing need of counsel; (5) the giving advice where the church is in doubt as to needed measures for its prosperity; (6) the consideration of an alleged offense by some member which both the member and the church desire to refer to a council for advice before church action; (7) the hearing upon a claim of unjust censure by a church upon some member, mutually referred for advice to such council; or, in case of refusal by the church, its consideration by an *ex parte* council called by the aggrieved member in view of alleged injustice, but with power only to advise the church, and recommend his reception by any other church; (8) the hearing by a mutual or *ex parte* council of a complaint that a member, being in good and regular standing, has been refused a letter of dismissal and recommendation to some other church which he had requested in good faith; (9) the hearing of charges against a pastor or other ordained minister in a church, which would, if proved, make it proper that he be deposed from the ministry, and thus lose the fellowship of the churches as a minister of the gospel; (10) the hearing of a complaint by any one church that another particular church has after admonition persisted in offenses as to faith or practice which affect the reputation of the body of churches.

It will be seen that councils are proper only in cases

of "common Concernment." For such cases, whether affecting a church or an individual member, the system furnishes ample opportunity for the expression of all that is contained in Christian fellowship as applied to single and specific occurrences. Nor do our churches find any need of standing judicatories, and they feel that it is better to trust to the advice of faithful brethren in some matter of common interest or in a case of alleged injustice, rather than ask for judicial decisions from a tribunal in the form of verdicts. They prefer the advice of brethren selected freshly for a given case, and then returning to the brotherhood which sent them, rather than standing and permanent officials. They believe that an isolated case of alleged grievance can be more easily settled in its own limited neighborhood than by a system of successive courts which widens it to the cognizance of a continent. The whole body of churches, while not bound so to do by any constitution, yet tacitly acquiesces in the decisions arrived at by groups of churches orderly convened in their respective localities. The result has justified the wisdom of this course. The flexible character and the easy adjustment of fellowship have readily settled estrangements which might otherwise have rent in two a whole denomination. Local dissensions have been healed by the kindly assistance of local councils, which judicial trials would often have made permanent. The whole method has its power in Christian love and neighborly affection. Fellowship, and not authority, is the secret of its administration. These councils are the visible expression of affinities in doctrine and practice. No two of them ever comprise precisely the same churches, and thus all the churches become inter-

woven. In the days of the great New England defection it was not necessary to exclude by council. The mere omission by evangelical churches to invite into counsel those churches which had become alien from the faith itself settled the question of fellowship and made formal by natural process the inevitable separation.

But our churches have found a peculiar method of



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expressing visible unity in the great religious benevolent associations for Christian work in which Congregationalists have been acknowledged as leaders. These works were not undertaken to express that unity; they were begun because such unity, in loyalty to the command of Christ to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, already existed. Our great organizations for these Christian purposes

indeed were established, in the main, on a basis broader than that of denominational life. The fathers sought, as has been already shown in previous chapters of this work, to unite Christians of all evangelical names in missionary operations. The hope that this might be accomplished, which for a time seemed warranted, proved fallacious. This disappointment came by no act of ours, but because others, growing stronger or more denominational, withdrew from co-operation. Doubtless it was the providence of God to make His work more effectual. While this partial union continued, and since the separation, the unity of our churches in Christian work, which was the expression of Christian faith, was wonderfully visible. It was the result of that inner life which can develop activity of itself, and without waiting for, or needing, the decrees of some central government issuing its orders and providing methods. The unity which manifested itself in voluntary Christian work through associated agencies, shaped simply as God's providence showed the immediate way, has been far more impressive than any trained system of government could possibly have been. It was the visible unity of the Spirit.

We have already seen that our general associations for Christian work originated with individuals rather than with ecclesiastical organizations. Men and women moved by the Holy Ghost united for some special work to which they were peculiarly inclined. This has been called the voluntary system. Such men and women did not need to wait for the consent of some hierarchy or some synod before entering into the place of their labors. There were special reasons, indeed,

why the voluntary union of persons rather than that of churches was the method chosen. Except in the limited territory of consociations, and there but in part, we had no associations of churches, yet when our first great society, that for foreign missions, was to come into existence the young men who projected the enterprise did the best they could. They applied to the General Association of Massachusetts, which, although a clerical body, was held to practically represent the evangelical churches of the State. That body organized the American Board and appointed its first members. With a similar body in Connecticut it made appointments the following year. The Board ceased to be a representative body only when legal incorporation was deemed necessary; and in procuring incorporation the representative principle was ignored by the delegates who sought it.

Our other great societies, with a single exception, came into being by individual co-operation, as has been shown in the specific accounts of those bodies. This method was partially due to the strong desire for co-operation between Christians of different denominations. But it was also greatly due to a want of vivid conception of the Congregational principles underlying the nature and duties of the local church. It was felt without much thought that voluntary associations of all persons interested in a special work practically represented the churches. The American Board, however, with its limited membership, was not voluntary even in this sense.

But a general change from individualism to church representation was inevitable. When members of other denominations withdrew, the societies were in

new conditions. The constant appeals for contributions which their officials made to the churches through the pulpits and in our general annual and local gatherings, awoke the question whether these churches should be excluded as such from the control of the work which they supported. The rising sense of loyalty to Congregational principles of church order was having its effect. It is Congregational that the churches as in the days of the fathers should consult and act together in all matters of "common Concernment." There could be no greater common concern than that of the missionary operations of these churches. For the doctrine to be preached, the methods to be employed, the financial support to be afforded, the churches were responsible. These responsibilities could not be left to individual control. The discussions which ensued found their complete conclusion in the action of the National Council of 1889. This council, representing the churches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in appointing a committee to consult with the committees of the several national benevolent societies as to "the relations of these societies to the churches," unanimously said: "And for guidance of the said committees the Council declares its opinion in favor of steps which in due time will make the said societies the representatives of the churches."

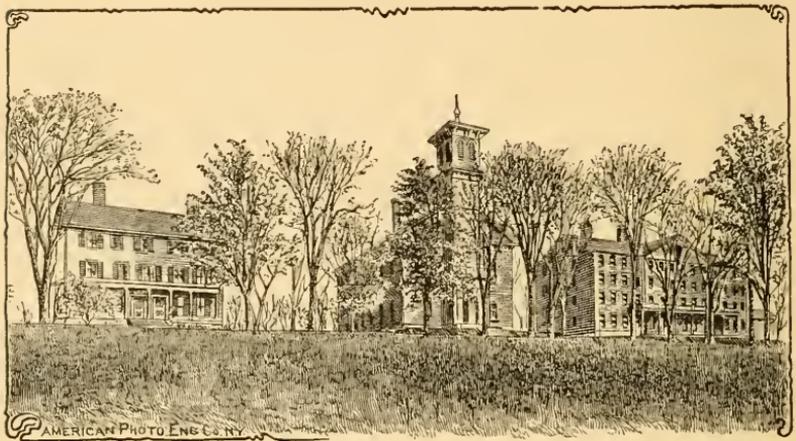
Some of these societies had, much earlier than this date, placed themselves in harmony with Congregational principles by providing for the admission of delegates, with full voting powers, from all contributing churches. The last of the societies to acknowledge the demand of Congregationalism was the Amer-

ican Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. With a membership of but two hundred and fifty persons, and these serving for life, and with recurring vacancies filled by the votes of the remaining members, its absolute independence of the churches whose love for missions forced them to contribute their moneys, was an anomaly in Congregationalism. It was an independence absolutely unknown to any other Protestant missionary society. The magnificent work done by our missionaries, and the admirable administration of the affairs by the Board, had kept that Board dear to the hearts of our people, notwithstanding this organic separation. The National Council had given voice to what had become almost universally demanded. In 1892 the Board unanimously adopted a tentative measure for one year, by which two-thirds of all recurring vacancies should be filled by nominations made *pro rata* by the several State organizations of churches. The National Council, at its meeting immediately following, unanimously declared its gratification at this action, and expressed the earnest hope that the Board would take further measures to make it a representative body, and that these measures would be such as would "show the confidence of the Board in the churches, and result in increased confidence of the churches in the Board." At its next meeting, that of 1893, the Board justified this hope by unanimously largely increasing its limit of membership, and extending the time in which the method of representation previously adopted should be in force. Thus the last of our great societies joined in acknowledging the Congregational principle that the churches themselves must control the united religious operations which the

providence of God calls upon them to support. Our churches do not, on the one hand, leave such work to irresponsible individuals, nor, on the other hand, do they submit it to church boards appointed by some consolidated central government, with all the liabilities to arbitrary and despotic power which such a system must fear.

The unity of our churches has found still another method of illustration in the local groups of churches known as conferences or associations; and in the several State bodies which cover the broader fields denoted by the title. All these came into being by natural development. They were not formed at the same period, nor in pursuance of a general plan. They have no power of government whatever, and can never entertain an appeal from any quarter. They meet solely for Christian communion and consultation; and being free from all the perplexities and technicalities of ecclesiastical discipline, they furnish occasions for great spiritual profit. The local conferences, each including perhaps a score or more of churches, meet twice or oftener in each year, at one of which meetings the Lord's Supper is administered. Reports of church work, Sunday-school methods, and those of young people's societies, revival results, and kindred topics are discussed. These local conferences are of comparatively recent origin. The early consociations were of a different character. In Ohio the Muskingum Conference and the Ecclesiastical Convention of New Connecticut were formed between 1800 and 1810 but soon disappeared. The oldest of the twenty-five conferences now existing in Massachusetts was organized in 1821, the next in 1827, and seven more were in existence in

1830. In New Hampshire seven conferences had come into being in the period from 1826 to 1833. In Maine nine conferences were organized between 1822 and 1829. In Vermont, where fourteen such bodies exist, the first conference, as such, was organized in 1830; but consociations, formed at dates



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beginning with 1804 are now reported as conferences. In Connecticut the oldest conference dates from 1852. The rapid growth of the conference system was in the period when the Unitarian defection was becoming settled. In the time of their anxieties, and of their inflexible purpose, they drew closer together in prayerful conference and affectionate communion. It was also a period of revivals, and the result of such revivals was in part thus embodied. This system has become universal among our churches. A few "independent" churches still remain in a partial connection with our body, but their number is steadily diminishing; and in many States the enrollment of churches upon our

list naturally comes only through membership in a conference. These conferences are so thoroughly a constituent part of our system that they are represented by their delegates in the National Council of which they constitute much the larger portion.

Local associations of ministers were in existence as far back as the seventeenth century. They had no lay membership upon their lists, and were often looked upon with suspicion. It was feared that they might grow into bodies claiming jurisdiction. The Cambridge Platform, while it nominally denied to ministers any prerogatives as such, yet gave to each pastor an absolute negative on the decisions of his church. Practically the early ministry was a powerful body in church and state. Associations of ministers became careful not to infringe upon the rights of the churches. They are not to be confused with conferences of churches, but are voluntary bodies merely, for mutual edification and help. Yet the decisions of the highest court in our land have recognized the right of such bodies as being privileged to expel unworthy members, on the ground that they are natural judges of the purity of the ministry. Nevertheless, only a council called for the purpose can withdraw the fellowship of the churches from an unworthy minister. These associations are, in many parts of the country, territorially coincident with the limits of the conferences. In the absence of bodies representing churches they naturally examined candidates for the ministry, although they could not ordain. This trust generally remains with them; and practically, in the Eastern States, it is the determination of ministerial standing. But the National Council of 1886, recognizing the prin-

ciple that the fellowship of the churches in any particular case belongs to the churches themselves (including ministers as well as lay members), advised the State and local organizations of churches "to consider such modification of their constitution as will make them to become responsible for the ministerial standing of ministers within their bounds, in harmony with the principle that the churches of any locality decide upon their own fellowship." The result of this appropriate recommendation is still pending.

From the local conference to the State conference was a natural development. The earliest body covering a province or State was the General Association of Connecticut, organized May 18, 1709. It was a purely clerical body, and had some peculiar powers. The General Convention of Vermont followed June 21, 1796; the General Association of Massachusetts, June 29, 1803; Rhode Island, under the name of Consociation, May 3, 1809, and the General Association of New Hampshire, June 8, 1809. These bodies, except Rhode Island, represented local associations of ministers, and they interchanged delegates with each other in their meetings, which were held annually. The Rhode Island Consociation included churches, but it was on the plan which made it "the regular and proper council for ordaining, installing and dismissing ministers"; and gave the ministers of this body the right of discipline over its ministers and licentiates. Many years elapsed before these provisions were annulled. It was for Maine to originate the real Congregational system in which the churches should be united in conferences. Its General Conference was organized January 10, 1825. All the other New Eng-

land State bodies except Connecticut have since changed their constitutions, so as to make these bodies the direct representatives of the churches, but without authority. Connecticut, whose General Association held certain trusts, organized a distinct general conference of the churches November 12, 1867. The General Association of New York was organized May 31, 1834. The churches of the interior and far West adopted this system from the beginning, as they did that of local conferences; and the churches of the South have followed the same plan. Forty such organizations now exist in as many States and Territories. All possess the same character. They determine the basis of their own fellowship, but they meet solely for consultation and expression of opinion on matters of common religious interest. They have no power to legislate or to act judicially; but their opinions naturally carry more weight than would judicial determinations, because based solely upon the reasons found in such opinions and upon the love which prompted them.

The right and power of local self-government remain in the particular churches, and cannot be surrendered. The system of neighborhood councils, summoned for specific action in such cases as have been already specified, retains unabated force and confidence. The great benevolent operations of the churches, which require united efforts, are provided for by representation of the churches interested. The grouping of churches in neighborhood conferences and in State organizations for purposes of Christian consultation and edification, in regular recurring gatherings, are parts of the providential evidence

of Christian unity. But the broadening extent of our national domain, whose western progress has been accompanied by the westward movement of our churches, has inevitably led to a broader application of the principles of our polity. Consultations of a general character became necessary. We have seen that even the fathers found general synods indispensable. Two such synods, those of 1637 and 1648, and other partial synods, have already been noticed. Then they fell into disuse. Little organization existed for generations. But habits and methods which could be tolerated while the churches were scarcely beyond the sound of the Atlantic surf, were insufficient when the advanced line of the churches was crossing a continent. Congregational principles were adequate to every need, and a return was had to the methods of the fathers.

More than two hundred years had elapsed from the date when the churches had adjourned from their synod at Cambridge to the time when they were again called together for consultation as a whole. The third general synod, known as "a convention of ministers and delegates of Congregational churches in the United States," met "in accordance with a call issued by direction of the General Association of New York." It assembled in Albany, N. Y., on the 5th day of October, 1852; consisted of four hundred and sixty-three elders and messengers from churches in seventeen States; chose Rev. William T. Dwight, D. D., of Maine, President; and Rev. Noah Porter, D. D., of Connecticut, and Rev. Asa Turner of Iowa, Vice Presidents, and dissolved on the 8th day of October.

The main subjects upon which the Convention acted

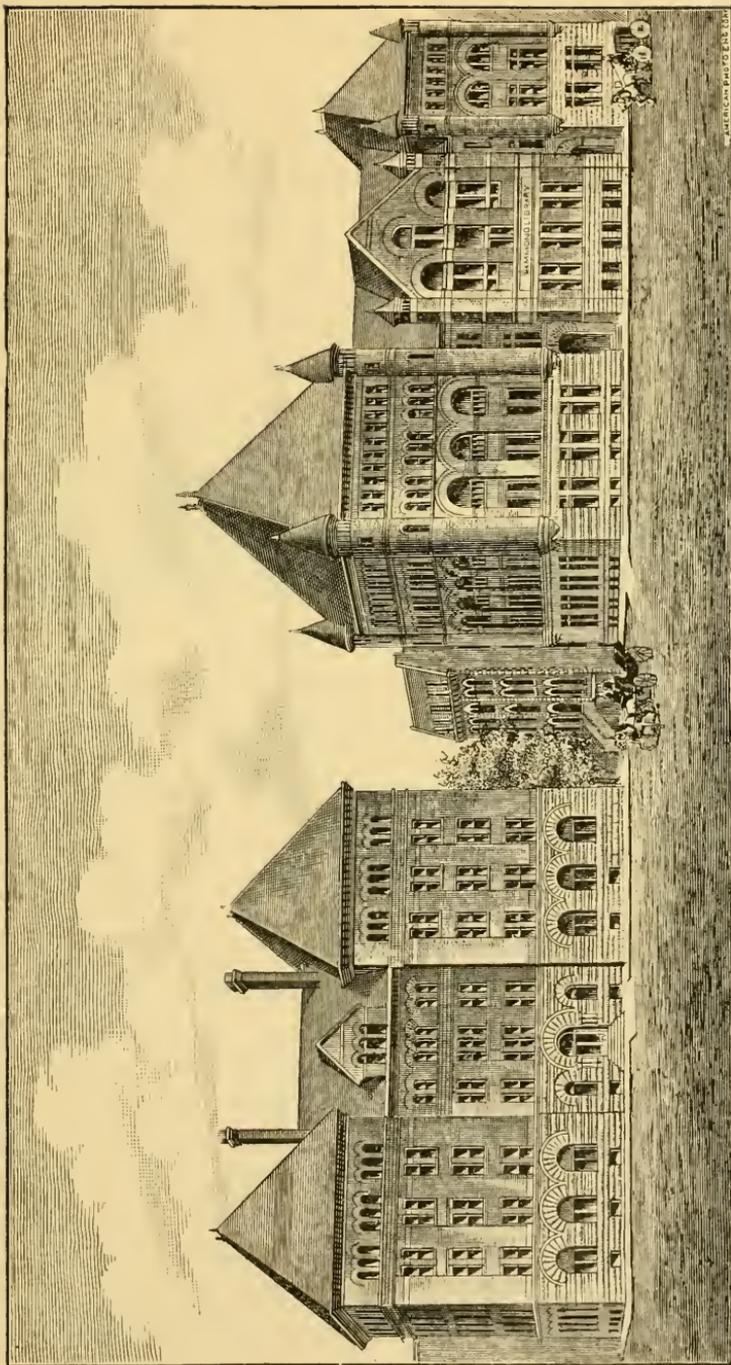
were: 1. The project of aiding feeble churches at the West in building church edifices. 2. The construction and practical operation of the "Plan of Union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists," agreed upon by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Association of Connecticut in the year 1801.

The first of these topics was made imperative by the rapid emigration westward, and the necessity of assisting churches in their feeble beginnings to erect houses of worship. The Convention adopted a plan for raising the sum of fifty thousand dollars at once, and for its apportionment and use. Much more than this modest sum was speedily raised, and it was the commencement of that great work of the church-building society which has placed its memorials throughout our whole land.

Upon the second topic, the convention found that the Plan of Union had been repudiated by the General Assembly before the schism of 1838, but was acknowledged as in force by one branch of that church; that, although so acknowledged, it was not maintained in its integrity; and that its operation was not only now "unfavorable to the spread of, and permanence of, the Congregational polity," but "even to the real harmony of these Christian communities." The convention, therefore, unanimously declared the continuance of the Plan of Union to be inexpedient. The general acceptance of this recommendation by the churches relieved both denominations from complications injurious to harmony.

Twelve years later a far greater emergency was before the churches. The great war was not ended,

but men foresaw the coming triumph of the Union armies. New fields for Christian activity, from which Congregationalists had been practically excluded, were to be opened; and the changed conditions of the North and West demanded more vigorous work in evangelization than had ever been attempted. What were the duties of the churches was a question of vast importance. The summoning of a general council was suggested in various quarters, especially in the interior. "The Triennial Convention of the Congregational Churches of the Northwest"—a body whose special work concerned the Chicago Theological Seminary—at its meeting held in April, 1864, recorded the fact that vast regions were likely to be opened to the work of our churches, that great numbers of bondmen were to become free, and that the structure of society and of ecclesiastical organization was becoming greatly changed; and declared that the churches ought "to inquire what is their duty in this vast and solemn crisis, such as comes only once in ages, and what new efforts, measures and policies they may owe to this condition of affairs—this new genesis of nations." It proposed that a National Congregational Convention be held. The General Association of Illinois sustained the proposal. Other State bodies followed. The committees appointed by the several State organizations met in Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, November 16, 1864. That gathering, of which Dr. Leonard Bacon was chairman, decided upon Boston as the place, and June 14, 1865, as the date, of a National Council, and provided a plan of representation through local conferences. It proposed, as subjects for consideration, the work of evangelization



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in the West and South, and in foreign lands ; church-building ; education for the ministry ; ministerial support ; local and parochial evangelization ; a statement of church polity ; a declaration of faith, as held by the Congregational churches ; and the classification of benevolent organizations to be recommended to the patronage of the churches ; and its selected committees to present papers upon these several subjects.

Upon the fourteenth day of June, 1865, this National Council assembled in the Old South Meeting-house, in Boston—the house which had resounded to the eloquence of the patriots of the Revolution, and which the British had used for a riding school. Five hundred and two members were present from twenty-five States ; sixteen delegates were present from foreign lands, and fourteen persons were made honorary members. Hon. William A. Buckingham, governor of Connecticut, was chosen moderator ; and Hon. Charles G. Hammond of Illinois, and Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, D. D., of New York, were made assistant moderators. The proceedings of this body, which was in session (apart from the Sabbath) ten days, covered much more than the range of the topics proposed. All the work committed to the various national denominational societies passed in review, and their necessities were considered ; while generous sympathy was expressed for undenominational societies like those for the circulation of the Bible and for Sunday schools. Collegiate education, the education of ministers, and ministerial support were considered. Systematic beneficence received attention. Foreign Missions as well as Home, the building meeting-houses and parochial evangelization were discussed at length. But the condition of the country, emerging as it was

from the conflict of arms, and coming into the crisis of reconstruction, proved to be the theme of absorbing interest. The opening of the South, and enfranchisement of millions of men, presented opportunities and created duties of the greatest moment. The response was earnest. It was resolved to enter upon the work which God had provided. As a beginning of contribu-



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tions, the council advised the immediate raising of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars for general work, to which the churches afterward honorably responded. The enthusiasm which this council developed appears to have been almost the beginning of a new era. Dissensions which had existed, and differences of thought which still exist, it had been feared would make harmony in such a council almost impossible. Jealousies between different "schools" might have been expected. There was no central authority to preserve unity or to command peace. But when brethren came together from all parts of the land, and came preserving their own peculiarities of thought; meeting face to face, and in the presence of common responsibilities and duties, their faith in the one Lord dispelled all distrust. The exhibition of the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of love was complete.

From that time the two "schools," as they were called, passed out of sight.

Two important subjects in addition to those just mentioned were considered by the council. The first was that of church polity. A preliminary committee, consisting of Dr. Leonard Bacon and Rev. A. H. Quint, presented an elaborate platform of polity, in which the hand of the distinguished chairman was evidently prominent. This proposed platform was finally referred to a committee of twenty-five ministers and laymen, including the two already mentioned, with many brethren eminent in knowledge residing in different parts of the land. The list embraced representatives of all the theological seminaries, presidents of colleges, distinguished pastors, and laymen high in judicial position. This committee, which was to publish its conclusions at its leisure, subsequently carefully revised the proposed platform and gave it to the public. Their work was not "a polemic defense of Congregationalism, or a rhetorical commendation of it"; it was an exhaustive and careful statement of the principles and usages of our churches in their ecclesiastical government and relations. It was not the decree of any legislative power within our churches to which conformity could be required; it was the united testimony of men qualified to declare what actually exists, and carries the weight which belongs to their deliberate judgment. This platform is the only one prepared by men under the direction of the churches since the year 1648, and an examination will show that it is the best and clearest exposition of our principles and methods which now exists.

The second of the two topics to which we have

alluded was that of a declaration of faith. A preliminary committee had presented a draft of such a declaration, which was referred to a committee of the council. This committee had reported a somewhat different paper, which was under discussion and which met with determined criticism, on the day which preceded that of a visit of the council to the Plymouth where the fathers had landed in 1620. The divergence of opinion was such as threatened to make unanimity impossible. But when the council, on the morning of June 22, 1865, met on Burial Hill, under a cloudless sky, a new draft of a declaration of faith was presented, which at once commanded the approval of the council. It embodied a considerable portion of the paper before the council on the preceding day, but introduced, and was also supplemented by, new matter, and it omitted needless paragraphs which had excited controversy. Only two persons voted against its adoption, and these two votes disappeared when on the next day the declaration was reaffirmed after a few corrections of unimportant words. A spirit of gratitude to God was everywhere felt. A danger had been arrested. The real unity of our churches in faith had providentially found expression. Professor Williston Walker of Hartford, in his learned work containing the "Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism," published in 1893, appropriately says: "Thus came into being the only declaration of faith which a body representative of American Congregationalism as a whole had approved since 1648." Nor has any other declaration been set forth by the churches in council assembled since the declaration at Plymouth. The declaration is as follows:

Standing by the rock where the Pilgrims set foot upon these shores, upon the spot where they worshiped God, and among the graves of the early generations, we, elders and messengers of the Congregational churches of the United States in National Council assembled—like them acknowledging no rule of faith but the Word of God—do now declare our adherence to the faith and order of the apostolic and primitive churches held by our fathers, and substantially as embodied in the confessions and platforms which our synods of 1648 and 1680 set forth or reaffirmed. We declare that the experience of the nearly two and a half centuries which have elapsed since the memorable day when our sires founded here a Christian commonwealth, with all the development of new forms of error since their times, has only deepened our confidence in the faith and polity of those fathers. We bless God for the inheritance of these doctrines. We invoke the help of the Divine Redeemer that, through the presence of the promised Comforter, he will enable us to transmit them in purity to our children.

In the times that are before us as a nation, times at once of duty and of danger, we rest all our hope in the gospel of the Son of God. It was the grand peculiarity of our Puritan fathers that they held this gospel, not merely as the ground of their personal salvation, but as declaring the worth of man by the incarnation and sacrifice of the Son of God; and therefore applied its principles to elevate society, to regulate education, to civilize humanity, to purify law, to reform the church and the state, and to assert and defend liberty; in short, to mold and redeem, by its all-transforming energy, everything that belongs to man in his individual and social relations.

It was the faith of our fathers that gave us this free land in which we dwell. It is by this faith only that we can transmit to our children a free and happy, because a Christian, commonwealth.

We hold it to be a distinctive excellence of our Congregational system that it exalts that which is more above that which is less important, and, by the simplicity of its organization, facilitates, in communities where the population is limited, the union of all true believers in one Christian church; and that the division of such communities into several weak and jealous societies, holding the same common faith, is a sin against the unity of the body of Christ, and at once the shame and scandal of Christendom.

We rejoice that, through the influence of our free system of apostolic order, we can hold fellowship with all who acknowledge

Christ, and act efficiently in the work of restoring unity to the divided church, and of bringing back harmony and peace among all "who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

Thus recognizing the unity of the church of Christ in all the world, and knowing that we are but one branch of Christ's people, while adhering to our peculiar faith and order, we extend to all believers the hand of Christian fellowship upon the basis of those great fundamental truths in which all Christians should agree. With them we confess our faith in God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, the only living and true God; in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Word, who is exalted to be our Redeemer and King; and in the Holy Comforter, who is present in the church to regenerate and sanctify the soul.

With the whole church we confess the common sinfulness and ruin of our race, and acknowledge that it is only through the work accomplished by the life and expiatory death of Christ that believers in Him are justified before God, receive the remission of sins, and through the presence and grace of the Holy Comforter are delivered from the power of sin and perfected in holiness.

We believe also in the organized and visible church, in the ministry of the Word, in the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in the resurrection of the body and in the final judgment, the issues of which are eternal life and everlasting punishment.

We receive these truths on the testimony of God, given through prophets and apostles, and in the life, the miracles, the death, the resurrection, of His Son, our Divine Redeemer—a testimony preserved for the church in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which were composed by holy men as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

Affirming now our belief that those who thus hold "one faith, one Lord, one baptism," together constitute the one catholic church, the several households of which, though called by different names, are the one body of Christ, and that these members of His body are sacredly bound to keep "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace," we declare that we will co-operate with all who hold these truths. With them we will carry the gospel into every part of this land, and with them we will go into all the world and "preach the gospel to every creature." May He to whom "all power is given in heaven and earth" fulfill the promise which is all our hope: "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world. Amen."

It was then solemnly reaffirmed and finally adopted by a rising vote, in connection with prayer by Rev. Dr. Palmer of New York, and the singing of "My Faith Looks Up to Thee" and the Doxology.

The correspondent of *The Independent*, Dr. J. P. Gulliver, thus wrote of the scene on Burial Hill at Plymouth:

"It was a sublime moment! Nearly two hundred and fifty years had passed since the feeble 'Mayflower' company had repeated in solemn covenant the articles of their despised faith on that spot. 'What do these feeble Jews?' said a sneering world. 'Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone wall.' Now five hundred men, the representatives of three thousand churches, the representatives of ideas which have triumphed gloriously and finally over the land, the representatives of *Puritanism*, pure and simple, unchanged, unabashed, bold and intense, as in the days of the Commonwealth, stood on the soil made firm by the heroic tread of those despised men and exultingly declared: 'This faith is our faith. These ideas have saved our country, and are going forth, conquering and to conquer, over the world.'"

The National Council of the Congregational churches of the United States is the natural and final expression of the unity of the churches.

It had been held that in ordinary times the interchange of delegates between State bodies was amply sufficient for purposes of consultation. It was also believed that only in cases of peculiar exigency were general councils or synods desirable. But the rapid extension of our churches had made the need of fre-

quent opportunities for general consultation strongly felt. The great and pressing duties of evangelization in view of the growth of cities, the rapid settlement of new parts of our country, the problems attending the citizenship of a race, and the great immigration needing to be met with the gospel of Christ, made exigencies continual. The staunchest advocates of the rights of the churches came to feel that a national organization was greatly to be desired, and that it could be secured without establishing even a shadow of ecclesiastical supremacy. The grand results of the council of 1865 had also proved beyond a doubt the value of national consultation.

At the request of the Church of the Pilgrimage in Plymouth, Mass., a meeting was held in New York City March 2, 1870, to consider measures appropriate to the approaching fifth jubilee of the landing of the Pilgrims. That meeting recommended the holding of a Pilgrim Memorial Convention at Chicago, Ill., April 27, 1870, to be made up of delegates from all churches who might care to appoint them. That convention, meeting in connection with the Triennial Convention of the Northwest, among its acts took occasion to give voice to what had been privately discussed; and recommended to the several State and other organizations "to unite in measures for instituting, on the principle of fellowship, excluding ecclesiastical authority, a permanent National Conference." The Ohio General Conference, on a motion made by Dr. A. H. Ross, was the first of the State bodies to take decisive action, and it appointed a committee to act with others in bringing about the desired result. Nearly all of the State organizations heartily approved the proposal and

appointed suitable committees. Only one State, which contained seventy churches, made objection, and that only by one majority. The Massachusetts committee invited all other committees to meet in the Congregational Library in Boston upon the twenty-first day of December, 1870. The meeting was accordingly held, Dr. E. B. Webb of Boston being made moderator, and Hon. A. C. Barstow of Providence assistant moderator. The action of the several State bodies having been presented, it was unanimously resolved, "That it is expedient, and appears clearly to be the voice of the churches, that a National Council of the Congregational churches of the United States be organized."

It was a fitting date upon which the churches thus decreed their visible unity. It was the exact two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the day, December 21, 1620, on which the little church of Christ had landed at Plymouth.

The simple measures taken were to select a committee charged with the duty of preparing the draft of a suitable constitution, select the time and place of meeting, and issue the call for such meeting, under certain definite instructions as to the character of the proposed constitution and the method of representation. The committee chosen by ballot consisted of Rev. A. H. Quint of Massachusetts, Rev. President William E. Merriman of Wisconsin, Rev. Professor Samuel C. Bartlett of Illinois, Samuel Holmes of New Jersey, Major-General Oliver O. Howard, U. S. A., Rev. William I. Budington of New York and Hon. Amos C. Barstow of Rhode Island.

Under the call of this committee the first council convened at Oberlin, O., November 15, 1871. Called

to order by the chairman of the preliminary committee, who read the letter summoning the council, the delegates chose Hon. Erastus D. Holton of Wisconsin to be temporary moderator. Two hundred and seventy-six delegates were present from twenty-five States. Eleven honorary members included delegates from seven benevolent societies and three theological seminaries. The proposed constitution was adopted, with unimportant amendments; and Rev. William Ives Budington, D. D., of New York, was chosen moderator, and Major-General Oliver O. Howard, U. S. A., and Rev. George H. Atkinson, D. D., of Oregon, were made assistant moderators.

The place of meeting was happily chosen. The choice recognized the great work which Oberlin had done in our land. It signified the removal of past distrust. Well did Dr. Budington say, in his opening address, "We stand to-day upon the grave of buried prejudices." When the venerable Charles G. Finney, in feeble health, with tears flowing from his eyes, spoke to the thronging congregation upon "the baptism of the Holy Spirit" tears were also upon every cheek, and it was believed that that baptism rested upon the messengers of the churches in their new work.

The constitution, which has remained practically unchanged, has certain features which must be noticed :

First, it declares the object in view : "The Congregational churches of the United States, by elders and messengers assembled, do now associate themselves in National Council, to express and foster their substantial unity in doctrine, polity and work : and to consult upon the common interests of all the churches, their duties in the work of evangelization, the united devel-

opment of their resources and their relations to all parts of the kingdom of Christ."

Secondly, it acknowledges "the Scriptural and inalienable right of each church to self-government and administration"; and declares that "this National Council shall never exercise legislative or judicial authority, nor act as a council of reference."

Thirdly, it says that the churches "agree in belief that the Holy Scriptures are the sufficient and only infallible rule of religious faith and practice; their interpretation thereof being in substantial accordance with the great doctrines of the Christian faith, commonly called evangelical, held in our churches from the early times, and sufficiently set forth by former general councils." It was the undoubted intent, in choosing this language, to ignore all distinctions between Calvinist and Arminian, and to base the union of the churches upon the great evangelical faith common to Christendom. Such was the exposition of the distinguished moderator. In harmony with this purpose was the action of the council of 1892, as follows:

Resolved, That affiliation with our denomination of churches not now upon our roll, should be welcomed upon the basis of common evangelical faith, substantial Congregational polity and free communion of Christians, without regard to forms or minor differences."

The council is composed of delegates equally divided between ministers and laymen from local conferences and State organizations. Each local conference sends one delegate for every ten churches upon its roll and one for a final fraction greater than five-

tents ; but each conference is entitled to at least one delegate. Each State organization elects one delegate and one for each ten thousand communicants in the churches upon its roll and one for a final major fraction thereof. Each national Congregational benevolent society and each theological seminary sends one honorary delegate. A secretary, a registrar and a treasurer are chosen at each triennial session to serve for three years ; and the moderator at any session presides during the organizing of the next succeeding. A provisional committee is appointed at each triennial session to propose topics of such eminent importance as may demand attention at the next, while the several benevolent societies and theological seminaries avail themselves of the opportunity by their delegates to present statements of their condition at each session, which are then considered by the council. Certain committees are also appointed at each session to make careful investigation into specified matters of weighty importance, and to report thereon at the next session. But these committees are not prescribed by any standing rule. So simple is the organization of this body.

Many subjects have been before the successive councils. The general work of the churches through the various societies has always had the most prominent place of consideration. The council has discussed specific themes like temperance, the observance of the Sabbath, marriage and divorce, the right treatment of the Indians and of the Chinese ; and the Mormon question and arbitration among nations are found upon record. Denominational comity has been repeatedly discussed. Parochial evangelization, city evangelization and work among our foreign-born population ;

systematic beneficence; education in colleges and State universities and the education of ministers; the relation of church and parish, exhaustively presented; pastorless churches and churchless pastors; the ministerial supply, economy in ministerial force, and ministerial support; tests of church membership; the position of children in the church, Sunday-school instruction, and the Christian Endeavor movement have received careful attention and been the subjects of thoughtful deliverances. As to caste, against which it pronounced in 1871, the council has been the means of readily deciding the question by affirming that no conferences of churches can be recognized by the reception of their delegates unless those conferences give equal rights to all alike. Without the least friction it decided upon the position of women in ecclesiastical affairs; when in the council of 1880 a woman presented credentials as delegate from Colorado, her name was placed upon the roll as a matter of course and without dissent. Thus easily does Congregationalism decide great questions without involving any crashing of ecclesiastical machinery. It is also proper here to note that women are found as delegates in our ecclesiastical councils, our local conferences and our State organizations, and that their Christian right of voting in our churches is now almost universally understood. The council has established a fund for the relief of aged or disabled ministers and the widows and orphans of such if needing assistance.

Upon the question of ministerial tests and standing, the council unanimously declared our recognized principles in 1892 as follows:

“Each Congregational church has its own confession

of faith, and there is no authority to impose any general confession upon it nor are our ministers required to subscribe to any specified doctrinal standards. But, as a basis of fellowship, we have certain creeds of acknowledged weight, to be used not as tests, but as a testimony; and we have also, in ecclesiastical councils and associations of churches, recognized organs for expressing the fellowship and declaring the faith held by our churches to be essential, as well as guarding the liberty of thought generally allowed in our churches. Therefore, in the administration of all our benevolent societies, and in the common work of our churches, the utmost care should be exercised in the application of the foregoing principles."

At the council of 1886 the unanimous action taken upon ministerial standing was as follows:

"*Resolved*, That standing in the Congregational ministry is acquired by the fulfillment of these three conditions, namely, (1) membership in a Congregational church; (2) ordination to the Christian ministry; and (3) reception as an ordained minister into the fellowship of the Congregational churches in accordance with the usage of the State or territorial organization of churches in which the applicant may reside; and such standing is to be continued in accordance with these usages, it being understood that a *pro re nata* council is the ultimate resort in all cases in question."

The council of 1871 declared that every minister ought to be in orderly connection with some ministerial or ecclesiastical organization capable of certifying to his continued standing. Upon this principle the roll of ministers published in the Year Book is compiled, the list for each State being furnished by the

State organization, which the secretary of the council has no authority whatever to alter, and regarding which the council itself has no judicial authority.

The annual Year Book, compiled and published under the direction of the council, contains the statistics of the churches throughout the country, more exhaustively and completely than is found in any other similar compilation; the alphabetical list of recognized ministers, that of licentiates and that of our foreign missionaries; the lists of professors and students, with terms and vacations, in our theological seminaries; the organization of each of our national benevolent societies; careful and accurate memorials of deceased ministers; tables of ordinations, installations and dismissals; lists and officials of Congregational clubs and other similar valuable information. The expense being paid for by the churches through their State organizations, a copy is sent to every minister upon the roll and a copy to each church. This work has been of inestimable advantage in promoting the unity of the churches, as was expected and intended when the statistical system was planned over thirty years ago.

At the session of the council in 1880 it seemed that some brief statement of doctrinal faith might be useful for instruction and edification in our churches. The broad and extended declaration made at Plymouth in 1865 was not formulated with a view to use in the reception of members or for church manuals. A committee of seven was thereupon appointed, which should, after careful deliberation after the council had adjourned, select twenty-five men "of piety and ability, well versed in the truths of the Bible and representing

different shades of thought among us, who may be willing to confer and act together as a commission to propose in the form of a creed or catechism, or both, a simple, clear and comprehensive exposition of the truths of the glorious gospel of the blessed God, for the instruction and edification of our churches." This commission was not to report the result of their work to the council, but to issue it to the world, "to carry such weight of authority as the character of the commission and the intrinsic merit of their exposition of truth may command." This method was chosen so as to avoid any appearance of assumed authority by the council to legislate in matters of faith. Of the twenty-five eminent brethren selected, Rev. Julius H. Seelye, President of Amherst College, was chairman. Twenty-two of the twenty-five found themselves able to agree. The declaration then put forth, although it has not had indorsement by the council, has met with extensive favor, as declaring the general consensus of doctrine held by our churches, and is used by many of them as a standard.

The declaration we give in full as follows :

I. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible ;

And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who is of one substance with the Father ; by whom all things were made ;

And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, who is sent from the Father and Son, and who together with the Father and Son is worshiped and glorified.

II. We believe that the Providence of God, by which He executes His eternal purposes in the government of the world, is in and over all events ; yet so that the freedom and responsibility of man are not impaired, and sin is the act of the creature alone.

III. We believe that man was made in the image of God, that he

might know, love and obey God, and enjoy Him forever ; that our first parents by disobedience fell under the righteous condemnation of God ; and that all men are so alienated from God that there is no salvation from the guilt and power of sin except through God's redeeming grace.

IV. We believe that God would have all men return to Him ; that to this end He has made Himself known, not only through the works of nature, the course of His providence and the consciences of men, but also through supernatural revelations made especially to a chosen people, and above all, when the fullness of time was come, through Jesus Christ His Son.

V. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the records of God's revelations of Himself in the work of redemption ; that they were written by men under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit ; that they are able to make wise unto salvation ; and that they constitute the authoritative standard by which religious teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged.

VI. We believe that the love of God to sinful men has found its highest expression in the redemptive work of His Son ; who became man, uniting His divine nature with our human nature in one person ; who was tempted like other men, yet without sin ; who by His humiliation, His holy obedience, His sufferings, His death on the cross and His resurrection, became a perfect Redeemer ; whose sacrifice of Himself for the sins of the world declares the righteousness of God, and is the sole and sufficient ground of forgiveness and of reconciliation with him.

VII. We believe that Jesus Christ, after he had risen from the dead, ascended into heaven, where, as the one Mediator between God and man, He carries forward His work of saving men ; that He sends the Holy Spirit to convict them of sin and to lead them to repentance and faith ; and that those who through renewing grace turn to righteousness, and trust in Jesus Christ as their Redeemer, receive for His sake the forgiveness of their sins, and are made the children of God.

VIII. We believe that those who are thus regenerated and justified grow in sanctified character through fellowship with Christ, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and obedience to the truth ; that a holy life is the fruit and evidence of saving faith ; and that the

believer's hope of continuance in such a life is in the preserving grace of God.

IX. We believe that Jesus Christ came to establish among men the kingdom of God, the reign of truth and love, righteousness and peace ; that to Jesus Christ, the Head of this kingdom, Christians are directly responsible in faith and conduct ; and that to Him all have immediate access without mediatorial or priestly intervention.

X. We believe that the church of Christ, invisible and spiritual, comprises all true believers, whose duty it is to associate themselves in churches, for the maintenance of worship, for the promotion of spiritual growth and fellowship and for the conversion of men ; that these churches, under the guidance of the Holy Scriptures and in fellowship with one another, may determine—each for itself—their organization, statements of belief and forms of worship ; may appoint and set apart their own ministers, and should co-operate in the work which Christ has committed to them for the furtherance of the gospel throughout the world.

XI. We believe in the observance of the Lord's Day as a day of holy rest and worship ; in the ministry of the Word ; and in the two Sacraments which Christ has appointed for His Church : Baptism, to be administered to believers and their children, as the sign of cleansing from sin, of union to Christ, and of the impartation of the Holy Spirit ; and the Lord's Supper, as a symbol of His atoning death, a seal of its efficacy and a means whereby He confirms and strengthens the spiritual union and communion of believers with Himself.

XII. We believe in the ultimate prevalence of the kingdom of Christ over all the earth ; in the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ ; in the resurrection of the dead, and in a final judgment, the issues of which are everlasting punishment and everlasting life.

The result of the establishment of the National Council has been most helpful. The Council is the recognized declaration of the unity of the churches. It has shown that a national union of churches throughout a continent, each of which preserves the inalienable right of local self-government, can exist

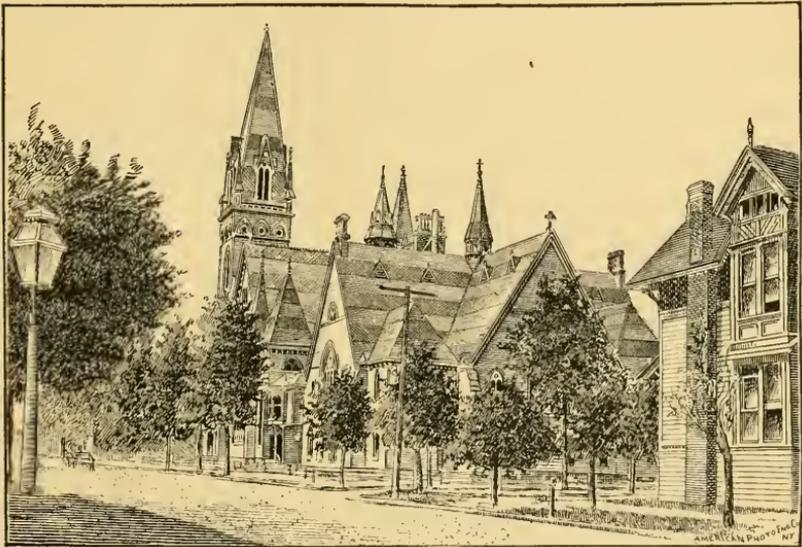
without domination over churches, and without danger of assuming authority. It has shown that mutual fellowship and communion in Christian love form a tie as strong as that of any ecclesiastical machinery. It has shown that unity may be preserved by brotherly consultation without the penalties of judicial procedure. It has given evidence that, with the possession of a common faith, co-operation in the great enterprises of the gospel is the strongest bond of fraternity under Christ.

The National Council, made up in every case of messengers sent by the churches, has, by its enrollment of brethren in unity, given courage to many an obscure toiler in the hard places of Christian work, who has felt that he was not overlooked by the great brotherhood; and courage to many a hidden church, which finds itself recognized as the peer of the strongest in worldly position or influence or wealth.

The Council has given the judgment of the churches' messengers, after wise and prayerful deliberation and with light coming from every part of the country, upon subjects of weighty import; its judgment having the force contained in the character of the men who have expressed it, and of the reasonableness found in the opinions thus sent forth; and these opinions have been received with a favor and respect which have shown the steadily growing confidence of the churches in this method of consultation upon interests dear to their hearts.

The Council has also tended to break the provincialism of methods of thought and action which prevailed to some extent in early days by reason of the isolation of groups of churches. It has tended to

blend us into a national life which absorbs the good found in every section and in all our schools of thought. In our outward growth it is noticeable that since the organization of the Council we have made a net increase of more than two thousand churches, our church membership has advanced more than seventy per cent., our enrollment in Sunday schools has increased



MEETING-HOUSE OF FIRST CHURCH, OAKLAND, CAL.

by more than ninety per cent., and the benevolent contributions, apart from all local church support, have nearly trebled.

The next session of the National Council is appointed to be held in San Francisco. It will take place exactly two and three-quarter centuries from the date of the Pilgrim landing. With much to retard our growth, by reason of such lack of denominational interest that our fathers deliberately sent much of our strength into

other denominations of Christians, by reason of useless theological dissensions in times past, and by reason of former lack of concentrated energy, yet the Council will represent, when it meets in that city in 1895, more than five thousand churches and more than half a million of communicants. Forty-nine States and Territories will report their Congregational churches. From the beginning at Plymouth, in numbers hardly to be noticed, but mighty in seminal principle, it is proper that the body of churches should at last connect the surf of the Atlantic with the waves of the Pacific, and sit together in loving communion by the Golden Gate.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN CONGREGATIONAL HISTORY.

1582. Browne's "Statement of Congregational Principles" published.
1583. John Coppin and Elias Thacker hanged at Bury St. Edmunds, England.
1586. John Greenwood and Henry Barrowe imprisoned in London.
1588. Martin Mar-prelate Tracts.
1589. "A True Description, out of the Word of God, of the Visible Church," published in London.
1592. First known modern Congregational church completely and formally organized in London.
1593. John Greenwood, Henry Barrowe and John Penry hanged: the last of the Congregational martyrs put to death. Fifty-six members of the first Congregational church, London, imprisoned.
1595. First Congregational church regathered in Amsterdam, Holland.
1596. "A True Confession of the Faith" of the London-Amsterdam Church published.
1598. The same "True Confession" translated into Latin and published.
1602. Congregational church organized at Gainsborough, England.
1603. Death of Elizabeth and accession of James I. Petition of Amsterdam Church to King James I., stating the "Points of Difference between Congregationalism and the Church of England."
1606. Scrooby Church organized, John Robinson, Pastor. Gainsborough Church removes to Amsterdam.
- 1607-08. Scrooby Church removes to Amsterdam.
1609. John Robinson, with the Pilgrims of Scrooby Church, settles in Leyden.
1611. King James' Version of the Bible published.
1616. Congregational church organized at Southwark, London.
1617. Pilgrims of Leyden petition King James for permission to settle in America.
- 1618-19. The Synod of Dort, at Dordrecht, Holland.
1620. Pilgrims left Leyden, July 21; sailed from Plymouth, September 16; signed civil compact in the "Mayflower," November 21; landed at Plymouth, Mass., December 11 (O. S.), December 21 (N. S.)
1621. Governor Carver died; William Bradford chosen governor of Pilgrim Colony.
1624. First Puritan settlement in New England, at Cape Ann.
1625. John Robinson died in Leyden. Death of James I. and accession of Charles I.
1628. The Company of Massachusetts Bay formed in England. Captain Endecott arrived at Salem. William Laud made Bishop of London.

1629. Six vessels, with emigrants from England, arrived at Salem. Second Congregational church in America, formed at Salem, Mass. Charter granted to Massachusetts.
1630. First Church, Dorchester, Mass., organized at Plymouth, England, landed at Nantasket, May 30. John Winthrop, with a fleet of vessels, arrived in Massachusetts Bay. The Massachusetts charter brought to New England. First Church organized at Charlestown, and First Church, Watertown, July 30. First General Court, August 23. John Winthrop elected governor. Settlement of Boston.
1632. Church at Charlestown removed to Boston. Present First Church, Charlestown, organized November 23. First Church, Lynn, and First Church, Roxbury, organized.
1633. John Cotton, Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone arrived at Boston. Laud made Archbishop of Canterbury. First parish in New Hampshire, at Dover. First Church formed in connection with the parish, 1638.
1635. Colonies from Dorchester and Watertown removed to Connecticut.
1636. First Church in Dorchester, Mass., organized in Plymouth, England, 1630, fully established at Windsor, Conn. First Church, Cambridge, organized. Thomas Hooker, with his company, an organized church, emigrated from Cambridge, Mass., to Hartford, Conn. Roger Williams banished from Massachusetts Colony. Sir Henry Vane chosen governor. The Hutchinson controversy. Harvard College founded. Winthrop again elected governor.
1637. First General Synod of New England convened at Cambridge by the General Court. It condemned Antinomianism. John Davenport and company arrived at Boston from England. Pequot War.
1638. Mrs. Hutchinson excommunicated from the Boston Church, and banished from the colony. New Haven Colony founded by Davenport and his company.
1641. "Body of Liberties," adopted by the General Court of Massachusetts. New Hampshire towns incorporated into Massachusetts Colony.
1643. Westminster Assembly convened in England by Parliament. Ministerial Convention at Cambridge, Mass. Confederation of the four colonies: Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven.
1644. Archbishop Laud executed.
1645. Battle of Naseby, insuring the downfall of the English Monarchy. Hooker's "Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline" approved by the ministers of the New England colonies.
- 1646-48. John Eliot began preaching to the Indians. General American Synod at Cambridge setting forth platform of Church Polity.
1647. System of common schools adopted by General Court of Massachusetts.
1648. Westminster Confession of Faith approved by Parliament.
1649. England proclaims itself a Commonwealth.
1650. Second Church, Boston, organized.
1651. General Court of Massachusetts approved Cambridge Platform.

1654. Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England.
1657. Ministerial Convention at Boston. Halfway Covenant recommended. Quakers imprisoned in Boston.
1658. General Synod at Savoy Palace, London, setting forth amended Westminster Confession and Congregational Platform of Church Order. Oliver Cromwell died.
1660. Restoration of monarchy in England. Charles II. made king.
1662. Massachusetts Synod at Boston approved Halfway Covenant. Connecticut and New Haven Colonies united.
1664. Church at Barrington organized; the oldest existing Congregational church in Rhode Island.
1669. Old South Church, Boston, organized.
1670. Second Church, Hartford, Conn., organized.
1673. Church in Agamenticus, now York, Me., organized (possibly much earlier), the oldest existing Congregational church in that State, then a part of Massachusetts.
- 1674-76. King Philip's War.
- 1679-80. Massachusetts Synod at Boston, known as the Reforming Synod.
1682. Cotton Mather ordained colleague pastor of Second Church, Boston.
1684. Charter of Massachusetts Colony vacated.
1685. James II., king of England. Sir Edmund Andros seized Old South Meeting-house, Boston, for Episcopal services.
1689. William and Mary made king and queen of England. Andros imprisoned, and provisional government formed in Massachusetts. Simon Bradstreet, governor. King's Chapel erected for Episcopal worship. Toleration Act passed by English Parliament, affording legal protection to Nonconformists.
1690. Association of ministers of Boston and vicinity formed; the first permanent District Association in Massachusetts.
1691. Heads of Agreement adopted, in London, between Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Plymouth Colony connected with Massachusetts.
1692. William Phips, first governor of Massachusetts under new charter. Twenty persons put to death at Salem for witchcraft. Episcopalians, Baptists and Quakers exempted from taxes for the support of Congregational churches in Massachusetts.
1699. Brattle Street Church, Boston, organized.
1701. Yale College founded. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel organized in England.
1702. Anne, queen of England.
1705. "Proposals," issued by representatives of Massachusetts ministerial associations.
1708. Connecticut Synod at Saybrook issued the Saybrook Platform.
1709. General Association of Connecticut ministers organized: the first State organization.
1713. Peace of Utrecht.

1714. George I., king of England.
1716. Yale College located in New Haven.
1722. Cutler, rector of Yale College, and others, became Episcopalians.
1723. Increase Mather died.
1725. Final and unsuccessful effort of General Court of Massachusetts to call a synod of churches.
1727. Jonathan Edwards ordained colleague pastor at Northampton.
George II., king of England.
1728. Cotton Mather died.
1735. Revival of religion at Northampton.
1738. George Whitefield's first visit to America.
1740. Whitefield visited Boston and other parts of New England.
- 1740-42. Great revival of religion in New England.
1741. Gilbert Tennent preached in Boston.
1742. John Davenport by his preaching made disturbances in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Separatist churches formed.
- 1744-45. Whitefield's second visit to New England.
1750. Jonathan Edwards, forced to leave the Church at Northampton, went to Stockbridge, a missionary to the Indians.
1757. Jonathan Edwards died.
1762. First Church organized in Vermont, at Bennington.
1765. Stamp Act passed.
1766. Stamp Act repealed.
1769. Dartmouth College founded.
1770. Samuel Hopkins settled at Newport, R. I.
1773. The Boston Tea Party.
1775. Commencement of War of the Revolution.
1778. Phillips Academy, Andover, founded. Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., chartered 1781.
1780. Massachusetts Bill of Rights enacted; amended, guaranteeing to every denomination of Christians equal protection in law, 1834.
1782. James Freeman chosen rector of King's Chapel; the church under him became Unitarian.
1783. End of the War of the Revolution.
1784. Saybrook Platform, by revision of statutes, ceased to be civil law in Connecticut.
1786. Massachusetts was granted the right to purchase from the Indians Western New York.
1790. Methodism first appears in Massachusetts. Grant of Western Reserve to Connecticut.
1793. Williams College chartered.
1794. Bowdoin College chartered.
1795. The London Missionary Society instituted. General Convention of Congregational ministers and churches in Vermont organized.
1796. First Congregational church in Ohio, at Marietta.
1798. Connecticut Missionary Society formed.

1799. Massachusetts Missionary Society formed.
1800. Middlebury College founded.
1801. Plan of Union adopted between the General Congregational Association of Connecticut and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Congregational Church organized in Quebec, the first in Lower Canada.
1803. General Association of Massachusetts ministers formed. General Conference of churches, 1860. Union of Association and Conference, 1868.
1805. Henry Ware chosen professor of divinity at Harvard. First Sunday school in Canada organized in connection with Congregational church in Quebec.
1808. The first theological seminary opened at Andover, Mass.
1809. Park Street Church, Boston, organized. New Hampshire Association and Rhode Island Consociation organized. Muskingum (O.) Association formed.
1810. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established by the General Association of Massachusetts. Dr. Kirkland elected president of Harvard. First Sunday school in Massachusetts, at Beverly.
1815. Unitarianism avowed by some Massachusetts Congregationalists.
1816. American Education Society formed; united with Western College Society in 1874; with New West Education Commission in 1893. Bangor Theological Seminary began. *Boston Recorder* began.
1818. New constitution adopted by the State of Connecticut, making all religious associations purely voluntary.
1819. Congregational church organized at Southwold, the first in Upper Canada.
1821. Amherst College founded.
1822. Theological department opened at Yale College.
1826. American Home Missionary Society instituted. First State Conference of churches organized in Maine.
1831. Congregational Union of England and Wales organized.
1832. Massachusetts Sabbath-school Society organized.
1833. Declaration of Faith of the Congregational churches of England and Wales, with Principles of Church Order and Discipline. Oberlin College founded.
1834. General Association of New York organized.
1835. Illinois College founded.
1837. Presbyterian General Assembly abrogated Plan of Union.
1838. New School Presbyterian Church organized.
1840. General Association of Iowa and Wisconsin Convention formed.
1842. General Association of Michigan formed.
1844. General Association of Illinois formed.
1846. Convention of Western Congregational churches at Michigan City, Mich. American Missionary Association organized.

1847. Beloit College founded.
1848. Iowa College founded. Oregon Association formed.
1852. American General Convention of Congregational Churches at Albany, N. Y. End of Plan of Union. Ohio Association organized.
1853. Congregational Church-building Society formed.
1855. Kansas Association organized.
1856. Minnesota Association organized.
1857. California and Nebraska associations organized.
1858. Chicago Theological Seminary founded. Indiana Association organized.
1860. Congregational College of British North America founded; affiliated with McGill University, Montreal, Canada, 1864.
1861. Beginning of Civil War.
1865. Close of Civil War. Missouri Association organized. General American Council of Congregational Churches, Boston. Burial Hill Declaration of Faith adopted.
1867. Connecticut Conference organized.
1868. Colorado Association organized.
1869. New Jersey Association organized.
1870. Louisiana Association organized.
1871. National Council established at Oberlin, O., for triennial meetings. South Dakota and Tennessee associations organized.
1873. Congregational House, Boston, occupied by benevolent societies and other Congregational organizations.
1876. Alabama Association organized.
1878. Georgia Association organized.
1879. North Carolina Conference organized.
1881. First Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, formed at Williston Congregational Church, Portland, Me. New West Education Commission organized; united with American Education Society, 1893.
1882. Utah Association organized.
1883. Declaration of Faith by a Creed Commission appointed by the National Council. Florida and Mississippi associations and North Dakota Conference organized.
1884. Arizona and New Mexico Association and Montana Conference organized.
1886. Pennsylvania Association organized.
1887. Arkansas and Southern California associations organized.
1889. Washington Association organized.
1890. Georgia Convention and Oklahoma Association organized.
1891. First International Congregational Council, London, England, all parts of the world being represented.
1892. Wyoming Association organized.

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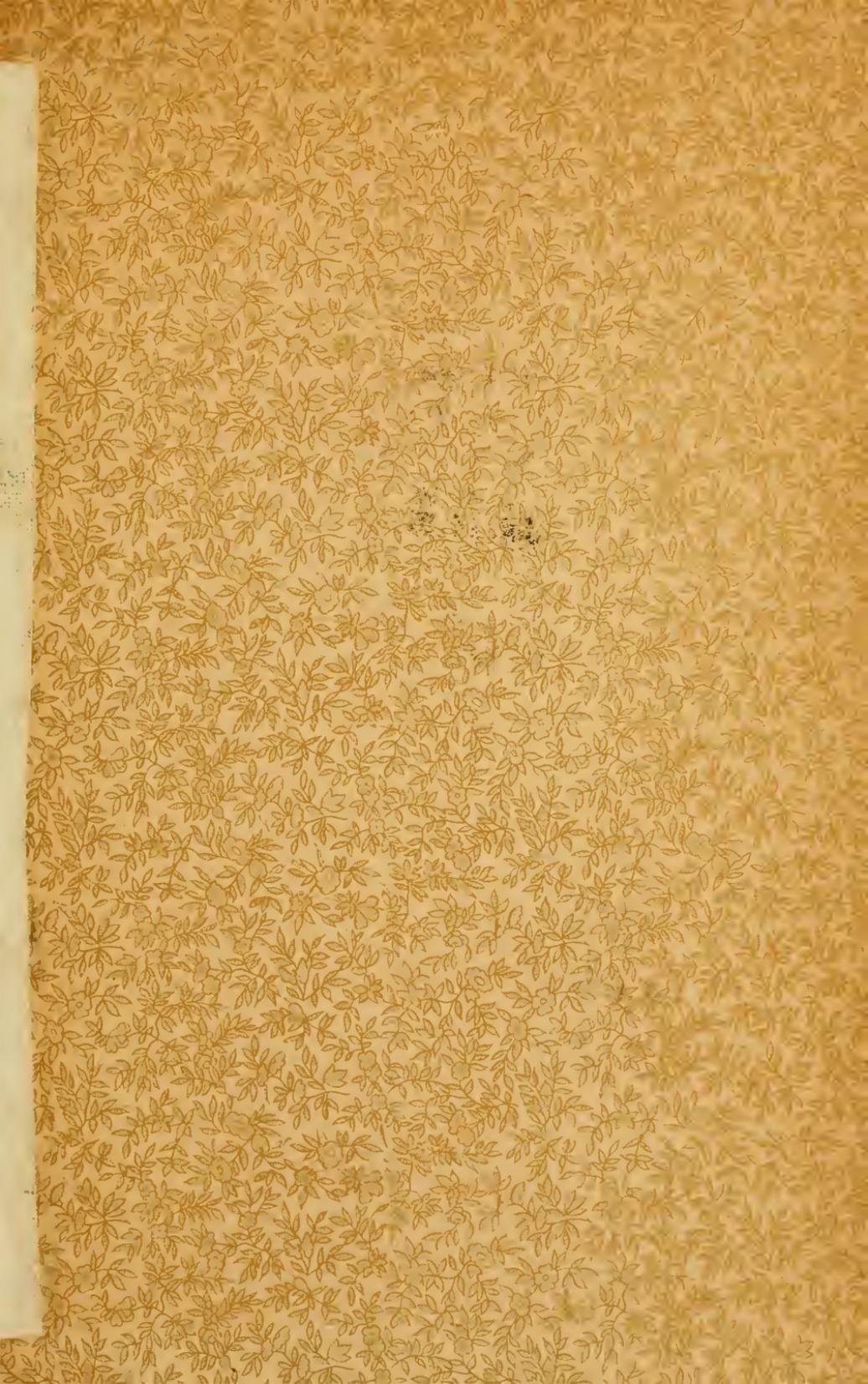
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